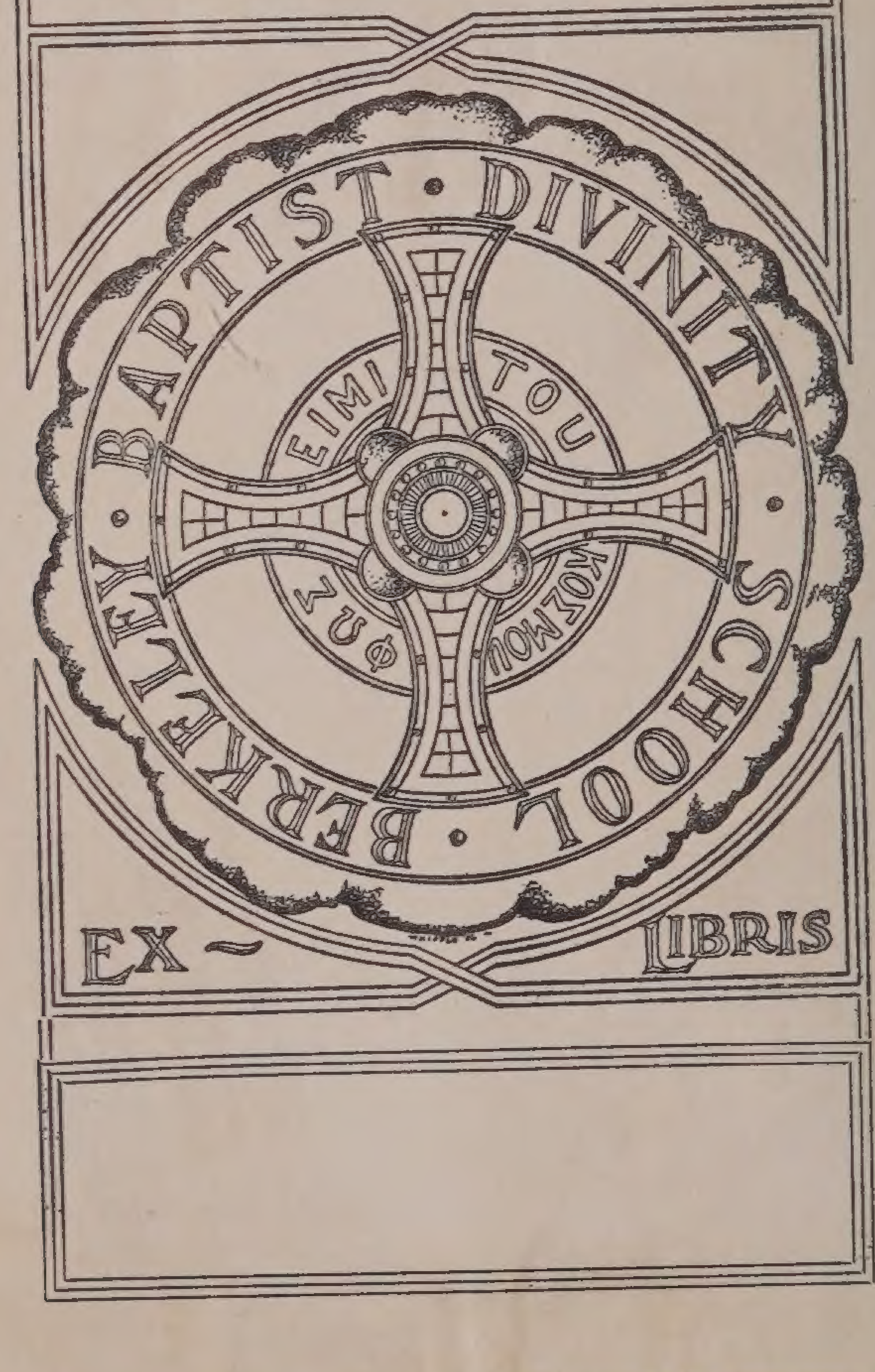
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CALDERWOOD'S HISTORY

OF

THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME FIRST.

THE WODROW SOCIETY,

INSTITUTED MAY, 1841,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

BY

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD,

SOME TIME MINISTER OF CRAILING.

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY 1962

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PREFACE.

The extensive learning and eminent talents of the Rev. David Calderwood, his matured experience in ecclesiastical affairs, and especially in those of his native country, the persecutions he had endured for his beloved Church, and the numerous works he had written in its defence, all qualified him, in the happiest manner, for becoming a Historian of the Kirk of Scotland. Above all, when the narrative was to be one of struggle and suffering, in which the principalities and powers of the earth, as well as those of darkness, were the antagonists, the record of such a conflict fell most aptly into the hands of a man whom a monarch had in vain attempted to brow-beat, and a whole hierarchy to silence. His own heart also appears to have affectionately inclined towards this his most congenial occupation, so that, after his return from exile, he spent many years in collecting and arranging the materials necessary for such an important task. At last, when he had reached his seventy-third year, the General Assembly, for the purpose of enabling him to perfect his work, granted him an annual pension of eight hundred pounds Scots. Calderwood died only two years afterwards; but he had lived to accomplish his purpose of writing the History of our National Church from

45389

the commencement of the Reformation to the close of the reign of James the Sixth, in two, if not in three successive and copious revisals.

The Calderwood Manuscripts, which were presented to the British Museum by the Author's descendants, consist of six volumes. The first three comprise 1117 pages of his largest work, which originally consisted of 3136 pages, so that the greater part is wanting. In this his first History, he has thrown together his immense collection of materials, without any particular anxiety, in many instances, as to their arrangement and connection—seeming to regard it rather as a common-place book of facts and documents, to be afterwards reduced to form, than a regular History in itself. Accordingly, when this part of his labour was completed, and when he found that his life was still continuing to extend into a vigorous and active old age, he addressed himself in earnest to reduce these voluminous facts into order, and express them in a more appropriate style. The result of this undertaking was the last three volumes of the series we have mentioned, and which he has entitled, "The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, beginning at Mr Patrik Hammiltoun, and ending with the Death of James the Sixt." At the commencement of the first volume is the following brief prefatory notice, in Calderwood's own hand: "This worke, comprehended in three volumes, or 2013 pages, is extracted out of a larger; but digested in better order, and wanting nothing of the substance: but out of this is extracted another, comprehended in . . . pages, which the author desireth onlie to be communicat to the use and

benefite of others: and this, with the former, to serve onlie for a defence of it, or for a new extract, in case it be lost." From these words it plainly appears, that he considered this work of 2013 pages as his proper, authentic History of the Church of Scotland; while the larger compilation was merely to serve, with the aid of a smaller, for the materials of a new work, should any accident befal the second. The third and smaller History, of which he also speaks, was unquestionably faithfully given to the public in the well-known folio printed volume, published in 1678.

The indefatigable Dr M'Crie[1] has satisfactorily proved, by a quotation from a Letter of Mr John Carstairs to Mr Robert Macward,[2] dated November 30, 1676, that the printed copy was taken from "the third and last *cura*, and faithfully collated with it." In a foot-note, Dr M'Crie observes: "This MS., containing corrections on the margin, in Mr Calderwood's hand-writing, is still preserved, and is in the possession of James Douglas, Esq. of Cavers. From that family, distinguished for its adherence to Presbytery, Mr Carstairs most probably obtained the use of it at that time." The reader is referred to the Letter itself for some interesting details.

The methodised and corrected work of Calderwood, from which this publication is transcribed, is written, as well as the larger, with the author's own hand. But it exhibits a style of caligraphy much superior to that of the other, indicating the higher importance he attached to it, and the affection with which he regarded it. In-

[1] Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson, Edin. 1825. App. p. 495.
[2] From the original MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. No. LIX. Jac. V. i. 26, Art. 52.

deed, the remarkable precision with which every word is formed, the very few erasures that occur throughout the three volumes, and the laborious neatness with which the heads of the different divisions are written or printed, induced the editor for some time to believe that the author, instead of himself expending so much care upon mere externals, had employed some skilful copyist, that the appearance of the work might correspond with its national importance. But this idea was abandoned on finding a few verbal alterations, such as none but an author himself can make upon his own manuscript, as well as by certain marginal directions, in which the sequence of certain events in the years 1557 and 1558 is ordered to be changed. About the commencement of the last volume of the manuscript, the penmanship indicates that the eyesight of the venerable writer was failing, and his hand becoming feeble and tremulous, so that about the middle he was obliged to avail himself of the occasional aid of an amanuensis. On finishing the work, he had also intended to write a preface; but even this he could not accomplish, as only two blank leaves, headed with these words, "To the Reader," remain to indicate his purpose. These circumstances, although trivial in themselves, are stated in the belief, that they will be important in the eyes of those who feel that interest in Calderwood's History to which it is so well entitled. It may be necessary only to add further upon this subject, that the present volume occupies 233 pages of the original manuscript, or about the eighth part of the whole work.

Those who are conversant with the Scotch and English literature of the seventeenth century, are aware of the fluctuating

character of the orthography of the period. This was especially the case in Scotland, where, in writing, almost every author formed for himself certain independent rules of spelling according to the sound of the word, and which he was liable to alter according to the change of circumstances. Such is the case in the Calderwood manuscripts, where words, and especially proper names, are not only spelt as they were pronounced, but frequently the same word is given with two or even three variations during the course of the work. These circumstances have generally induced editors to alter the orthography of our ancient authors; after which they find it equally necessary to change the grammatical construction, and occasionally even the idiom, into a conformity with the principles of modern composition. But it was thought more advisable that the venerable Historian of the Kirk of Scotland should appear in his original costume, and speak with his own Doric intonation. Accordingly, not only has his phraseology been faithfully preserved, but also the peculiarities of his spelling; a circumstance which, we trust, will be deemed more accordant with good taste, than if an ill-judged effort had been made to decorate such a precious and venerable relic of past ages with a modern superficial varnish. Indeed, the only liberty taken with the text has been in the article of punctuation, and the occasional division of paragraphs, without which the meaning would have been often obscure, and sometimes unintelligible. The reader, therefore, who might otherwise be startled with those antiquated peculiarities of language which we have left undisturbed, will console himself with the thought, that they are the necessary consequences of a *verbatim et lite-*

ratim edition of a work written in Scotland two hundred years ago.

In publishing so important and voluminous a work, it was thought desirable that it should be prefaced by an introductory chapter, containing a Life of the Author, and an account of those ecclesiastical events in which he was personally engaged. But after long research it was found, that the materials for a biography of Calderwood were so scanty and defective, as to be unfit for any such purpose in a satisfactory manner. There is reason to believe, however, that unpublished documents still exist, which may throw additional light upon his personal history; and as a search is being made for them, an Introductory Chapter of this nature will be appended to the last volume of the series. This circumstance will make it advisable for our subscribers not to bind their volumes until the whole work is completed. The last volume will also contain a copious general Table of Contents, independently of the Chronological Indexes prefixed to each volume.

T. T.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE PREAMBLE.

	PAGE
Descent of the Scots from the ancient Gauls,	1
Landing of the Scots in Britain,	3
Uncertain derivations of the name of the people,	5
Contentions between the Scots and Picts,	6
Arrival of Fergus the First,	*ib.*
Order and succession of the Scottish kings,	8
Contention for the crown of Scotland on the death of Alexander III.,	12
Robert Bruce crowned King of Scotland,	15
Accession of the Stewarts,	16
Wars of the Scots at home and abroad,	17
Service of the Scots in foreign wars, under strangers,	31
Religion of the Scots before their conversion to Christianity,	33
Donald, the first Christian King of Scotland,	34
Conversion of the Scots to Christianity,	37
Culdees,	39
Contentions about the time of Easter, and the form of the tonsure,	42
Benefactions of King Gregory to the church,	44
Claims of the Archbishops of York over the Bishops of Scotland,	45
Power and usurpation of the Popes,	46
Attempts of James I. to reform abuses in the church,	47
Martyrdom of Paul Craw,	48

PAGE

Lollards in Scotland, ... 48
Their sufferings in the reign of James IV., . . . 49
Their articles of belief, ... 50
Trial of Adam Reid of Barskimming, . . . 53

THE HISTORY.

1514.

James V. succeeds to the crown of Scotland, . . 57
Factions of the nobility, ... *ib.*

1519.

Conflicts between the Earls of Angus and Arran, . . 60

1521.

Invasion of England by the Duke of Albany, . . 63

1523.

League sought with Scotland by the French and English, . 64

1524.

James V. assumes the government, . . . 67

1525.

The Earl of Angus usurps the chief authority, . . 68

1526.

Takes the king to Jedburgh, . . . 69
Sir Walter Scott endeavours to free the king from the Douglasses, 70
The Earl of Lennox attempts the same, . . . *ib.*
Is defeated and slain, ... 71
Cruelty of the Douglasses against the king's friends, . . 72

1527.

Sir James Hamilton assassinated, . . . 73
Patrick Hamilton's early history, . . . *ib.*

1528.

He is apprehended by the Bishop of St Androws, . 75
Articles of his belief, ... *ib.*
His trial, ... 76
His execution, ... 77
The sentence pronounced against him, . . 78
Congratulatory letter from the University of Louvain to the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, on the death of Patrick Hamilton, 80
Effects of Hamilton's martyrdom, . . . 82

PAGE

Friar Archbishop's sermon on clerical abuses, . . 83
His sermon of the Abbot of Unreason, . . . 84
Trial of Alexander Turner on the charge of heresy, . 86
His singular defence, ... *ib.*
Friar Seton's Lent sermons, ... 87
His defence before the Bishop of St Andrews, . . 88
His letter from Berwick to James V., . . 89
His apprehension in London, ... 92
His recantation, ... 93
Alesius escapes to Germany, ... *ib.*
Assists at an English Assembly, . . . 94
Argues for the authority of Scripture in establishing Sacraments, 95
Henry Forrest condemned as a heretic, . . 96
His execution, ... 97
The King escapes from the Douglasses, . . 98

1529.

They are obliged to fly to England, . . . 99

1530.

Fruitless meeting of the Scotch and English wardens on the Borders, 100
John Armstrong and his followers hanged, . . 101

1531.

John Scot, the fasting imposter, . . . *ib.*
His chapel of Mary of Loretto, . . . 102

1532.

Establishment of the College of Justice in Edinburgh, . 103

1533.

Recantation and death of Walter Stewart, . . 104
Henry VIII. attempts to provoke the Scots to war, . *ib.*

1534.

James V. seeks a wife from France, . . 105
David Stratoun's conversion and execution, . . 107
Persecution of several Protestants, . . 108

1535.

Henry VIII. seeks an interview with James V. at York, . 110

1536.

James V. sails to France, and marries the Princess Magdalene, 111

1537.

Lady Glammis tried and executed, . . . 112
Andrew Charters' letter against the corruptions of churchmen, 114

1538.

Sir John Borthwick accused of heresy, . . *ib.*

PAGE

The articles of accusation, ... 115
His sentence and condemnation, ... 117
His answer to the articles of accusation, . . . 119
Persecution of priests who had embraced the Reformation. 123

1539.

Dean Thomas Foret accused to the Bishop of Dunkeld, . 125
His interview with the bishop, . . . *ib.*
His history, ... 127
His martyrdom, ... 128
George Buchanan, account of, ... 129
Particulars of his death, ... 130
Martyrdom of Jerome Russell and N. Kennedy, . . 132
Early Reformers among the nobility, . . . 134
The Earl of Glencairn's poem, ridiculing friars, hermits, and pilgrimages, ... 135

1540.

Henry VIII. renews his application for a meeting with James V. at York, ... 138
James refuses, ... 139
Sir James Hamilton appointed to try heretics, . . *ib.*
He is executed, ... 140
James V. haunted by dreams and warnings, . . . *ib.*
Account of the Wedderburns, ... 141

1542.

War with England, ... 144
The Scottish nobles refuse to invade England, . . 145
The clergy promise to aid the king, . . . 147
The king engages to persecute the Reformers, . . *ib.*
Rout of Solway, ... 148
Distraction of James V. at the flight of his army, . 150
His death, ... 152

1543.

The Earl of Arran elected Governor of Scotland, . 154
He favours the Reformation, ... 155
Debate on the lawfulness of reading the Scriptures in English. 156
The Bible allowed to the people in their mother tongue, . 157
Henry VIII. seeks a marriage between his son and the daughter of James V., ... 158
The proposal accepted by the Scottish nobility, . . 159
The Earl of Arran rejects his friends, . . . 161
Cardinal Beaton endeavours to excite a war with England. . 162

PAGE

Prevails on the governor to abjure the Reformation, . 165

1544.

The Earl of Lennox duped by Cardinal Beaton, . . 166
Skirmishes between their parties, ... 167
The cardinal stirs up quarrels among the nobles, . . 168
A conflict for the provostship of Perth ensues, . *ib.*
The cardinal entraps the Earl of Rothes, Lord Gray, and Henry Balnaves, ... 169
Several Protestants executed in Perth, . . 171
A friar interrupted while preaching, . . . 174
Edinburgh burnt by the English, . . . 176
The Earl of Lennox turns from the French to the English cause, 178
Is obliged to retreat to England, . . . 179
Siege of Coldingham church, . . . 180

1545.

Battle of Ancrum, ... 181

1546.

Life and martyrdom of George Wishart, . . 184
Account of him while at Cambridge, by Emery Tilney, . 185
Wishart banished from Dundee, . . . 186
Preaches in Ayrshire, ... 187
Returns to Dundee, ... 188
His life attempted by Cardinal Beaton, . . 189
Predicts his own approaching death, . . 191
Preaches at Haddington, ... 193
Apprehended by the Earl of Bothwell, . . 195
Delivered up to the cardinal, ... 197
Brawl between Cardinal Beaton and the Archbishop of Glasgow, 198
The governor ineffectually interposes in behalf of Wishart, 200
Winram's sermon at the trial of Wishart, . . 202
Wishart's trial, ... 203
His execution, ... 217
Conspiracy against Cardinal Beaton, . . . 220
His assassination, ... 221
The conspirators besieged in the castle of St Andrews, . 224

1547.

John Knox repairs to the castle, . . . 226
Is called to be a preacher, ... 227
His first sermon in public, . . . 229
His discussion with Friar Arbuckle, . . . 231
The Popish priests endeavour to outpreach him, . 237

PAGE

The Lord's Supper celebrated in St Andrews, . . 237
The Castle of St Andrews surrendered, . . 239
Perfidious treatment of the prisoners, . . . 240
Their refusal to conform to Popish ceremonies, . 241
Several of them escape from prison, . . . 243
Battle of Pinkie, ... 245
Martyrdom of John Rough, ... 251

1548.

A French fleet arrives to aid the Scots against the English, 255
Mary Stewart conveyed to France, . . . 257
Quarrel between the Scots and the French auxiliaries, . 258
Unsuccessful assault of the French upon Haddington, . 259

1550.

Trial and martyrdom of Adam Wallace, . . 262

1551.

The *Pater Noster* controversy, . . . 273

1553.

Mary of Guise prevails with the governor to resign his authority, 277
Labours of John Knox in England, . . . 278
He refuses conformity to the ceremonies of the English church. 280

1554.

Mary of Guise appointed regent, . . . 282
Contentions in the English congregation at Frankfort, . 284
Description of the English Liturgy, . . . 290

1555.

Knox accused of treason at Frankfort, . . . 299
He is compelled to retire to Geneva, . . . 302
He returns to Scotland, ... 304
Elizabeth Adamson's conversion and death, . . *ib.*
Knox's arguments against repairing to the mass, . . 305
Success of his ministerial labours, . . . 306

1556.

Addresses a letter of admonition to the Queen Regent, . 308
Scorn of the Queen on receiving it, . . . 316
Knox returns to Geneva, ... 317
Is burnt in effigy by the bishops after his departure, . 318
The Queen Regent attempts an obnoxious taxation, . *ib.*

1557.

The Lords write to Knox, requesting his return, . 319
His reply on hearing they had changed their purpose, . 320
Writes another letter to the Lords, . . . 323

PAGE

Band subscribed by the Lords in behalf of the Reformation, 326
Name of Congregation assumed by the Scottish Protestants, 327
The Queen Regent endeavours to excite war against England, 328
Is frustrated by the Scottish nobles, ... 329

1558.

Commissioners sent to France concerning the marriage of Mary Stewart with the Dauphin, ... *ib.*
The crown matrimonial of Scotland sought by the Dauphin, 330
Suspicious death of Scottish commissioners in France, . 331
Progress of the Reformation in Scotland, . . 332
First petition of the Reformers to the Queen Regent, . 333
Trial and martyrdom of Walter Mill, . . 337
The preachers of the Reformation summoned by the Queen Regent, ... 344
They are attended by the gentlemen of the west, . *ib.*
The preachers dismissed without trial, . . . 345
Celebration of St Giles's day in Edinburgh, . . *ib.*
A riot, and the saint's image demolished, . . 346
Appellation of John Knox from the sentence of the bishops in his absence, ... 347
His First and Second Blast of the Trumpet, . . 411
The Earl of Arygle maintains a reformed preacher, . 412
His reply to the Bishop of Saint Andrews on that subject, 413
The Papists dissuaded from disputation with the Reformers, 414
Their terms of reconciliation refused by the Reformers, . *ib.*
The Queen Regent's double dealing with the two parties, . 415
The matrimonial crown of Scotland granted to the Dauphin, 416
Petition of the Protestants to the Queen, . . . 417
Her crafty refusal, ... 419
Protest of the Protestants in parliament, . . 420
The Queen's cunning on receiving their protest, . . 421

1559.

Manifesto of the blind, crooked, lame, widows, orphans, &c., to the friars, &c., ... 423
John Knox's exhortation to the English on the death of Queen Mary, ... 424
His letter to Mrs A. Locke on the corruptions of the English church, ... 431
Part of his letter to Secretary Cecil, . . 434
His Apology for his First Blast to Secretary Cecil, . 435
Mary Stewart claims the title of Queen of England, . 437

PAGE

The Queen Regent summons the preachers, . . 437
Reforming attempts of a Popish synod, . . 438
The preachers again summoned, . . . 439
The Protestants accompany them, . . . *ib.*
Arrival of John Knox in Scotland, . . . 440
Effects of his sermon in Perth, . . . 441
The Queen Regent's indignation in consequence, . . 442
Letter of the Congregation to the Queen upon the subject, 444
Letters of the Congregation to M. D'Osell and the French officers, 445
Letter from the Congregation to the nobility of Scotland, . 447
The Protestants of the west resolve to assist their brethren, 451
Warning of the Reformers to the Popish clergy, . 452
Commencement of the war of the Reformation, . . 453
The Queen sends to know the cause of the Reformers' assembling, 454
Address of Knox to the Lords sent by the Queen, . *ib.*
The Congregation of the west hurry to the relief of Perth, . 456
Appointment between the Queen and Congregation, . *ib.*
Band of mutual defence subscribed by the Lords of the Congregation, ... 458
The Queen occupies Perth with her French soldiers, . 460
The Earl of Argyle, Lord James, and others, forsake the Queen Regent, ... 461
Reformation of St Andrews, ... 462
Attempt to surprise the Earl of Argyle and Lord James at St Andrews, ... 464
They are reinforced on Cupar Muir, . . . *ib.*
The enemy afraid to attack them, ... 466
Terms of agreement between the two parties, . . 467
The Congregation resolve to recover Perth, . . 468
Letter of the Earl of Argyle and Lord James to the Queen, . *ib.*
Reformation of Lindores, ... 470
Perth surrendered to the Congregation, . . . 471
Burning of Scone, ... 472
Progress of the Reformation in Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, 474
Letter of John Knox to Mrs Locke, . . . 475
The Congregation commanded by proclamation to disband, and leave Edinburgh, ... 476
They are charged with treason, ... 477
The Congregation clear themselves, . . . 478
Their petition for liberty of conscience, . . *ib.*
The Queen protracts time upon their petition, . . 479

PAGE

They refuse to entrust the Earl of Argyle and Lord James to confer with her, ... 480
Useless conference held at Preston, . . . 481
The Queen's conferences with the Congregation to protract time, *ib.*
The Lords of the Congregation arrest the coining irons, . 482
The Queen's party take possession of Leith, . . 483
Agreement of the Lords of the Congregation to evacuate Edinburgh, ... 485
Heads of the proclamation, ... 487
Complaints of the Popish party, . . . 488
Band subscribed by the Lords at Stirling, . . 489
John Knox advises to ask aid of England, . . 490
The Lords of the Congregation accordingly write to Secretary Cecil, ... *ib.*
Knox's letter to Cecil at this period, . . 491
His apology to Queen Elizabeth for his First Blast of the Trumpet, 492
Ambiguous letter from Cecil to John Knox, . . 494
Knox's reply to Cecil, ... 495
The Earl of Arran escapes death or imprisonment in France, 497
Forged letters from the King and Queen of France to Lord James, 498
Lord James's answer, ... *ib.*
The Queen Regent's censure of his letter, . . 500
She endeavours to re-establish Popery in Edinburgh in violation of her agreement, ... 501
Her letter to the Duke of Chattelherault, . . 503
Her letter to the barons and gentlemen of the Congregation, 504
Her deceitful practices till more forces arrived from France, . *ib.*
Her delusive manifesto to the people, . . 505
Answer to the same by the Congregation, . . 507
Another answer to the Queen's manifesto, . . 514
Letter of John Knox to Mrs Anna Locke, . . 516
Assembling of the Lords of the Congregation at Stirling, 517
Their letter to the Queen Regent on her fortifying Leith, . *ib.*
Endeavours of the Queen to draw the Duke of Chattelherault from the Congregation, ... 518
Letter of the Lords to Lord Erskine about his charge of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, . . . *ib.*
The Queen Regent's instructions to her messenger sent to Lord James, ... 521
His answer to her application, . . . 522
The Queen's slanderous proclamation against the Congregation, 523

PAGE
Answer by the Lords of the Congregation, . . 525
Lockhart's negotiations between the Queen Regent and the Congregation, ... 532
Knox's letter to the Queen Regent upon Lockhart's message from her, 533
The Protestants almost divided by the Queen's emissaries, 534
Second advertisement of the Lords to the Queen, . 535
The Duke of Chattelherault clears himself from the Queen's accusations by public proclamation, . . . 536
Lyon Herald sent from the Queen to the Lords, . . 537
His letter of credit, ... *ib.*
The Lords consult on removing the Queen from the regency, 539
Arguments used in favour of the measure, . . 540
Proclamation of the Queen's suspension from the government, 545
Answer of the Lords to the Queen's message by Lyon Herald, 547
Leith summoned by the Lords to surrender, . . 547
The army of the Congregation mutinies, . . *ib.*
Fruitless attempts of the Lords to raise money, . . 548
Crichton castle seized by the Lords, . . . 549
First defeat of the Congregation in the siege of Leith, . *ib.*
They are again defeated, ... 551
The army of the Congregation evacuates Edinburgh, . 553
Knox's sermon at Stirling on the disasters of the Congregation, 554
The Lords divide themselves into two companies, . 560
The French attempt to obtain the castle of Edinburgh, . *ib.*
Letter of John Knox to Mrs Locke on the impoverished state of the Congregation, ... 561

1560.

Oppressions committed by the French soldiers in Fife, . 562
They plunder their Scottish allies, . . . 563
Knox's sermon to the Lords of the Congregation at Cupar, . *ib.*
The Earl of Arran and Lord James's successful resistance to the French in Fife, ... 564
Kirkaldy of Grange sends a defiance to M. D'Osell, . *ib.*
Defeat and slaughter of a French captain and his company, . 565
Arrival of the English fleet in the Frith of Forth, . 566
Dismay and hasty retreat of the French in consequence, . 567
Knox's letter to Mrs Locke on their discomfiture, . 568
His letter of remonstrance to the Lords at Glasgow, on their resolution to meet the Duke of Norfolk at Carlisle, . 569
Commissioners sent from the Lords to meet the Duke of Norfolk at Berwick, ... 572

PAGE

Contract between the Commissioners and the Duke at Berwick, 573
Copy of the instructions given to the Commissioners, . 579
Delivery of the Scottish hostages, . . . 581
Arrival of the English army into Scotland, . . 582
First skirmishes between the French and English, . . 583
Band subscribed by the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen at Leith for expelling the French, ... 584
The Queen Regent's late repentance, . . . 586
Leith unsuccessfully assaulted, ... *ib.*
The English army reinforced, ... 587
Sudden fire in Leith, ... 588
Death of the Queen Regent, ... 589

THE HISTORIE

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND,

BEGINNING AT

MR PATRIK HAMMILTOUN,

AND ENDING AT

THE DEATH OF JAMES THE SIXT.

CALDERWOOD'S HISTORIE

OF

THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

THE PREAMBLE.

THE SCOTS ARE DESCENDED OF THE ANCIENT GAULES.

We may read in the Spanish Historie, that the people inhabiting the hillie and barren countreis upon the north parts of Spaine were verie rude and barbarous, before the comming of the Romans. They carried targets of two foote long, and a dager at their side. Some of them carried javelings pointed with copper. They dranke water, lay on the ground, made cakes of dryed accorns, exchanged ware for ware, having no use of silver. If anie were sicke, they caried them to the high wayes and corners of the streets, to seeke advice of suche as had beene vexed with the like disease. They used boats made of beasts' skinnes. But since the comming of the Romans they made the trunkes of trees hollow, like troughes, for this use. These fashiouns confirme that ancient traditioun, that our ancesters came out of the north parts of Spaine to Ireland, and from thence to our Westerne Iles, and the north part of Britane.

Boetius, in his descriptioun of Scotland, reporteth, that the Irish, our Hieland people, and the Hieland people in the north parts of

Spaine, doe not differ muche in language from eache other; which, if it be true, is another prooffe of the same traditioun. If we will fetche our originall farther, we neede not to give credite unto the old fables of Gathelus, and Scota, the king of Egypt's daughter: there are manie greater probabilities of our descent from the ancient Gaules. For the ancient Gaules, a mightie and populous natioun, sent out their coloneis, to seeke habitatiouns in other countreis. The Celtick Gaules placed themselves in the north parts of Spaine. Hence it is, that an ancient writer, Ephorus, stretcheth out the countreis possessed by the Gaules to the north-west point of Spaine, where the Galaicks, now called Galegoes, the Asturians, and Biscans, do inhabite. Frome these north parts, Galæcia, and other countreis adjacent, our progenitors came to Ireland, either becaus the barren countrie was not able to susteine so populous a natioun, or to eschew thraldome under the Carthaginians, Romans, or other conquerours. Yea, Cornelius Tacitus affirmeth upon sure conjecture, as seemeth to him, that the westerne countreis of South Britane were possessed also by people out of Spaine. The Belgick and Celtick Gaules sent over their coloneis to Britane, to the south and south-east parts. If it be true, which Buchanan conjectureth not without great probabilitie, that the Picts and the Scots might understand other's language without an interpreter, it followeth, as he also gathereth, that the Picts descended of the Gaules, who planted themselves in the easterne countreis beside the easterne seas.

Cornelius Tacitus recordeth, that the language of the Gaules, and the Brittons, the most ancient inhabitants of this ile, was not muche different. They had the same sort of ethnick preists, called Druides; the same kinde of poets or heralds, called Bards, who rehearsed the pedigrees of noblemen, the notable exploits of old ancient captans in ryme or song, at solemne feasts or assembleis, and as yitt they have in Wales, whom they call Barthes. In fashiouns and maners, likewise, they were not unlike to the Gaules. These three natiouns, Brittons, Picts, Scots, could understand other without anie interpreter, and differed onlie in dialect, as our judicious writter Buchanan affirmeth. Now, if the Brittish were different

onlie in dialect frome the old Gaulish, as no man of sound judgement will denie, it followeth that the Irish also, the ancient Scotish language, is derived frome the Gaulish. I am not ignorant that a learned writter of our time taketh the Irish, Brittish, and the Cantabrick or Biscane language, in the north part of Spaine, to be three different mother-tongues, having no affinitie among themselves in anie primitive or radicall words. Buchanan, who understood the Irish, and compared it with the Welsh language, and saith it is the old Brittish, his judgement is to be preferred in this point. The Hieland men of our countrie dividing the inhabitants of Britane into two sorts of people, they call the rest Gald, themselves Gael, that is, Galæcians, as Buchanan doth interpret. There are as yitt, as he has also observed, some names of rivers brought as it seemeth frome Galæcia, or other north parts of Spaine. Ierne is the name of a river in Galæcia, and of another in Stratherne: Sark, a name of a water in Galæcia, and of another in our west borders: Ave, a name of a river in Galæcia, and of another in Argile.

THE SCOTS LANDED IN THE ILE OF BRITANE BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Holinshed, in the Historie of Scotland, sticketh not to deny that the Scots settled themselves in this ile till King Fergus the Second his time, that is, the yeere 422, or a little before. Yet, in the Descriptioun of Britane he sayeth, the Scots had stolin thither to this ile within an hundreth yeere before Christ; that they used commonlie to steale over to Britane in leather skewes,[1] and beganne to helpe the Picts, about, or not long before, the beginning of Cæsar's time, becaus Diodorus and Strabo doe seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish natioun that sould inhabite Britane in their time. Out of Mamertinus' Panegyricall Oratioun, he noteth the Irish to be the onlie enemies to the Brittons, before the comming of Julius Cæsar; so that "hereby is found," sayeth he, "that they are no

[1] Skiffs.

new ghuests in Britane." Mamertinus, in his Panegyricall Oratioun, sett furth in praise of Maximinian the emperour, reporteth that the Brittons, before the comming of Julius Cæsar, were accustomed onlie to fight with the Picts, and Irish of the Britane soyle, that is, the Britannick land, or Britane. Now, the Irish of the Britannick soyle can be no other nor the Scots, by this descriptioun destinguished from the Irish of Ireland, or the Hibernick soyle. The author of the Panegyricall Oratioun sett furth in praise of Constantine, maketh mentioun of the woods of the Caledonians, and other Picts; where we may see the Caledonians were Picts. Marcellinus divideth the Picts in Caledonians and Vecturions. But so it is, that Lucan the poet, who flourished under the emperour Nero, maketh mentioun of the Britannick Caledonians.

Now, if the Picts were inhabitants of this ile before Nero's time, it followeth, that the Scots also were; for the Picts contracted affinitie with the Scots soone after their entric in this ile, and soone after this affinitie contracted, received them into voide places, as Beda, an ancient writter, who flourished about the yeere 720, and dwelt neare to our borders, doth relate. And in verie deed, when sould they have done it, if not when there was rowme sufficient for both; when they had need of assistance against the Brittons, the old inhabitants, upon whose bounds they were daylie encroaching? Farther, Beda reporteth, that howbeit Britane was inhabited by these three natiouns, Brittons, Picts, Scots, yitt it was not knowne to the Romans till the dayes of Julius Cæsar. Doth it not follow, out of his words, that before the comming of Julius Cæsar, the Scots did inhabite this ile, as did the Brittons and the Picts? If they inhabited this countrie before the dayes of Julius Cæsar, then are they not descended of the Goths, to whome Britane was graunted as a reward in Belisarius' time, nor of the Barbarians whom Camden judgeth to be North-Germans or Scythians, whome Constantine the Great expelled out of Galæcia. Although we find no mentioun of the name of Scots before the dayes of Julius Cæsar, it followeth not that they did not inhabite this ile before; for by the like reasoun may they denie, that there were anie Irish, in Ireland, who

were also called Scoti by the ancient writters. It may be, they were not yitt knowne to the Romans, whose writters make first mentioun of this name; or the name might weill have beene imposed by other than themselves, and long after their entrie, which is no strange thing.

The Irish of Ireland call themselves Erinach, howbeit we call them Irish. Our forefathers, inhabitants of this ile, called themselves Albinich, deriving the name frome the word Albion, the ancient name of this ile; and so do the Hieland men to this day. The Germans call the inhabitants of Neather Pannonia Hungarians, but they call themselves Magier. The Bohemians are called by themselves Czechi, by forrainers Bohemians. The Persians by themselves were called Attæi, by the Grecians of old Cephenes. That they were called Scoti, from Scota the king of Egypt's daughter, we reject it as fabulous. To derive the name from the Greek word Σκοτος, to signifie that they were an obscure, darke, and unknowne people, is rejected by Camden himself. Josephus Scaliger, in his animadversiouns upon Eusebius, doubteth not to affirme that it was not the proper name of our natioun, but an appelatioun given them by the Brittons whom they continuallie vexed, signifieing as muche as *robbers*, as the name of Saracens, which he deriveth from the word Sarakt, was given to the Arabian robbers and theives, and as the Cosaks are so called by the Turks. But it is not likelie, that anie natioun would have accepted of so infamous a name as they have now done for manie ages, if that had beene the significatioun, unless process of time hath made the first originall and significatioun to be unknowne. Neither is there anie likelihood that they came of the Scythians, and were therefore called Scots; for the Romane writters, who were weill acquainted with the name Scythæ, would have givin them their right name. And we have before sett doun some reasouns to prove, that they descended of the ancient Gaules, who planted themselves in the north part of Spaine, namely Galæcia, long before anie Scythians came there. Yitt the name Scoti was made mentioun of in Seneca's time, and long before the dayes of King

Fergus the Second; for he maketh mentioun of Scoto-Brigantes, who were by this name distinguished from the Scots of Ireland and North-Britane. These inhabited Yorkeshire, Westmerland, Cumberland, Lancastershire, and the bishoprick of Durhame, who are descended from the Brigantes in Spaine, or the Brigantes in Ireland, a colonie of those in Spaine; which not onlie our owne historiographer Buchanan, but also Florianus del Campo, a Spaniard, doth probablie conjecture. The reading, "Scuta-Brigantes," or "Cute-Brigantes," both Buchanan and Scaliger doe impugne. Beda sayeth, that our progenitors, frome their entrie with Reuda, were called Dalreudini, even to his time; in whose time, notwithstanding they were called Scots by forrainers, and he himself calleth them so. Now, in the successioun of kings since the yeere of our Lord 400, we have none called by the name of Reuther, or Reuda, whereby it appeareth that the Scots inhabited this ile before the dayes of King Fergus the Second.

THE OCCASIOUN AND TIME OF KING FERGUS THE FIRST HIS CORONATIOUN.

The Scots and the Picts were at the first mixed in their habitatiouns, and seeme, as it were, incorporated into one bodie of a commonwealth. But the Picts at length beganne to grudge, and could not be satisfied till they were severed frome them. The Scots delyting to goe armed in jackes, with bow and arrows at hunting or foulling, withdrew themselves beyond the Month[1] to the Hielands: the Picts, givin to husbandrie, remained in the countreis lying toward the east, or German sea. Neither did their jealousie cease after they were severed, for they sought continuallie quarells, wherupon followed wrongs upon both sides. The Brittons, fearing the power and increase of both, fostered the contentioun; offered their aide to the Picts against the Scots, to the end that when their power sould be abated by contentioun with, and want of, their

[1] Mountain.

freinds the Scots, they might be the more easilie overthrowne. When enmitie was readie to breake furth in open war, the Scots craved assistance from their friends in Ireland. Ferchardus, an Irish Scot, and, as some write, a prince or king there, (for of old Ireland was divided into five portiouns, according to the number of their governours or princes,) sent his sonne Fergusius with an armie, and with him the marble stone, to encourage him with the hope of a kingdome; for this was thought to be the fatal destinie of that stone, that wheresoever it sould be found, there the Scots sould have the soveraintie.

When Fergus, generall of the Scotish armie, came, a conventioun was holdin in Argile. He desired the persouns convened to consult upon the forme of governement which was needefull to be resolved upon for ordering of the warres. In former times, severall tribes were governed by severall captains, or governours. It being propouned, whether they would be ruled by one, by few, or by a multitude, the present occasioun of the warres requiring a generall commaunder, the want of a commoun forme of govcrnment in former times, and straitnesse of time, moved them to agree upon the governement by one, both in peace and warre. To remove matter of discord among the captans of the tribes, they choose this forrainer Fergusius, the sonne of Ferchardus, to be their king. He was crowned king the yeere 33 before the birth of Christ. Preparatioun being made for the warres, he marcheth toward the foe with displayed banner, the armes whereof were a reid lyoun ramping in a goldin feild. When the two armies were standing in battell array, the Scots and Picts were informed that the Brittons were retired to a hill, to observe the issue of the battell, and as occasioun sould be offered, to take advantage; wherupon the Scots and Picts were reconciled, the conditiouns of peace renued, and the Brittons disappointed. The Brittons seeke new occasiouns to sow discord. But the Scots and the Picts entered in their borders, killed, and spoiled. The Brittons levie an armie, waste the Scotish countrie. King Fergus, assisted by the Picts, overthrew them. Coilus their king was slaine, in memorie whereof the countrie was

named afterward Coyle. After his returne to Argile, he called a parliament, wherin he procured that forme of publick governement to which they of their owne accord had submitted themselves to be established as perpetuall, in times to come. It was established in the blood and race of King Fergus. Seven ancient men were appointed to survey the countrie, and to divide the same in severall portioums proportionallie, according to the fruictfulnesse or barrennesse of the soyle, to be distributed among the nobles, their kinsmen, and tribes. After their returne to Argile, the lands were assigned as the lotts fell, in presence of King Fergus. They possessed their lands before in commoun, without order or difference. The Scots inhabited the countreis lying in the west and north-west of North-Britane; the Picts possessed the east countreis lying toward the German sea.

THE SUCCESSION OF OUR KINGS, AND ORDER THEREOF.

After the death of King Fergus, it was thought dangerous to committ the governement to a governour in name of a young king, least he sould seeke his owne profite and advancement, and the young king take the reines of governement in his owne hand, before he could governe himself. It was agreed, that the fittest man of King Fergus his blood sould be chosin to raigne during his life; that he have a care to bring up the childrein of King Fergus as becometh; that, after his decease, if anie of them were come to yeeres ripe for governement, he sould succeed. It was agreed that no childrein under age sould governe, and that this ordour of electioun and successioun sould be observed in times to come, as it was indeed till the dayes of King Kenneth the Third, the fourescore king, that is, the space of one thousand and twenty-five yeeres. Kenneth, the third of that name, the sonne of Malcolme the First, and brother to Duffe, caused poysoun his cousin Malcolme, the sonne of King Duffe, made Lieutenant or Prince of Cumberland, in the beginning of his owne raigne, and consequentlie designed apparent successor in

all men's judgement, according to a new custome which had creeped in. Yitt no man suspected Kenneth, for the good opinioun they had of his holinesse and integritie, till at length some beganne to suspect his shew of sorrow. In the meane time, ambassadge was sent frome the English king, to crave another to be chosin, who, doing his homage according to the conditiouns agreed upon before, might be a meane to continue friendship betwixt the two natiouns.

King Kenneth before had tryed the mindes of manie, to understand if they would consent to the abrogatioun of the ancient law touching the order of succession; which did augment their suspicioun. In a parliament holden at Skoone, he layed furth the murthers, civil discords, and wicked practises which insued of the ancient order. Some currie-favourers, made privie to the mater before, furthered his purpose, and motioned, that Malcolme, the sonne of Kenneth, might be created Prince of Cumberland. Others, who had not beene made privie, perceiving that it was follie to withstand, consented. It was also enacted at the same time, manie of the nobilitie rather silent than approving, that the eldest heyre male of the deceassed king, whether sonne or nephew, sall succeed; the nephew by the sonne sall be preferred before the nephew[1] by the daughter, and the brother's sonne before the sister's sonne. If he chance to be under age, the estates sall choose some nobleman to governe, till he come to the age of fourteen yeeres, and then he sall have libertie to choose his owne governours. Yitt could not the guiltie conscience of King Kenneth be at rest.

It is said, that on a certaine time, he heard a voice in the night uttering these words: "Think yee that the death of Malcolme, an innocent man, contrived by thee, is unknowne to mee, or that thou sall escape unpunished? There ar presentlie some plotts layed for thy life, the execution wherof thou cannot avoide, nather sall thou leave thy kingdome stable and secure, but full of troubles." Whether he heard this voice, or his disquietted minde made him to imagine so, it is uncertaine; yitt was he so

[1] Here the word nephew must be understood to have the same latitude as the French *neveu*, which signifies a grandson as well as a nephew.

terrified, that earelie in the morning he addressed himself to the bishops and monkes, and confessed his sinnes. They prescribe unto him for satisfactioun, endowing of kirks and religious places, kissing of reliques, frequenting of masses, and suche other workes as in these tines of blindnesse and ignorance were esteemed most religious and godlie. When he came from Fordune, a town in the Mernes, where he had beene visiting the reliques of Palladius, he was slaine at Fethercarne, by certaine horsemen appointed to ly in waite for him by Fenella, a ladie in the Mernes, who greeved not onlie for the death of her sonne Crathlinth, but also becaus their neere freinds, Constantine and Grime, had been defrauded of their right, and debarred from all access to the crown. Some whispering she heard also of the poysoning of Malcolme Duffe. This maner of the murther is recorded by Wintonus, embraced by Buchanan, who rejecteth the relatioun made by Boetius as altogether improbable. Thus ended King Kenneth his dayes, the yeere of our Lord 994.

Immediatlie after his death, Constantine, the sonne of King Cullane, solicited his freinds to assist him in his claim to the crowne; complained to everie man that he, and others of the royall blood, were circumveened by the craft of King Kenneth, and excluded from their hope of succession by colour of an unjust law, to which he and others had consented onlie for feare. Manie reasouns he used against the alledged inconveniences of the former custome, the pretended utilitie of the new act, and among the rest, that no lesse wicked practises were to be feared, and greater inconveniences to insue of this new order. "What more foolish," said he, "than to committ a mater of the greatest moment of anie worldlie thing to the arbitrament of fortune, which sould be directed by the judgement of wise men; to contradite the governement of a realme to a childe often times depending upon a woman, and in the meane time to exclude men indowed with excellent gifts? What course more madde, than to draw on that calamitie which the Lord threatens as a curse to a natioun, when childrein are sett over it?" He was crowned king the twelfth day after the funeralls of King Kenneth.

After him succeeded Grime, nephew to King Duffe, by his brother, Mogald, or, as others writt, King Duffe's sonne. After him succeeded Malcolme, the sonne of King Kenneth; but he refused the crowne, unlesse his father Kenneth's law anent the order of successioun were first confirmed. Yitt left he behind him no male childrein, but onlie two daughters; the one named Beatrix, givin in mariage to Abanath Crinen, Thane of the Iles, or rather A[b]thane, as they use to call him, who had the commandment over the inferiour Thanes; the other named Doaca, givin in mariage to the Thane of Angus.

Makbeth, the sonne of Doaca, dreamed he saw three wemen comelier than anie he had ever seene; that the one saluted him as Thane of Angus, another as Thane of Murray, the third as King. Boetius relateth, that whill Makbeth, and Banquho Thane of Loquhaber, were ryding to Foresse, to the king, through the woods, they mett three wemen in strange apparrell: That the first said, "Haile, Makbeth, Thane of Glames!" The second, "Haile, Makbeth, Thane of Calder!" The third, "Haile, Makbeth, who sall heereafter be king!" And that Banquho, asking why they were not favourable to him? the first answered the other, saying, "Raigne, but leave no successour: thou sall not raigne at all thy self, but a race of kings sall come of thee." Makbeth being putt in hope of the kingdome, slayeth King Duncan, the sonne of Beatrix, at Innernesse, and causeth himself to be proclaimed king. Banquho, Thane of Loquhaber, was partaker of the murther; yitt Makbeth assayed to cutt off Banquho, becaus one of the three fareis had promised the kingdome to his posteritie, or some witches had so divined. He inviteth Banquho, and his sonne Fleance, to supper, and appointeth some to kill them in the returning to their lodgings, that it might be apprehended they had beene slaine in some suddain tumult. Banquho is slaine; his sonne Fleance escapeth, by reasoun of the darkenesse of the night. Makbeth was slaine by Makduffe, Erle of Fife, in the seventeenth yeere of his reigne, the yeere of our Lord 1057.

To Makbeth succeeded Malcolme, surnamed Cannoir, the eighty-

sixth king, the sonne of King Duncan. Alexander, the third of that name, maried Ladie Margaret, daughter to the English king, Henrie. This mariage was devised and furthered by suche of the nobilitie as misliked the power and strenth of the Cummins. Soone after her death, died her two sonnes, David and Alexander; and her daughter, Margaret, the second yeere after her mariage solemnized with Hanigo, king of Norway. King Alexander his horse stumbling, he fell, and brake his craig, not farre from Kingorne; or, as others relate, forcing his horse rashlie at a gallop, he was throwne over the clift, and his necke broken. Thus ended he his life, after that he had raigned thirty-seven yeeres.

Upon the death of this king followed great troubles. Buchanan, comparing the new law of Kenneth, touching the order of succession, tying it to the king's heyres, with the ancient order, doubteth not to affirme, that the utilitie which was pretended, or looked for, both to king and countrie, by the new order, had not that successe that men expected; and that all the calamiteis and inconveniences flowing from the ancient order were light, in comparisoun of these which flowed from this new order of successioun; kinsmen conspiring against their kings; kings seeking the destructioun of their kinsmen: that this order weakeneth the power and authoritie of the countrie, without which no lawfull governement can long endure: that by this order we make these kings, who had need of others to governe themselves: that we committ to these power over the whole people, who have no power to command themselves: that we sett shadowes of kings over the people, which can skarse be contained in order by experimented men: that we subject to laads and lasses, those whome the law of nature and nations hath ordeaned to be under the governement of wise men.

Alexander the Third left no issue behind him, except the daughter of Norway, his neice, by his daughter Margaret. Six governours were appointed to rule the realme till the next successour was crowned. Edward, the first of that name after the Conquest, surnamed Langshankes, suted the daughter of Norway in marriage to his sonne, when she sould come to rype yeeres. It was readi-

lie graunted, for the appearance of that unioun betwixt the two realmes which was likelie to insue. Only these conditiouns were added, with consent of both parties; that the Scots sall injoy their owne lawes and liberteis, till childrein begottin of them be able to governe; that if they have no issue, the crowne sall returne to the nixt heyres of King Alexander. Sir Michael Scott of Balwerie, and Sir David Wemes, Knights, were sent to Norway, to bring home the daughter of Norway; but she deceased before their comming.

After her decease, Robert Bruce, surnamed the Noble, and Johne Balioll, contended for the crowne. Johne Balioll maried Dornagill, eldest daughter to Margaret, the eldest daughter to Allane, Lord of Galloway, Constable of Scotland: His ladie, Margaret, was eldest daughter to David Erle of Huntington, brother to King Malcolme, and King Williame, kings of Scotland. Robert Bruce, surnamed the Noble, maried Isabell, the second daughter to David Erle of Huntington, and begatt on her Robert Bruce, who maried Martha Countess of Carrick, left heretrix after her father the Erle of Carrick, who died in Syria: Of this matrimonie was begotten Robert Bruce, who afterward raigned. Johne Balioll was allyed with Johne Cummine, who maried Marie, sister to Dornagill; so there was no indifferent or neutrall power, in Scotland, able to compell the parties to stand to the decisioun of the estats.

It was therefore referred to King Edward, to draw the mater to some fine. When some were appointed to meete and reasoun upon so weightie a mater, and conveened at Berwick, King Edward, understanding that Johne Balioll had the greatest right, but was inferiour to Robert Bruce in favour and freindship, he dealeth first with Robert Bruce, promiseth to him the kingdom, if, after he was crowned, he would professe himself his liege-man. The other answered, he was not so desirous to raigne, as for that end to impaire the liberteis of the kingdome. After he had dismissed him, he calleth for Johne Balioll, who accepted the conditioun without anie scruple. So, Johne Balioll, the ninty-sixth king, was declared King of Scots, the seventh yeere after the death

of Alexander the Third; and was crowned at Skoone, on Sanct Andrew's day, in the yeere of our Lord 1292, according to Boetius his accompt. The nixt yeere, he did homage to King Edward at Newcastell; yitt afterward, he renounced all kinde of freindship, and revocked all kinde of homage, becaus, when he was sitting in the assemblie of the estates beside King Edward at Londoun, he was commanded to rise, and answere for himself in a lower place, to a complaint givin in by Makduffe Erle of Fife. He was content to answere by a procurator, but that would not content them; wherupon followed warres betwixt England and Scotland.

King Edward the First, surnamed Langshanks, entered in Scotland, subdued almost the whole countrie, sent Balioll by sea to England, and after his returne committed him to prisoun. He was sett at libertie by the Pope's intercessioun, but was sent over to France, and his sonne Edward deteaned as pledge. When the nobilitie had neither hand nor hearts to attempt anie great interprise for delivering of the oppressed countrie, William Wallace, sonne to Sir Andrew Wallace of Craigie, Knight, a man of great stature, strenth, and courage, after manie exploits, allured a great number of voluntars to follow him. There was not one of the English blood left in Scotland, captives excepted, in the yeere 1297. The noblemen invyed him, which, King Edward understanding, leveid a new armie, and joyned battell with Williame Wallace, Johne Cummine, and Johne Stewart, at Fawkirk. Johne Stewart and his wing were all slaine; the Cummine fled without a stroke; Williame Wallace onlie stayed to make resistance till a great number of his companies were slaine. When he perceived that he was invyed by the nobilitie, he renounced all governement comitted to him; yitt ceased he never to vex the English, assisted with a companie of his friends, who would in no case forsake him. King Edward constitute governours and magistrats in all the parts of the countrie; destroyed all monuments of anie worth, caused transport learned men, ancient records and bookes; left no worthie monument which might stirre up generous spirits to imitate their worthie ancestres. He injoyned the Ser-

vice Booke, composed after the use of Sarum, to be used in the Scotish Churches.[1]

Robert Bruce, sonne to Robert Erle of Carrick, nephew to Robert Bruce who contended with Johne Balioll, was crowned king at Skoone, in April 1306. His favourers were few, and his succesSe bad in the beginning. Yitt did he never despaire, when in a maner all the world despaired. Peece and peece he recovered the castells and strenths, till at lenth, after the victorie at Bannockburne, where he putt King Edward the Second, surnamed Carnarvan, to flight, he came to the full and peaceable possessioun of the whole kingdome. King Robert Bruce, in a parliament holdin at Air, after the battell at Bannockburne, that is, after the yeere 1314, was confirmed king, and the crowne entailed to the heyres male begottin lawfullie of his owne bodie; or that failing, to his brother Edward, and the heyres male begottin lawfullie of his bodie. If he died without heyres male, to Marie, King Robert's daughter, and her issue; the nobilitie choosing to her a husband. Marie, or (as others call her) Mariorie, was married to Walter, High Stewart of Scotland, with advice of the nobles. King Robert, in his old age, to confirme the kingdome to his young sonne, a childe; and if he died without issue, to Robert Stewart, his nephew by his daughter, (for his brother Edward was slaine in Ireland,) sent Sir James Douglas, or rather James Lord Douglas, to France, to require of Johne Balioll a resignatioun of all right or title he or his heyres might seeme to have to the crowne of Scotland. Balioll, worne with age, and blind of sight, acknowledged that King Robert, who had delivered the countrie frome thraldome, was worthie to injoy it, and confessed his owne unworthinesse. After his returne, the order of successioun above mentioned was established, and the nobles sworne to mainteane it, in a parliament holdin at Cambuskenneth, in the yeere 1327.

Mr Johne Major proveth the right King Robert Bruce had to the crowne by these reassouns: 1st, Johne Balioll resigned his

[1] Hence the old Scotish proverbial saying, of any thing done in a grave, formal manner, "It is *secundum usum Sarum*."

right to King Edward, and therefore was justlie deprived. 2d, A free people gave power to the first king, whose power doth depend upon the whole people; but so it is, that the whole people consented to Robert the Bruce. 3d, The people, or three estates, may depose a king; therefore they may constitute a king; as Pipine, king of France, was constituted king, in place of another who was deposed. 4th, Where A defend th not a kingdome, or can not, or concurreth to the subversioun thereof, and B doth defend it, and deliver it out of the hands of the enemie, A deserveth to be deposed, and B sould be sett up. 5th, If a free people may cast out an undoubted king, muche more may they depose a king whose right is doubted, and sett up in his roome another, although his right be doubtfull. His sonne David Bruce succeeded. But Edward Balioll, sonne to Johne Balioll, assisted with his factioun in Scotland, dispossessed him, and was crowned in the yeere 1332. But he injoyed not the crowne manie yeeres; for King David, nine yeeres after his departure out of the countrie, returned out of France, and re-entered in the possession of the crowne.

To him succeedeth Robert Stewart, nephew[1] to King Robert Bruce by his daughter, sonne to Walter Stewart, High Stewart of Scotland, the first king of the surname of Stewart. He was crowned in Lent, the yeere 1370. He was the sonne of Walter Stewart, sonne to Johne Stewart, the sonne of Alexander Stewart, who founded Pasley, the sonne of Allane Stewart, who went with Godefrey of Bulloigne to the Holie Land, the sonne of Walter Stewart, base sonne to Fleance, the sonne of Banquho, Thane of Loquhaber, of whome we made mentioun before. This King Robert, after the death of his first wife Ewfame, daughter to Hugh Erle of Rosse, upon whom he begatt three childrein, Walter Erle of Stratherne, David Erle of Atholl, and Ewfame, maried to James Dowglas, sonne to William Erle of Dowglas, he maried Elizabeth Muire, daughter to Sir Adam Muire. He had begottin upon her before his first mariage three sonnes and twa daughters. After the death of her husband, surnamed Giffard, and the death of his owne wife

[1] See note, p. 9.

Ewfame, he maried her, that by dispensatioun he might obteane legitimatioun to the children he had by her. Soone after, he made his eldest sonne begottin on her, named John Erle of Carrick, his second, named Robert Erle of Fife and Menteith, the third, named Alexander Erle of Buchan and Badzenoch. He procured an act of parliament, whereby it was provided, that after his death the heyres male of Elizabeth Muire, and their heyres male, sould be preferred in successioun to the crowne; and these failing, that the heyres by his wife Ewfame sould succeed. Johne Stewart, Erle of Carrick, eldest sonne to King Robert, succeeded to his father. His name was changed from Johne to Robert. To Robert the Third, called otherwise Johne Ferneyeere, succeeded his sonne, King James the First. To James the First succeeded his sonne, King James the Second, surnamed James with the Fierie Face, becaus he had a reid spott in one of his cheekes. To him succeeded his sonne, King James the Third, who maried Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmark, and by her had King James the Fourth. This much for the successioun of our kings.

THE WARRES OF THE SCOTS WITHIN THE ILE OF BRITANE, AND WITHOUT.

Frome the entrie of King Fergus the First till the raigne of Corbred, surnamed Gald, our forefathers had warres onlie with the Brittons, and some time with the Picts. It is true, Boetius setteth doun manie warres betwixt the Scots and the Romans before, but without warrant. He mistaketh the names of people, as of the Silures, for the inhabitants of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunninghame, when as their habitatiouns were in Wales; the Brigantes, for the inhabitants of Galloway, when as their habitatiouns were in Yorkshire, Lancastershire, Westmerland, Cumberland; Ordovices, for the inhabitants of Annandaill, when as they had their habitatioun in North Wales; Camelodunum, for a toun upon the water of Carran, at the end of Severus his wall, when as it was distant from that place an hundreth myles, as Buchanan observeth; or, as others ob-

serve, was situated in Essex, where now is a toun called Maldon. After the entrie of Julius Agricola, the Scots had warres with the Romans and Brittons. He had subdued the whole countrie, if he had not beene recalled by the Emperour Domitian.

When Adrian, the emperour, came to Brittane, he caused a great ditche to be cast, frome the mouth of Tyne to the river of Esk, where it runneth into Solway in the west; and a wall to be made on the other side thereof, of turffes and soddes, to be a safeguard to the Brittons. The Scots and Picts divided among themselves the lands left, as a prey, on this side of the trenche. They brake also through the wall, and fought sundrie battells with the Romans and the Brittons, so that they were forced to send to the emperour, Antoninus Pius. The emperour sent Lollius Urbicus to governe the Roman province. He repaired Adrian's wall. The emperour Severus brought with him a greater armie than ever was sent before by the Romans to Britane. He lost fyftie thowsand men in his marching through Scotland, not so muche by battell, as through difficulteis and incommoditeis they found in their travelling, or the losse they received when they went astray to fetche booteis. He caused build a wall of turffe and soddes, fastened together with pyles of wood, with a deepe ditche on the backe, and turrets upon the wall, so neere, as that they might convenientlie give warning to other when that they descried the enemie. The ditche or wall extended in lenth from Forth to Clyde Firth.

Carausius, usurping the imperiall robe, and governement of Brittane, restored to the Picts and Scots the lands which they possessed of old beyond the wall of Severus, to assure himself the better of their freindship. Yitt, afterward, the warres betweene the Picts and Scots were quickened againe. Under the raigne of Eugenius, the thirty-ninth king, the Picts, blinded with hatred, desirous of revenge, and bated with promises, joyned with the Romans against the Scots. Maximus, the Roman lieutenant, promised to the Picts the lands belonging to them. They were expelled out of Scotland by the Romans, Brittons, and Picts, in the 379th yeere after the birth of Christ.

Manie of the monkes gathered themselves together into the Ile of Iona, afterward called Colmekill, where they erected a monasterie, which in ages following brought furth manie learned men; but farre different frome the monkes which arose after in corrupter times. But when Victorinus was sent from Rome to governe the province, that the impyre might seeme to be enlarged by his meanes, he redacted the countrie of the Picts in the forme of a province, injoyned them the practice and use of the Romane lawes, and, after the death of their King Hergustus, discharged them to choose another, and charged them to admitt suche magistrats as sould be appointed unto them by the emperour and senat of Rome. Then beganne they to feele their owne miserie, to confesse their owne perfidious crueltie upon the Scots, and to interpret the old oracle, that the Scots sould be the utter ruine of the Picts, in another sense then they did before. They acknowledge the breache of the old league and friendship with the Scots, of whome they see now they stand in great need. They compleane that they are inclosed like wilde beasts in a parke, within the wall of Severus; that their youth, under the glorious name of warefare, were chosin furth to the slaughter, in the service of the Romans. They see there is no other way to recover their libertie then to appease the Scots. They creat secretlie Durstus, the sonne of Hergustus, king, and sent to Denmark for Fergusius. He landeth in Argile, the four hundred and third yeere after the birth of Christ, accompaneid with a number of Danes, of his freindship and acquaintance. The Scots come flocking to him from Ireland, the West Iles, and other countreis, and together with them, manie of their acquaintance. The Romans, to defend Italie and neare provinces, assaulted by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and other barbarous natiouns, were constrained to recal manie of their legiouns frome remote provinces, and among the rest from Britane.

After the departure of the Romans, the Scots and the Picts demolished the wall of Severus, and made the border lands of the Brittons unprofitable. The chiefe man in this exploit was a nobleman called Grahame, father-in-law to King Fergusius the Second.

The Scots, surnamed Grahams, are thought to have descended of this noble man. It is contraverted whether he was a Britton or a Scot: the greater part of our writters record that he was a Britton, of the noble familie of the Fulgentii, one that hated the governement of the Romans. Buchanan inclyneth to this relatioun. At the earnest desire of the Brittons, the Romans sent a legioun for a new supplie. They caused build a wall of stone eight foote broad, and twelve foote high, where Severus his rampeirs were builded; that is, frome Abercorne to Kirkpatrick in the west, thirty myle in lenth. Certaine turrets were cast furth upon the wall, wherin the Brittons were appointed to keepe watche, to give warning by fire in the night, and smooke in the day. Gallio Ravernas, the Romane lieutenant, having putt the affaires of the Brittons to this point, biddeth them fareweill; forbiddeth them to looke for further supplie frome thence furth, seeing the Romane impyre was assaulted on eache side by so manie barbarous natiouns. After their departure, the Scots and Picts assailied the wall; the Brittons were beaten backe, or pulled doun with grappes; the wall was undermyned and demolished in sundrie places, and at last razed. They made great havocke among the Brittons. At last peace was concluded, upon conditioun the Brittons conteane themselves within Adrian's wall. Governour Grahame distributed the lands on this side of the wall to the Scots, and the strangers, their assistants. Eugenius, eldest sonne to King Fergus, claimed righte to the lands belonging to his grandfather, Grahame, lying beyond the wall of Adrian. The Brittons redacted to great straits, and, despairing of anie aide frome the Romans, were content to remove out of all the countreis lying betwixt Tine and Humber. The governement of the Romans in Britane, which had continued frome the entrie of Julius Cæsar, that is, the space of four hundred and eightie yeeres, now ceased.

After this, the Scots had warres till the raigne of King Williame the Conquerour, with the Danes, Saxons, and sometimes with the Picts and Brittons. The Saxons entered soone after that the governement of the Romans ceased. Charlemaine, King of France,

sent ambassaders to Achaius, king of Scots, to procure a league betweene the Scots and the Frenche, becaus the Saxons of Britane troubled the coasts of France. After the erectioun of the Heptarchie of the Saxons, our natioun had most to doe with the kings of Northumberland; yitt was there not continuall warres betwixt them. Kenneth, the sonne of King Alpin, nephew to Hungus, king of the Picts, by his sister, rooted furth the Picts all that were of militarie age, becaus they refused to admitt him as lawfull successour to Hungus. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in the fourth yeere of the raigne of King Kenneth, the one thousand one hundred and seventy-third yeere after the first beginning of their raigne in this ile. He caused the marble stone to be brought frome Argile to Skoone, which was neare to the place where the last battell was foughten, to be a signe of the enlarging and establishing of his kingdome in this countrie. The Scotish kingdome was then extended from the iles of Orknay to the wall of Adrian. The residue of the Picts, who were remaining in England, stirred up two Saxon kings, Osbert and Ella, to crave restitutioun from the Scots to the Picts, of the countreis taken frome them. The Scots were constrained to quite to the Saxons and the Brittons all the lands lying on this side of Forth, Clyde, and Severus wall. This losse the Scots received under the raigne of our worthie King Donald, the fourth of that name, brother to Kenneth. The Picts doubting least the English sould seeke their lives, who had taken their lands, conveyed themselves secreetlie to Denmark and Norway. The Picts in Denmark and Norway resigned to Cadan, king of Denmark, all the title they had to the lands which were violentlie taken from them.

The Danes landed in Fife, under the conduct of Hubba, and Hungar, or, as he is sometimes named, Humber. Hubba his armie was overthrowne. Yitt Constantine, King Kenneth's sonne, was takin by the Danes at Carraill, led to a cave by the sea side, and cruellie murthered. Gregorie, the seventy-third king, recovered the countreis which belonged to the Scots, and redacted the Brittons to suche a strait, that they were content to resigne Westmer-

land and Cumberland. It was also agreed betweene Gregorie and the Saxons or English, that they aide other mutuallie against the Danes; and that he sould enjoy Northumberland, which he had brought under his subjectioun, after the overthrow of the Danes there. But Athelstane recovered againe Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmerland, under the raigne of Constantine the Third, the seventy-fifth king. Cumberland and Westmerland revolt againe to Malcolme, the seventy-sixth king. The Danes, displeased with the league made betwixt the Scots and the English, landed upon the coast of Boyne, where they were putt to flight, but King Indulffe was slaine.

Kenneth, the third of that name, encountered with the Danes at Luncart, a village not farre distant frome Perth. They putt the two wings of the Scotish armie to flight, and had gottin the victorie, if, by the providence of God, an husbandman, named Hay, labouring the ground beside, and perceiving the king himself and his nobles fighting valiauntlie in the middle warde, had not stood in the strait of a narrow lane, with his plow beams, assisted with his two sonnes, and turned those who were fleeing, partlie with threats and partlie with strokes. For this good service, he was rewarded with faire possessioums, and advaunced to the degree of nobilitie. In the warres of King Malcolme, the sonne of King Kenneth, with the Danes, Enecus, deputie for Denmarke, was slaine at Martlacke; Camus was slaine within two myles frome Bar in Angus, at Camstone, by a young gentleman named Keith. His familie was afterward advaunced to the degree of Erles. After the battell at Crowdan, it was appointed betwixt the Danes and the Scots, that the warres betwixt them sould ceasse during the life of Malcolme and Sueno, king of England, Denmark, and Norway. His sonne, Sueno, of Norway, arriveth in Fife with a navie, when Duncan, nephew to King Malcolme, did raigne. When he was beseiging the king in Berth, a treatie of peace was fained, as if the toun was to be raundered upon conditioums. In the meane time, victualls were sent to his campe. The aile and the bread were mixed with the juyce of meeklewort berrie, which had that vertue, that, being drunke, it

would bring a man fast asleepe; and if in a larger measure, would make them madde. When they had drunken largelie, the campe was assailed in the night by Makbeth, or, as others write, by Banquho, where they were overcome without resistance. Sueno is caried to a shippe, and fleeth; the rest of the shippes, wanting their mariners, were tossed with the winds, and beating on upon another, did sinke in Drownlow sands.

A new armie of Danes was sent frome Knutt, or Canutus, that landed at Kingorne, when the Scots were praising God for the last victorie. But they were discomfited by Makbeth and Banquho. It is said that the Danes vowed solemnelie never to sett their foote again in Scotland in hostile maner. After the entrie of the Normans in England, the Scots had no warres in Britaine, but onlie with the English, and once with the Norwegians.

King Malcolme Caunoir maried Margaret, sister to Edgar Edeling, who was righteous heyre to the crowne of England, in the yeere 1067. The Conquerour fearing this alliance, threatned King Malcolme with warre. But not prevailing that way, he was content to treate of peace. It was agreed, that in the middes of Stanmure, a croce sould be sett up, with the king of England's pourtrat on the one side, and the king of Scots' on the other, for a marche betweene England and Scotland. This croce was called the Recroce. It was farther agreed, that King Malcolme sould possesse Cumberland upon the same conditiouns his predecessors did; that Walteoff, or, as Buchanan calleth him, Woldosius, the sonne of Siward, Erle of Northumberland, sall marie King William's niece, by his daughter, and be restored to his father's lands; and that Edgar Edeling be received in the king's favour. King David, the sonne of King Malcolme, was required by Stephan, king of Englaud, to do homage for Cumberland, Huntingtoun, and Northumberland. He answered, he had alredie takin oathe to acknowledge and obey Mawld, the Empresse, the daughter of King Henry the First, as he himself had done, and that he would acknowledge no other as lawful successour during her life. King Stephan sent the Erle of Gloucester with an armie. His armie was putt to flight,

the erle and manie noblemen takin prisoners. King Stephan was constrained for their ransoum to resigne Cumberland. Peace endured not long. At last, by the mediatioun of Mawld, queene of England, niece to King David, by his sister Marie, it was concluded that Northumberland unto the water Teise, and Huntington, sall be injoyed by Henrie, King David's sonne, as heyre to the same by his mother; that King David sall hold Cumberland, after the same maner his predecessours had done. The treatie of peace was thus concluded in the yeere 1139.

Malcolme, the fourthe of that name, was summoned by King Henrie the Second to come to Londoun, to doe homage for the lands holdin of the crowne of England. When he was there, he was constrained to pass over to France with the king. He is summouned another time to come to a parliament holdin at Yorke. He was charged with reveeling of the secreets of the English armie to the Frenche king, when he was last in France. Notwithstanding of his purgatioun, sentence was givin out against him at King Henreis pleasure, and he was forfaulted of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. After manie incursiouns of the Scots, Cumberland and Huntington were restored, but Northumberland quitclaimed.

Williame, surnamed the Lyoun, brother to this King Malcolme, claimeth Northumberland. King Henrie restoreth so muche as his grandfather, King Malcolme, possessed before. King Williame accepteth the grant, with protestatioun that his right to the residue might be reserved. King Henrie repented soone after, and hunted for occasiouns of warre, by breaking of the borders. King Williame was taken at Anwicke, ryding, accompanied onlie with sixtie horsemen, before the sunne rysing, by four hundred horsemen, which came with counterfeite ensignes. He was sent over to Normandie, to King Henrie. It was accorded, that for his ransoum, there sould be payed an hundreth thowsand pund sterline, a part thereof to be payed presentlie, the castells of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirline, to be delivered in gadge for payment of the rest. The castell of Edinburgh was restored againe when a part of the

summe of the king's ransoum was payed. King Richard, the first of that name, preparing an armie in the yeere 1190, to passe to Syria, raundered the castells of Berwick and Roxburgh, sent backe all the hostages, freed King Williame and his successours of all bands and obligatiouns obteaned either by fraud or by force, and graunted the kingdome of Scotland to be injoyed in als ample bounds and right as King Malcolme and his ancesters had injoyed it. The league was renewed almost everie yeere with King Johne, before the death of King Williame. It was agreed, that the kings of Scotland sall not doe homage in persoun therafter, for the lands holdin of the crowne of England, but onlie their childrein. It was accorded under the raigne of King Henrie the Third, who succeeded to Johne King of England, that Cumberland and Northumberland to the Recroce, sall remaine under the Scotish king's dominioun.

The Danes and Norvegians arrived at Air with twentie thowsand men. They pretended a clame to the Ile of Boote, Arran, and the two Cumbers, as a part of the Westerne Iles which was promised of old by Makbeth. Their shippes were beaten with the rage of tempest upon rockes and clifts; the armie is overthrowne, and putt to flight. Acho, king of Norway, with the residue of his armie, fled to Orknay, where he died soone after. His sonne, Magnus, ariving with a new fleet, finding the case desperat, the hearts of the ilanders alienated, the Yle of Mann recovered by King Alexander, was content to treate of peace. It is agreed, that the Westerne Iles sall be raundered to the Scotish king; that the Scotish king sall give presentlie foure thowsand merks, and yeerlie therafter in pensioun, an hundreth merks to the king of Norway; that Margaret, King Alexander's daughter, sall be bestowed in mariage upon Hanigo, or Hangonan, the sonne of Magnus, when she cometh to rype yeeres. The iles were fullie resigned afterward to our kings, at the birth of King James the Fourth, sonne to Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke.

After the death of King Alexander the Third, and of the daughter of Norway, the Bruce and the Balliol contending for the crowne,

the countrie was divided in factiouns. So it was easie to the English to enter in our countrie, oppresse, and subdue. When the nobilitie was either Englished, or faint-hearted, Williame Wallace, assisted with voluntars, expelled the English. None almost of the nobilitie, except Williame Lord Dowglas, did countenance him, and by reasoun of his countenance manie resorted unto him. King Edward the First came with a greater armie than anie was sent out of England heeretofore, and subdued the countrie. The Lord stirred up King Robert Bruce, a man of heroicall spirit, to recover this natioun againe out of bondage. The two most renowmed chiftans in these times were, Sir Thomas Randulfe, Erle of Murray, and James Lord Dowglas. They invaded England sondrie times, and vexed the English so sore, that King Robert, Sir James Dowglas, Sir Thomas Randulfe, and their assisters, were accursed everie day at masse, three times, throughout England. In end, it was agreed, in the yeere 1328, that King Edward sall renounce all clame to the crowne of Scotland, and declare it to be als free as it was in the dayes of King Alexander the Third; that the Scots sall renounce all the lands at anie time possessed before in England, holdin of the crown; that Cumberland and Northumberland to Stanmure sall be the marches; that Jane, sister to King Edward, sall be givin in mariage to David Bruce, sonne to King Robert; that all bonds, subscriptiouns, contracts, and other monuments of subjectioun, sall be raundered to the Scots, and made null; that the Scots sall pay to the English for domages done, and lands bestowed in Scotland by King Edward's father and grandfather, threttie thowsand merks sterline. After the death of Sir Thomas Randulf, Governour, or, as they then called him, Wardane of Scotland, in the minoritie of King David, Edward Balioll, with assistance of the English, and a Scotish factioun within the countrie, usurped the crowne. But King David recovered it again, assisted speciallie by Archibald Lord Dowglas, Williame Dowglas, Lord of Liddisdaill, the Erle of Rosse, the Erle of Marche, Lord Keith, John Randulfe, sonne to Sir Thomas Randulfe, Governour.

King David, the fourth yeere after his returne out of France,

stirred up by the Frenche king to divert the English frome the seige of Calice, invaded England. The Erle of Northumberland, lieutenant of the north, joyned battell with him neare to Durhame, the 17th of October 1346. The king, after he was wounded with two arrowes, was takin prisoner: he striketh two teeth out of his head who taketh him, with a stroke of his hand covered with a gantlett. At the same time were takin prisoners, Williame, latelie made Erle of Dowglas, the Erles of Fife, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith. The English marches were extended to Cockburnspeth and Sowtray Edge. The king returned the eleventh yeere of his captivitie; called a parliament; punished those who had fled at the battell of Durhame; caused disannull the act made in favours of Robert Stuart for the same caus; substitute in his place Alexander, sonne to the Erle of Sutherland, and nephew to him by his sister Jane, to be apparent heyre of the crowne. But he died in England of the pest, where he remained as pledge, among others, for payment of the king's ransome. Robert Stuart was soone after reconciled to the king.

Under the raigne of Robert Stuart, King Richard sent Johne of Gant, Duke of Lancaster, with an armie both by sea and by land, in the yeere 1384. He forraged Merce and Lothiane, but componed with the citicens of Edinburgh for a summe of money, mindefull of the kinde interteanement he received when he was last in Scotland. But in end, they were discomfited by Thomas and Nicoll Areskines, Alexander Lindsay, and Williame Cunninghame of Kilmares. Soone after the duke's departure, Williame Erle of Dowglas recovered all the castells and holds which the English possessed since the battell of Durhame, except Roxburgh. When the English were malcontent with their king, Richard the Second, the Scots entered in England, with threttie thowsand men; the greatest part of the armie was committed to the king's two sonnes, the Erles of Fife and Stratherne, Archibald Dowglas, Lord Galloway, the Erles of Marr and Sutherland. They entered in by the West Borders. The other part of the armie was committed to the Erle of Dowglas, his two uncles, George Erle of Marche, and

Johne Erle of Murray, James Lindsay, Lord Crawfurd, and the Lord Hay, Constable. They entered in Northumberland. It was appointed before, that the two armeis sould not fight in severall battells. But James Erle of Dowglas could not endure the brags of Henrie Percie, surnamed, for his often pricking, Hotspur, eldest sonne to the Erle of Northumberland, for he vowed he sould not carie to Scotland the speare which he had taken frome him at single combat. They joyne battell at Otterburne. The erle unnecessarilie will rushe into the middes of his enemeis battell with two of his followers, Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning. He made havocke wheresoever he went, laying sore strokes about him with a great mace which he had in his hand. Major relateth, he wealded a mace of iron which two commoun men were not able to lift; Boetius, that he could weild a mace heavier than anie man was able to do in these days. When he was thus fighting amongst his enemeis, in the sight of his freinds, he was hurt with three deadlie wounds, before anie was able to rescue him. The preest, William Londie, Archdeacon of St Andrewes, or, as others call him, Archdeacon of Aberdeene, defended his bodie with an halbert, till his kinsmen Johne Lindsay, John and Walter Sinclars, came to him. They cover his bodie, lift up his standard, cryed aloud the name of Dowglas. The Scots sett upon the English with a freshe assault, putt the English to flight, kill and wound manie. At this time, Henrie Percie, and his younger brother, Rawfe, were takin prisoners. The younger Percie was takin by Johne Erle of Murray, or, as others writte, by Keith Marishall, before the last assault. Some report also that the Erle of Dowglas was not slaine by the enemie, but by Johne Bickerton of Lufnesse, whom he had buffetted the day before, or beaten with a battoun for his slownesse.

The Erle of Marche, a rebell and out-law, under the raigne of King Robert the Third, with the assistance of Henrie Percie vexed the countrie. Archibald Erle of Dowglas, commonlie called Grime Archibald, putt him to flight at Lintoun bridge, and died soone after. He disquietted the borders again in the battell at Nisbit, where Patrik Hepburne of Hales was slaine, together with the flowre

of the youth of Lothiane. The place is yitt called the Slaughter Hill. In the battell at Hommildun, where the Erle of Marche and Henrie Hotspurre encountered with Archibald Erle of Dowglas, commonlie called Archibald Tyne-man, the governour's eldest sonne, Murdo, George Erle of Angus, coosen-germane to the Erle of Dowglas, Sir Alane Gordoun, Sir Johne Swintoun, John Livingstoun of Callendar. Alexander Ramsay of Dalhowssie, and sundrie other noblemen and gentlemen, were slaine. Murdo, the governour's eldest sonne, George Dowglas, Erle of Angus, Thomas Erle of Murrey, Robert Areskine of Alloway, James Dowglas, Master of Dalkeith, and his two brethrein, Johne and Williame, George Leslie of Rothesse, Patrik Dunbar of the Beale, and the Erle of Dowglas, himself, who had lost an ey, were takin prisoners. The Scots and English had beene so inbred in the warres, that in the verie time of cessatioun, martiall men could not ceasse from challenging others; for under the raigne of the same King Robert the Third there were sundrie single combats, as betwixt the Erle of Crawfurd and Lord Wales, betwixt Robert Murley and Hugh Traill. Alexander Stewart, Erle of Marr, base sonne to Alexander Erle of Buchan, sonne to King Robert the Second, went to England with Sir Walter Lindsay, Sir Williame Cranstoun, Sir Williame Cockeburne, Sir Walter Bickerton, Sir Alexander Forbesse, to trie their manhood and dexteritie in feates of armes, as is related in the rythmick Chronicle sett furth by Wintonus.

The Erle of Ormond, brother to James Lord Dowglas, surnamed the Grosse, joyned battell with the Erle of Northumberland at the water of Sarke. The Lord Perceis sonne and sundrie knights were takin prisoners. Captane Magnus, called Magnus with the Reid Mayne, becaus of his reid bussie beard, a great bragger, who had craved of the English king so muche land in Scotland as he was able to wonne, was slaine, James Erle of Dowglas, surnamed the Grosse, was slaine treacherouslie in the castell of Stirline, by King James the Second, as was before his brother's sonne, Williame, in the castell of Edinburgh, in the minoritie of the same king, by the fraud and device of Chanceller Crichton. The Erle of Dowglas' brother James is

declared successour by his freinds. He seeketh to revenge the murther, but at lenth was forced to retire to England. He returneth in the yeere 1455, and was rancountered by suche as followed the king, not farre from the water of Sarke, where he was overthrowne, his brother, the Erle of Murrey, slaine, the Erle of Ormond wounded, takin prisoner, brought to the king, and executed. In the yeere 1457, the Erle of Dowglas came with Henrie Percie, Erle of Northumberland, and forraged the Merce. He was encountered by the Erle of Angus, and overthrowne. This Erle of Dowglas was the last of the Erles of Dowglas, the mightiest subjects within Scotland, and the faithfullest defenders of the countrie.

King James the Second was slaine at the seige of Roxburgh castell, with the slyce of a cannon, which brake with the charge, or, as others write, with the wedge. King James the Third attempted warre against England. But after his cheefe courteur, Cochrane, was hanged at the bridge of Lauder, he dismissed his armie. King James the Fourth was slaine at that memorable feild of Floddon, the 9th of September, the yeere of our Lord's incarnatioun 1513. To him succeeded his sonne, King James the Fyft.

The warres of the Scots without the ile were onlie with the Irish. Gregorie, the seventy-third king, went in persoun to Ireland. After he had taken some touns, the governement of the realme, and appointment of magistrats, during the minoritie of King Duncan, was committed to him. Edward Bruce, brother to King Robert Bruce, was invited by the nobles of Ireland to the crowne. He had little resistance the first yeere, but the second yeere was overthrowne by the English and slaine. He would not stay upon his brother, King Robert, howbeit he was within a dayes journey, least he sould be partner with him of the glorie of the victorie. Williame Dowglas, base sonne to Archibald Lord of Galloway, provoked with the invasiouns of the Irish upon the coasts of Galloway, went to Ireland, with the king's licence, and with aide of his brother-in-law, Robert Erle of Fife, tooke, by force, the toun of Carlingfoord, burnt it to ashes, returned with fifteen shippes fraughted with spoils, and in his returne spoiled the Ile of Mann.

This Williame Dowglas was of so great account with King Robert the Second, for his admirable strenth, and his rare qualiteis of bodie and minde, that howbeit he was knowne to be a bastard, yitt the king gave him to wife his daughter Giles, a woman of rare beautie, whome the king of France purposed to marie, and with all created him Lord of Nithisdaill. He was chosin admirall of the navie which was to be reaked out of Danskene against the Turke, but was slaine by some brigands stirred up by the Clifford.

THE SERVICE OF THE SCOTS IN THE WARRES IN FORRAINE COUNTREIS UNDER STRANGERS.

The service of the Scots in the warres in forraine countreis is knowne, not onlie by our owne Historeis, but also by the records of forraine writters, especiallie in Italie and France. Sansovino, in his booke of The Famous Houses of Italie, hath, out of the Historie of Plasence, these words:—"When Charles the Great tooke in hand the interprise, in Italie, against Desiderius, king of the Lombards, he had for conducter of his men of arms William, a Scotish man, of the familie of the Erles of Dowglas, who, at the emperour's returne to France frome Rome, being overtakin by sicknesse, and not able to follow the emperour, stayed at Plasence, till he recovered his health. Then choosing rather to remaine quietlie there, than to assay the dangers of so long a journey to his owne countrie, to the end that he might the more straitlie knitt unto himself the mindes of the men of Plasense, tooke to wife a daughter of Antonio Spettino, of a most honourable house, and more then midde estate, upon whome he begatt manie childrein, and gave the beginning to the most noble familie in that citie, of these which are commounlie called Scoti, becaus they wer begottin of a Scotish man, which name of a countrie is more remarkable among strangers than the name or surname of a familie."

He proveth them to have beene Dowglasses by their armes, letters of priviledges, and testimonie of Johne Leslie, bishop of Rosse. In the priviledges graunted by Charles the Fourth, Sigismund, and

Giane Maria Duke of Millan, the surname of Dowglasses is expreslie sett doun, and the title of Erles givin to them, in the persouns of three sundrie men. At last they ascended to the greatnesse of a Principautrie. From Alberto, surnamed the Great, he counteth twenty-six persouns, to the 1565th yeere, all valourous men, and employed by the Emperours, by the King of Boheme, the Duke of Millan, the Pope, the Commonwealth of Venice, or the King of France. The Italian Dowglasses have two starres in an azure feild; the Scotish three. The heart was added to the Scotish armes by Lord James, in memorie that King Robert Bruce's heart was committed to him, to be caried to the Holie Land. It is said, that this James Lord Dowglas fought thirteen times with the Sa-racceens, and at last, after many victoreis, being closed by an ambushe, was slaine, with a great number of his companie, when he was serving in the warres under the king of Arragon. Holinshed, in the Historie of Scotland, page 284, observeth, that the ancient familie of the erles to whome use of speeche hath long time obteaned the surname of Scots, floorishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Dowglasses, as the armes of both do weill witnesse.

In the same place he recordeth, that the administration of the warre in Italie under Charles the Eighth, king of France, against Ferdinand, the sonne of Alphonse, was cheiflie performed by the Scots, as principall captans of his armie, or at least equall with the best, of which Scots, the cheife was Alexander Duke of Albanie, sonne to James the Second, king of Scots, Johne Duke of Albanie, sonne to this Alexander, George Montgomrie, Lord of Lorgis, Bernard Stewart, after made Viceroy of Naples, Robert Stewart, Marishal of France, Nicolas Scot, and manie others, wherof manie were honorablie rewarded with great possessioums, who, planting themselves in Lombardie, became the authours of manie ancient families. Though by the evill custome of commoun speeche, they retained the name of Scott, as takin of their countrie, yitt by the ensignes and tokens which they had and used, it may be easilie knowne of what famileis the Scots their ancesters did

descend. Thus farre Holinshed. The service of our countriemen in France is weill knowne, for which they have beene advaunced to great offices and digniteis. John Stewart, Erle of Buchan, second sonne to the governour, Robert Duke of Albanie, was made Constable of France. The Erles of Dowglas were made Dukes of Touraine. The Scots assisted the Frenche king, Charles the Seventh, till the English were quite expelled out of France. Robert Pattillocke of Dundie reduced Gascoine to subjectioun to the Frenche king. He was therefore called by the countrie people, "Le petit Roy de Gascoine," for the which service he made him captan of his Archers. Their service in the Low Countreis, Sweden, and other parts, in our dayes, is yitt recent in men's memoreis, and weill knowne to all the neighbour countreis. This muche of the warres our countriemen have had within or without the ile, and their service abroad.

THE ETHNICK RELIGION OF THE SCOTS.

Our natioun was lying in blindnesse and darknesse, as other natioums of the Gentiles, before the light of the Gospell shyned unto them. The rites of paganisme our forefathers observed in the worship of their gods, were the same which were observed among the Gaules, for they had the same sort of preests, which they called in Latine, Druides. Yitt do not I believe that Finnanus the tenth king appointed the Cheefe Preests of Durcegleis, or Druides, to make their residence in the Ile of Mann, and that this ile was for their professioun famous among the Gaules; but that Boetius mistaketh Mona, now called Anglesey, the principall seate of the Druides of old, for the Ile of Mann, as not onlie Camden, but also our owne writter, Buchananus, observeth. It is said that Mainus, the third king, caused designe certaine places of the countrie, and compassed them about with hudge stones, circle-wise, and the greatest, which was to serve for an altar, to be placed on the south side, wherof some tokens remaine in some parts. These places were

called by the commoun people, the old chappells of the gods in time of paganisme. The obeliskes, or sharpe pointed stones sett up on hills or mountanes, were different in use from these stones; for Reutha, the seventh king, ordeaned that noblemen who had atchieved anie notable exploit in defence of the countrie, sould be honoured with a honorable sepulchre upon some hill or mountane, and so manie obeliskes, or sharpe pointed stones to be sett, as they had killed of the enemeis.

In time of paganisme, our forefathers were somewhat rude and uncivill, as eache countrie people hath beene in their first beginnings. Yitt were they never that barbarous as to feede upon the buttockes of boyes, and weemen's papes, as delicate meates, as Holinshed, and Abbots, bishop of Canterburie, in his descriptioun of the world impute unto them, alledging for their warrant the testimonie of Jerome, in the second booke against Jovinianus; for Camdene acknowledgeth that place of Jerom's to be read, "Attacotti," and not "Scoti," and that he maketh mentioun of the Scots as of a diverse natioun frome the Attacots in that same place. Ammianus Marcellinus distinguisheth them cleerlie frome Scots and Picts. So it appeareth that Abbots is either malicious, or not weill acquainted with CAMDENI BRITANNIA, a booke wherin they glorie muche.

KING DONALD THE FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF THE SCOTS.

King Donald, the twentie-seventh king, was the first Christiane king of the Scots. Yitt where it is said that this king sent messengers to Pope Victor, to crave that some learned men might be sent to instruct himself, his wife, and his childrein, I take it to be a meere fable invented by monkes, in time of blindnesse, to amplifie the Pope's apostolick power, or to imitate the Brittish writters, who had fained the like before of Lucius, king of the Brittons; to witt, that he sent to Elutherius, bishop of Rome, and desired that by his carefull providence he might be made a Christian, that is

baptized, as Beda speaketh ; that when he was baptized, and manie of his people, the twentie-eight seates of the ethnick preests, called Flamines, wherof three were Archiflamines, were changed into twentie-eight bishops' sees. But this could not be, unlesse Lucius had beene king over all the Brittons.

Holinshed[1] collecteth out of Cæsar's Commentaries, that Britane, in his dayes, was not governed by one sole prince, but by diverse ; and that diverse citeis were estats of themselves, so that the lands were divided in sundrie governements, muche after the same forme and manner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where some citeis are governed by one onlie prince, some by the nobilitie, and some by the people. And whereas diverse of these rulers in these dayes, heere in this land, were called kings, these had more large seigniореis nor the other, as Cassibilane. The like, he observeth in the fourth booke, and third chapter of the Historie of England. Cornelius Tacitus, sonne-in-law to Julius Agricola, who had the governement of this yle eight yeeres, and therefore could not be ignorant of the maner of governement of the Brittons under Domitiane, the emperour, writeth thus :—" In tines past, they obeyed kings, now by princes they are distracted with factioums, and parts taking, neither is there anie other thing more profitable for us against most mightie natioums, than that they take no commoun counsell. It falleth seldome furth that two or three citeis come together, to withstand a commoun danger. So while they fight severallie, they are overcome whollie."

Gildas, the Brittish writter, who lived about eleven hundreth yeeres agoe, maketh mentioun of diverse kings, as living all at one time. Holinshed[2] is of the opinioun, that within a while after the raigne of Mulmutius Dunwallon, who is said to have begumme his raigne about the ninetie-seventh yeere after the deliverie of the people of Israel out of captivitie, eache great citie had her freedome, and kinde of regiment proper unto herself, besides a large circuit of the countrie apperteaning to the same, wherin were sundrie other citeis of lesse name, which ought homage and subjectioun to the

[1] Hist. of Engl. lib. iii. cap. 17. [2] Holinsh. Descrip. Brit. cap. 7.

greater sort: that eache of these regiouns wherinto this iland was then divided, tooke the name of some one of these citeis, as may appeare by that of Trinobantes, which were so called of Trinobantum, their cheefe citie, and that eache of the governours of these regiouns called themselves kings, and made warre upon other for the enlarging of their limits.

Frome this time to the departure of the Romans out of this ile, it cannot be provin either out of the ancient Romane writters, or Brittish, that the Brittons had one king or monarch. By the way, I observe, Boetius and other writters speake improperlie, who make mentioun of the king of the Brittons as of one persoun, when as they sould call him onlie a Brittish king, till the governement of the Romans ceassed. Seeing then the Brittons were not governed by one king, neither had, before Lucius his time, nor had after, as the Romane writters, Dion Cassius and Cornelius Tacitus, doe record, how could Lucius turne twentie-eight seates of ethnick preests into twentie-eight sees of bishops and archbishops; or how could he have made a public change of religioun, without allowance of the Romans; or that the Romans being enemeis to the Christian religioun, would have consented? Farther, the name of Archbishop was not knowne in the church at the time of Lucius his conversioun, that is, about the yeere 180. Againe, is it likelie that Lucius would have sent to the Pope, to crave to be baptized, seing there were manie Christians in Britaine before, and in Lucius' time? It is lesse likelie that King Donald sent to Pope Victor, becaus there was greater freindship betwixt the Romans and Brittons than betwixt them and the Scots. Next, if he had sent to Pope Victor, for learned men to instruct and baptize him and his familie, then Victor would have laboured to have Easter observed after the Romane fashioune, that is, upon the Dominicall day which followed the full moone falling upon the equinoctiall day in the spring, or after the same; for in this caus he was verie earnest and vehement, as is weill knowne to those who read the ecclesiasticall historie. But the Scots observed another time.

Tertullian, in his booke *Contra Judæos*, sayeth, that the places of

the Brittons, whcrunto the Romans could not have accesse, are subject unto Christ. He must be understood to meane of the Scots and Picts, to whose bounds the Romans had no accesse before the comming of Julius Agricola. A little before the comming of Severus, King Donald receaved the Christiane faith, about which time floorished Tertullian. The conversioun of King Donald could not come so soone to the knowledge of Tertullian. It is likelie, therefore, that there were manie Christians among the Scots before the conversioun of King Donald, as there were among the Brittons, before the conversioun of King Lucius. King Donald then needed not to send to Pope Victor for teachers, or to delay his baptisme to their comming. We find afterward, under the raigne of Fincomarchus, that the Christiane faith was greatlie advaunced among the Scots, by the Brittons, who fled out of the Romane province, under the raigne of Diocletiane, the emperour.

It is probable, therefore, that the Christiane Brittons were the first teachers of the Christiane faith to the Scots. They could understand other without an interpreter. Strangers could not be so fitt instruments unlesse they had beene endowed with the gift of tongues. The Irish Scots of Ireland had not yitt embraced the Christiane religioun. But the Brittons embraced the Christiane faith verie soone. Gildas, the British historiographer, for his wisedome surnamed Sapiens, for his devotioun and zeale called Zealous, and Golden-mouthed Gildas, writteth thus:—That these "frozen ilands, farre remote frome the visible sunne, receaved the glittering beames of Christ Jesus, the invisible sunne, in the time of Tiberius Caesar." Now Tiberius died the 39th yeere after Christ's birth. The historeis differ in the furst instruments, which were the golden pipes and conduits by which the water of life was conveyed into this ile. Simeon Metaphrastes reporteth, that Peter the Apostle was the first. He was a fabulous writter, by the confessioun of the Papists themselves.

Sophronius, who lived about the yeere 630, and Venantius Fortunatus, who lived about the yeere 570, report, that Paul came to this ile, to preache the Gospell. But they are too late writters to

beare record of so ancient a matter. Nicephorus writteth, that Simon Zelotes, one of the twelve Apostles, preached the Gospell in Brittaine. He lived about the 800th yeere, and little credite is to be givin to him. Dorothius, in his Synopsis, sayeth, that Aristobulus, of whome Paul maketh mentioun in the 16th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, was made Bishope of Britaine. This Dorotheus lived about the 290th yeere of God. Bellarmine, in his booke of Ecclesiasticall writters, confesseth this Synopsis to be full of fables, and that this counterfeite Dorotheus, to make up Christ seventie-two disciples, reckoneth all that are named in Paul his Epistles, whether ethnicks or weemen, to be not onlie Christ's disciples, but also bishops in sundrie parts of the world. And yitt, Mr Cowper, one of our late pretended Bishops, was not ashamed in his booke, intituled "Seven Dayes Conference," to alledge this testimonie of Dorotheus. But it may be, it proceeded of ignorance. Others report, that Joseph of Arimathea, and other eleven with him, were sent out of Gaule, now called France, to Britaine, by Phillip the Apostle, the yeere 63 after Christ's incarnatioun. But for this relatioun there can be no cleere evidence alledged.

Whether we receaved the Gospell frome the same instruments which delivered it to the Brittons or frome the Brittons themselves, it is hard to determine. I inclyne rather to thinke, that frome the Brittons, whome the Scots could understand without an interpreter. It is said, that King Donald was the first king that caused silver and gold to be coyned in this realme, a croce to be stamped on the one side, and his face on the other; and that the Scots used no other coine before that time, but exchanged ware for ware, or elles used Romish or Brittish coine. I will not contradict this report either of coining or crocing; for about this time we find diverse superstitious rites entered in the Kirk, as the tasting of salt, honie, milke, or wine, in baptisme, the anointing of the forehead with oyle, the careing of the communioun bread home to the hous to be eaten, not to kneele upon the Lord's day in time of prayer, not to fast upon the Lord's day, the making of the signe of the croce upon beds, stooles, doores, chambers, lights, boords, shoes, cloathes, etc.:

"Als long as the Apostles lived, the Churche remained a pure virgin," sayeth Hegesippus; "for that if there were anie that went about to corrupt the holie rule that was preached, they did it in the darke, and, as it were, digging underneath the earth. But after the death of the Apostles, and that generatioun was past which God vouchsafed to heare the divine wisdome with their own eares, then the placing of wicked errour beganne to enter in the Church."[1] We are therefore to take heed, that we be not careid away with the errours of anie time whatsoever, although verie ancient, frome the puritie of the Gospell, as it was delivered by the Apostles, and left in register in the holie Scriptures, to be a canon and rule for triall of doctrine and discipline to the end of the world.

A MORE GENERALL CONVERSIOUN OF THE SCOTS.

Howbeit, King Donald, and a great part of the nobilitie, had embraced the Christiane faith, yitt could he not procure an universall conversioun of the whole natioun. Under the raigne of Crathilinth, the thirtie-fourth king, or rather, as Buchanan relateth, of Fincomarke, the thirtie-fyft king, the Christiane religioun was greatlie advaunced by Brittish Christians persecuted by Diocletian, of whome manie stayed in our countrie, and preached the Gospell, who, for their holie exercise of religioun, were called Culdei. They were not Monkes. Monkes, by their professioun, might not teache. They were holie and religious men, exercised in teaching, prayer, meditatioun, and reading, for which exercises they were called *Culdei*, that is, *Cultores Dei*, becaus they were devote worshippers of God, and taught the people how to worship God. They were not bound by the vow of obedience to ridiculous rules, nor of chastitie to a single life, but onlie so behaved themselves in life and conversatioun, that the world might see they were not seeking the world, but contemned it; and so taught the people, by their life as weill as by their doctrine, to contemne the world. The names of

[1] Euseb. Histor. lib. iii. cap. 32.

the cheefe teachers at that time that fled out of Britaine, as they are sett down by Boetius, are these :—Amphibolus, Modocus, Calanus, Ferranus, and Carnocus. But Amphibolus, whome he maketh the cheefe, was martyred at home, his bellie being slittin, and his bowells winded up, and then stoned to death, which Stow confirmeth by diverse authoriteis. Holinshed recordeth that he suffered at Ratburne, about fifteen yeeres after the martyrdome of Sanct Albane, the first martyr of the Brittons. The persecutioun of the Occidentall kirks fell not furth till the latter yeeres of Diocletiane and Maximinian.

Under the raigne of Eugenius, the fortie-first king, eldest sonne to King Fergus the Second, in the yeere 429, as writteth John Major, Pope Cœlestinus consecrated Palladius, and sent him to Scotland; "for before," sayeth he, "the Scots were instructed in the faith by preests and monkes, without bishops." He calleth the Culdei monkes, but improperlie, as I have said, misledde with the errour of the time, and the writtings of monkes, who would be thought successours to the Culdei. Boetius observeth that the name Culdei was given to the preachers since the raigne of Donald the Third, the thirtie-second king. It is true, that under the raigne of Eugenius, the thirtie-ninth king, the monkes tell us a tale of a Greekish monke, called Regulus Albatus, commonlie Sanct Rewle; that he was warned by revelatioun or visioun to leave Achia, a province of Greece, to undertake a wearisome and dangerous voyage by the Mediterean, westerne seas, and to bring with him a bone of Sanct Andrew's arme, three fingers, and three toes; and that he arrived with them in Fife, and was received with great respect by Hergustus, king of the Picts. No doubt, a monkish writter hath devised this fable. Howbeit I deny not there was great superstitioun entered in the Kirk at this time, yitt suche visiouns, suche tedious and longsome journeyes, were not undertakin for so frivolous maters. It is said of Palladius, that by diligent teaching, he purged the Scots and the Picts, not onlie of the relicts of the Pelagian heresie, with which they had beene infected, but also of manie ethnick rites used among them till these dayes, wherupon he

was called the Apostle of the Scots, but verie improperlie. He is the first that created anie bishops in Scotland, as Buchanan hath observed. He ordeaned Servanus bishop, and sent him to Orknay, to preache the Gospell. Patrick, Servanus, Niniane, Kentigerne or Mungo, are said to be his disciples. Yitt was not the countrie divided into dioceis till the dayes of King Malcolme the Thrid, that is, the yeere of our Lord 1070. Till that time they preached as occasioun offered, hand over head, promiscuouslie. Their care was to excell others in holinesse of life and learning, which was not without some rude simplicitie. There was no strife then among them for honours and places, neither was their office so gainefull as to make them contentious.

KING CONGALL, A DEVOTE KING.

Congall, the fortie-seventh king, who beganne to raigne in the 558th yeere, a devoute worshipper of materiall croces, appointed the tenth of all fruicts to be givin to churchmen, and that ministers have manses neere their churches. The fame of his devotioun drew thither out of Irland Sanct Colme, or Colombe, with other twelve religious persouns. He gathered together in convents, in suche housses as King Congall had founded, a great number of monkes, who, in these times, lived a strict life. He choosed for himself and his companie the Ile Iona, now called Kolmeskill, for their residence. Kentigerne, or Mungo, descended of the blood royall of the Pictish kings, accompanied Sanct Colme in his travells through Atholl, Angus, and other parts of the countrie, in which places they preached to the people. Great was the authoritie of Sanct Colme in these dayes: neither king nor people would doe anie thing of moment without his advice.

SUPERSTITIOUN INCREASETH.

Austine, the monke, was sent to Britaine, by Gregorie the Great, bishop of Rome, in the 596th yeere, to convert the Saxons, who were then pagans. He brought with him a number of superstitious rites from Rome. Oswald, king of Northumberland, sent to Donald, the fiftie-third king, for some learned men to instruct the Northumbers, who had beene diverted from the Christiane faith in the dayes of Osrick and Eufred. Corman was sent, but did little good; for he sett furth in his sermons high mysteries, passing the capacitie of simple men's understanding. Therefore, Aidan, a monke and preest, was sent. At that time it was not thought necessar that a bishop sould be consecrated by other bishops; butt it was judged sufficient that Sigenius, preest and abbot, with the rest of the monkes of the monasterie, sould send him furth with the degree of a bishop, as Beda testifieth in the fifth chapter of his third booke of the Historie of England. In the fourth chapter he declareth, that the bishops of the province were subject to the abbot of that monasterie, who was also a preest; and that, in memorie of Sanct Colme, who was a presbyter, not a bishop. This Aidane regarded not riches, delyted to walke on foote through citeis and villages, and would not ryde unlesse necessitie coustrained him. He was continuallie exercised in converting the people, reading, and prayer. He had not the perfyte knowledge of the Saxon tongue, but King Oswald interpreted to the people his sermons. Colman was sent to Northumberland, to be successour to Aidane.

There was a questioun about Easter, and shaving of monkes and preests, moved in Northumberland, under the raigne of Oswie, successour to King Oswald. A synod was convocated at Sternhalt, where Oswie, the king, and his sonne, Alfride, were present.[1] Agilberd, bishop of the West Saxons, Wilfrede, an abbot and preest, Agathon Roman, a Scot, who had travelled through Italie and Fraunce, and one James a deacoun, undertake the defence of the

[1] Beda, Histor. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. 25.

Romish custome, in the observatioun of Easter; Colman and his cleargie defend the Scotish custome. Wilfrede improveth[1] the Scotish custome; Colman alledgeth the practise of Aidane, Sanct Colme, father Anatolius, yea, of Johne the Apostle. The other alledgeth the example of Peter the Apostle, and that the Scots did not rightlie imitate Sanct Johne. The king concluded on this wise:—"For so muche as Sanct Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gainsay him, but in that I am able, I will obey his orders in everie point, least, when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me." Upon this rude reasoun of the king, the multitude inclyned to Wilfrede's side. Colman, the Scot, seing his doctrine and opinioun despised, returned to Scotland, with so manie as would not embrace the Romish observatioun of Easter, and their maner of shaving crownes, about which also there was no little debate. This disputatioun fell under Maldwine, the fiftie-fyft king. Under the raigne of Eugenius, the fiftie-seventh king, Adaman, preest and abbot of Colmekill, went to Northumberland in ambassadge to King Alfrede. At that time he conferred with Colfride, abbot of Sirwyne in Northumberland, anent the right maner of keeping Easter, and shaving of monkes' and preests' crownes. Colfride reproved the Scots for not observing Easter on that day that the Roman and other churches do; and for their maner of shaving of the crowne, in that they did imitat Simon Magus' maner of shaving, rather than of Peter the Apostle. See how they fathered their vaniteis and toyes upon the holie apostles! Adaman returned, and moved manie churches to conforme to the Roman celebratioun of Easter; howbeit he could not move his own monkes so to doe. He endeavoured to have them conforme also in the maner of shaving, but could not effectuat the same. This is Colfride's owne relatioun, extant in Beda his Historie, lib. v. cap. 22. And yitt, in the dayes of King Achius, the sixtie-fyft king, foure learned men were sent to Charlemaine. Johne, surnamed Scotus, or Albinus, which is all one, (for the Scots were called Albinich in their owne language,) was Charles his master, Clement was a pro-

[1] Disproves.

fessour in Parise. Boetius recordeth, that Clement was appointed cheefe president of the students of Parise, and Johne of the students of Pavie.

Mr Johne Major recordeth, that Charlemaine sent to King Achaius for learned men, and that Joannes Scotus, Clement, and Alcwine, were sent. "Howbeit," sayeth he, "they abounded not in scholasticall and Sorbonicall quirkes, yitt they were expert in the knowledge of the Scriptures, they had skill in philosophie, and in the Greeke and Latine tongues." The monkes of these times were religious and learned farre above the ignorant and vile generatioun of monkes in the ages following. Camdene[1] acknowledgeth, that there were no holier monkes and more learned then the Scotish in Ireland and Britane, and that they sent furth numbers of learned and holie men through all Europe. Under the raigne of the same king Achaius, the Scotish monkes preached the Christiane faith in Germanie to those that dwelt upon the Rhene, where they builded sundrie monastreis, in memorie wherof, the Germans even to this day yieeld, that some Scotish men have the cheefe rule in them.

KING GREGORIE HIS LIBERTEIS AND IMMUNITEIS GRAUNTED TO THE KIRK.

Gregorie, the seventie-third king, who was crowned king in the 875th yeere, made sundrie lawes in favours of the Kirk; as that preests sould be exeemed frome taxatiouns and service in the warres; that they sould be judged in all causses before their bishops and ordinareis onlie; that ordinareis or bishops sould have authoritie over all men for the keeping of faith givin, or confroming of faith givin, or confirming of the same; as also in causses of matrimonie, tithes, testaments, legaceis; and to correct blasphemers of the name of God or of the sancts, hereticks, and necromancers; that suche as sould be excommunicated by them sould losse possessioun or right to anie lands, that they sould not beare office in commoun wealth,

[1] Britannia, p. 730.

nor be accepted in anie caus as witnesses. It is said that he was the first king who, at his coronatioun, promised by oathe to mainteane the libertie of the kirk. But the liberteis graunted by him were occasiouns of licentiousnesse, avarice, tyrannie, and pride. King Constantine, the seventie-first king, had ordeaned before, that preests sould not meddle with anie secular bussinesse, nor keepe horses, hawkes, or hounds; that if anie of them were found negligent in their dutie in attending their cure, they sould be fyned, and if they made relapse, they sould be deprived of their benefice.

THE METROPOLITANE OF YORKE CLAMETH JURISDICTIOUN OVER THE SCOTISH BISHOPS.

The Metropolitane of Yorke clamed jurisdictioun over the Scotish bishops for a long time. In a conventioun holdin at Norhame, under the raigne of King Williame, Hugo, Cardinall of Sancto, sent to the English and Scotish churches, to shew to the Scotish bishops that he had commissioun to charge them to be subject to the Archbishop of Yorke, as their metropolitane. One Gilbert, a young man, sent thither by King Williame, defended the liberteis of the Scotish church stoutlie, and with good reasouns, for which service he was afterward rewarded with the bishoprick of Cathnesse. In the dayes of King James the Third, Patrik Grahame, brother uterine to James Kennedie, bishop of Sanct Andrewes, was chosin bishop after his death. He went to Rome to get confirmatioun of his electioun. The Pope made Patrik Grahame not onlie Primat of Scotland, but also his legat for three yeeres. But the bishops buyers of benefices, and the courteours sellers, invyed him. Williame Sevesse, who had spent some yeeres in Lovan, was weill lyked of in court, which was then givin to consult with diviners and witches. He is first designed Archdeacoun of Sanct Andrewes. Therafter he was appointed to be coadjutor to Patrik Grahame, as if he had been beside himself. Husman, an inquisitour, was sent by

Pope Sixtus to trie him. Among other things objected against him, it was layed to his charge that he had celebrat masse thrise in one day, which was, indeed, a rare thing in these times, when skarse a bishop was to be found, who would celebrat masse once in a moneth. Witnesses were suborned and corrupted, and his capitall enemie made judge. His inquisitour pronounceth him an heretick, a schismatick, a simoniack. He was condemned to perpetuall prisoun. Not long after, he was confyned in Sanct Colme's Inche; frome thence he was transported to Dumfermline, frome Dumfermline to Lochlevin, where he ended his troublesome life.

THE POPE'S POWER AND USURPATIOUN.

Great wealth, and exemptioun of the clergie frome temporall jurisdictioun, made monkes and preests, abbots and bishops, so insolent, that they contemned the nobilitie. The Pope's authoritie was their towre of refuge, when they were threatened by kings or princes. In the dayes of Alexander the Third there arose a great heate betwixt the nobilitie and the clergie. They contemne the nobilitie; the nobilitie vexeth them; the king misregardeth their complaints. The bishop of Sanct Andrewes spareth not to curse some of the king's owne court; the king threateneth him with banishment. He prepareth himself for departure. The king knowing what troubles had beene raised in England by oppositioun to Thomas Becket, bishop of Canterburie, moved the nobles to give place to their pride and avarice. When Lewes, sonne to the Frenche king, and Alexander, king of Scots, had entered in England, then tributarie to the Pope, they were so terifeid with the Pope's curses, that they were constrained to returne out of the Pope's holie land. The Pope, by his legat, gathered muche money under pretence of warres against the Saraceens. Whatsoever bussinesse his legats had, they found out some one tricke or other to gett money. Howbeit, the Pope was awfull and terrible to kings, yitt did he also flatter suche as were stout and wise. He sent to

King Williame a rose of gold filled with balme. Pope Julius sent an ambassader to King James the Fourth, to declare him Protector and Defender of the Faith; and in signe thereof, sent unto him a purple diademe wrought with flowres of gold, with a sword having the hilts and skabert of gold sett with pretious stones, which were presented to him in the Abbey church of Halyrudehous by the said ambassader. In the yeere 1512, in a provinciall synod of bishops, abbots, and other religious persouns, holdin at Edinburgh, Bajomanie, the Pope's legat, being present, it was ordeined, that benefices or preests' livings, whose rents did exceed the value of fortie punds, sould pay a pensioun of the tenth to the Pope, and sould give to the king, when he required, suche summes as it pleased him to demand, which after was called the Bajoman-money, or taxe.

KING JAMES THE FIRST HIS REFORMATIOUN OF SOME ABUSES IN THE CHURCH.

When darkenesse had covered the face of the visible church, yitt the Lord had his owne secreit ones, who detested the corruptiouns of the time. In the yeere of our Lord 1422, there was one burnt for heresie, as Mr Knox found in the scrolls of Glasgow. His name is not expressed, nor his opiniouns, nor by what order he was condemned. It is not unlikelie that he was condemned for the truthe, which then was judged to be heresie, as were others in other countreis. King James the First would have reformed some knowne abuses, but it lay not in his power to reforme them as he would. Corruptioun in doctrine, or in the grounds of church politie then received, he perceived not in that time of blindnesse. Parsons, vicars, and curats, had left off to preache for manie yeeres before, and had hired friers for a little pensioun to preache sometime for them, whill they were loytering in touns, chanting at masses, or feeding their belleis. King James thought it would be a great helpe to reformatioun, if men, qualifeid with literature and

other gifts, were advaunced to benefices of cure. He willed the professors within the universitie of Sanct Andrewes to recommend unto him suche as were learned, to be preferred to benefices which were at his donatioun; and procured a law to be made, that none sould be admitted to be a canon in the Cathedrall Kirk unlesse he were a batcheler of theologie, except he was some nobleman's sonne. But soone after his deceasse, these orders were neglected. Yitt he brought into divine service a new kinde of chaunting and musick, wherin he was expert himself. They placed a great part of religioun in curious singing in these dayes. The organs were not knowne in Scotland before his time.

Under his raigne, in the yeere 1431, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was takin at Sanct Andrewes, by Henrie Wardlaw, bishop. He was convicted of heresie before the doctors of theologie, for teaching the doctrine of Johne Huss and Wickleff; for denying anie change to be made of the substance of bread and wine in the Lord's supper, auricular confessioun to preests, prayer to sancts departed. He was therafter committed to the secular judge, and condemned to be burnt. They putt a ball of brasse in his mouth, that he might not give confessioun of his faith to the people, nor the people understand his just defence against their unjust condemnatioun. Boetius sayeth, the king approved the authors of this cruell executioun, and rewarded Johne Fogo, a monke of the Cisterian order, cheefe inquisitour into his doctrine, with the abbacie of Melrose. Yitt Captane Borthwick reported to Ludquharne, that King James laboured for his life, first by messengers, and then by verses writtin in the Scotish language, which ended with these words:—"If this will not satisfie you, then have at your heeles!" It may seeme by the act of parliament made in his time against hereticks and Lollards, that he favoured not the professours of the truthe. Yitt it may be that he feared the Pope and cleargeis power, terible to greatest kings in these times, and therefore would not seeme to favour the Lollards. By this act it appeares that there were manie in the countrie that had some knowledge of the truthe, to whom the nickname of Lollards was imposed by the corrupt clear-

gie. The professors of the truthe in England were also so called, and the towre wherein they were prisouned was called Lollard's towre. The sincere professours of the truthe, which in France were called Waldenses, or Albigenses, were called in England Lollards, becaus one of the preachers of the Waldois, named Raynold Lollard, taught in England, and gave light unto manie. He was first a Franciscan monke, and an enemie of the Waldenses, but a holie man, thristing for the way of salvatioun; gave place unto the truthe, and became a preacher of it. He foretold, by divine revelatioun, manie things that came to passe in his time. This same yeere, there was a fearfull eclipse of the sunne at three of the clocke afternoone, whereby the day was darkened as if it had beene night, thereupon it was called the blacke houre.

THE LOLLARDS TROUBLED UNDER THE RAIGNE OF KING JAMES THE FOURTH.

Howbeit we find no mentioun made of persecutioun of the professours of the truthe, as the adversaries of the truthe called them Lollards, under the raigne of King James the Second, or Third, we cannot thereupon collect, that there were none in this countrie. The troublesome raignes of these kings might have, perhaps, beene a stay and hinderance to the cleargie, to persecute them. In the dayes of King James the Fourth, in the sixth yeere of his raigne, and the twentie-second yeere of his age, that is, in the yeere 1494, were cited before the king and his great counsell, by Robert Blacader, Archbishop of Glasgow, thirtie persouns dwelling in Kile-Stewart, Kingstile, and Cunninghame, amongst whome were George Campbell of Cesnock, Adame Reid of Barskimminge, Johne Campbell of Newmiles, Adam Shaw of Pockenmet, Helene Chalmers, Ladie Pokellie, N. Chalmers, Ladie Stairs. These were called the Lollards of Kile. They were accused of the articles

following, as Mr Knox hath extracted out of the Register of Glasgow :—

1. That images are not to be had, nor yitt to be worshipped.

2. That the relicts of sancts are not to be worshipped.

3. That the lawes and ordinances of men varie from time to time, and that by the Pope.

4. That it is not lawfull to fight, or to defend the faith.

5. That Christ gave power to Peter onlie, and not to his successours, to bind and loose within the kirk.

6. That Christ ordeaned no preests to consecrate.

7. That after consecratioun in the masse, there remaines bread.

8. That teinds ought not to be givin to ecclesiasticall men, as they were then called.

9. That Christ, at his comming, has takin away power frome kings to judge.

10. That everie faithfull man and woman is a preest.

11. That the Pope is not the successour of Peter, but where Christ said, " Goe behind me, Satan."

12. That the unctioun of kings ceased at the comming of Christ.

13. That the Pope deceaves the people by his bulls, and by his indulgences.

14. That the masse profiteth not the soules that are in purgatorie.

15. That the Pope and the bishops deceave the people by their pardouns.

16. That indulgences ought not to be graunted to fight against the Saraceens.

17. That the Pope exalts himself against God, and above God.

18. That the Pope cannot remitt the paines of purgatorie.

19. That the blessings of the bishops are of none avail.

20. That the excommunicatioun of the kirk is not to be feared.

21. That in no case it is lawfull to sweare.

22. That preests might have wives, according to the institution of the law.

23. That true Christians receave the body of Jesus Christ everie day.

24. That after matrimonie be contracted, the kirk may make no divorcement.

25. That excommunicatioun bindeth not.

26. That the Pope forgives not sinnes, but onlie God.

27. That faith sould not be givin to miracles.

28. That we sould not pray to the glorious Virgin Marie, but to God onlie.

29. That we are no more bound to pray in the kirk than in other places.

30. That we are not bound to beleeve all that the doctors of the kirk have writtin.

31. That suche as worshippe the sacrament in the kirk committ idolatrie.

32. That the Pope is the head of Antichrist.

33. That the Pope and his ministers are murtherers.

34. That they who are called principalls in the church are theeves and robbers.

By these articles may appeare, that in the time of greatest darknesse, the Lord made the light of his truthe to shyne to some few, when prophesie and sound of preaching of the word in publick had decayed. We doubt not but manie of these articles are forged, to make them odious, as their brethrein in France, England, and other parts, were charged with the like, and the Christians in the primitive Kirk, to make them detestable. It was layed to the charge of the Waldenses, that they assembled themselves in the night, in corners and lurking holes: that the pastor commaunded

the light to be putt out, saying, "Catche who can catche," and that they committed abominable incests, with whomsoever presented themselves to them, whether mother, daughter, or sister; and that childrein begotten by suche copulatioun were most fitt to be pastors; whereas no suche villanie was committed amongst them, nor whoordome knowne that ever escaped unpunished, as they declared in their apologie sent to the king, whome they called Lancelaw, and their booke of "The Remedie against the Sinne of Luxury," may beare witnesse. It was layed to their charge, that a man may putt away his wife when he will, and the wife her husband, to follow their sect; when as, in their bookes "Of Vertues," they declare that mariage is a knott that cannot be untied but by death, except it be for fornicatioun. It was layed to their charge, that it is not lawfull to sweare for anie caus whatsoever; when as, in their booke, intituled "The Spirituall Almanack," in the expositioun of the Thrid Commaund, they say and affirme, that oathes tending to the honour of God, and edificatioun of our nighbours, were lawfull, and alledge sundrie places of Scripture for the lawfullnesse of oathes. It was layed to their charge, that they maintained, that magistrats ought not to condemne anie to death, to the end they may escape the hands of the judge; when as, in their booke, intituled "The Light of the Treasure of Faith," they affirme, the malefactor sould not be suffered to live. It is true, they have found fault with magistrats, that they have putt to death manie innocent persouns, without anie other triall of the caus than the simple report of preests and monkes, who were parteis and judges, and condemned them for the abuses they had brought in the kirk. Johne Paul Perrin, in his Historie of the Waldenses, justifieth the Waldenses, and cleereth them frome these and the like calumneis, both by their owne writting, and by the testimonie of diverse of their adversareis, who gave witnesse to their godlinesse and knowledge, as Jacobus de Riberia, Ramerius, a Jacobine monke, and a cruell inquisitour against them, Claudius de Seissell, Bernard de Girard, Lord of Haillan, and sundrie others.

Where as it is said here, in the fourth article, that it is not lawfull to fight or defend the faith, it is like the calumnie that was layed upon their brethrein in France, manie yeeres before; to witt, that they preferred peace with the Turkes before peace with the kingdome of Christ, becaus they found fault with the Pope, that stired up kings and princes to invade Turkes and Saraceens, when there was no injurie offered, and to recover the Holie Land, and the holie grave, as if to fight or defend the holie grave was to fight for or defend the faith; and that the Popes, under pretence of warres against the Turkes and Saracens, made spoile of the goods of the church, abusing ignorant people with their bulls and benedictiouns. They found fault with the Pope for sending out his Croisades, that is, his crossed souldiours, with the badge of the crosse upon their cassocks and coat-armour, to pursue suche as were hereticks, whome they had not heard nor convinced. In the eight article, it was layed to their charge, that teinds ought not to be givin to ecclesiasticall men. The like was said of the Waldenses, becaus unwillinglie they payed their teinds to dumbe dogges, and if it had lyen in their power, would have witholdin them frome them, for they cared not for their masses and trentalls. Becaus bishops and their officialls abused excommunicatioun, they regarded not their curses and excommunicatiouns, and therefore it was falslie articulated against them, that they condemned excommunicatioun altogether.

To stirre up princes and magistrats against them, they made them beleeve that they condemned their office and authoritie, as unlawfull. Albeit the accusatiouns of the bishop and his complices were greevous, yitt the Lord inclined the king's heart to favour them: diverse of them were his great familiars. The Lord also assisted them with boldnesse and courage, to answere to their accusers with libertie. Whill the bishop said, in mocking, to Adam Reid of Barskimminge, "Reid, beleeve ye that God is in heaven?" He answered, "Not as I doe the sacraments seven." The bishop, thinking to have triumphed, said to the king, "Sir, loe he deny-

eth that God is in heaven." The king, woundering, asked Adame Reid, "What said ye?" The other answered, "Please your Grace to hear the end betwixt the churle and me." Therewith he turned to the bishop, and said: "I neither thinke nor beleeve as thou thinkest. God is in heaven, but I am most assured, that he is not onlie in heaven, but also in the earth. But thou and thy factioun declare, by your workes, that either yee thinke there is no God at all, or els that he is so sett up in heaven that he regardeth not what is done into the earth: for if thou frimelie believed that God was in the heaven, thou would not make thyself checke-meete to the king, and altogether forgett the charge that Jesus Christ, the Sonne of God, gave to his Apostles; which was to preache the gospell, and not to play the proud prelats, as all the rable of you doe at this day." "Now, Sir," sayeth he to the king, "judge whether the bishop or I beleeve best that God is in heaven." Whill the bishop and his band could not weill revenge themselves, and manie taunts were givin them in their teethe, the king, willing to putt an end to further reasouning, said to the said Adame Reid, "Will thou burne thy bill?" He answered, "Sir, the bishop and yee will." With these and the like scoffes, the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance, that the greatest part of accu-satioun was turned into laughter.

It appeareth evidentlie by the words of Alexander Alesius, a Scotish man, in his booke, dedicated to King James the Fifth, which words are cited by Cochlæus, in the Apologie dedicated to the same king, that Johne (for so sould he be named) Campbell of Cesnock, with his ladie, and a certane preest, were absolved by King James the Fourth, when they were hardlie persued by the monkes and friers, accusing them of heresie. Yea, as Mr Johne Davidsone had heard of honest, aged men of Kyle, these three were brought furth to the scaffold, and that the king, for the good affec-tioun he careid to the Laird of Cesnock, one of his favourites, de-livered them frome the executioun, and sett them at libertie. The same yeere, an aged woman of eightie yeeres, named Joan

Broughton, was burnt for mainteaning the doctrine of Wicklefe: all the doctours of Londoun could not pervert her. The persecutioun of the professours of the truthe, in England, was hote, under the end of King Henrie the Seventh his raigne, howbeit, in Scotland, the enemies of the truthe attained not to their intent. Wee may see, that Luther is not the first author of our new religioun, as the Papists call it, nor Mr Patrick Hammiltoun the first that professed it. It is not without desert of due commendatioun, that Mr Knox, in his Historie, calleth Kyle "an old receptacle to the servants of God." From this yeere, wherin the Lollards of Kyle were accused, till the yeere 1527, we find no mentioun of anie other that was troubled for his religioun.

THE

HISTORIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE DEATH OF MR PATRICK HAMMILTOUN TO THE DEATH OF KING JAMES THE SIXT.

After the death of King James the Fourth, slaine at Floddon feild, the 9th of September, the yeere of our Lord's incarnatioun 1513, succeeded his sonne, James the Fifth. He was crowned at Stirline the 23d of Februar nixt following. Queene Margaret had been appointed Regent during her wedowheid by the latter will and testament of King James the Fourth, which he made before his expeditioun to the last battell, which was yieelded to, in respect of the raritie of noblemen sufficient for the governement. Alexander Lord Hume, Wardan of the Marches, East, West, and Middle, was made Lieutenant of the countreis on this side of Forth; Alexander Erle of Huntlie, beyond Forth. Queene Margaret, Regent, was mareid to Archibald Erle of Angus, before the end of the spring, or, as others report, the 6th of August. Immediatlie therafter, the erle took the great seale frome Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor. The bishop went to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and held the queene and her husband out of the castell.

The Nobilitie were divided in factioums. The factioun of Dowglasses stoode for the continuance of the governement in the queen's

person. The other factioun pretended the ancient custome of free electioun of the Governour, or Regent; alledged the queene, by her mariage, had in a maner deprived herself of her authoritie; urged that the lawes of the countrie might be observed, which did not permitt weemen to governe in time of peace, farre lesse in so turbulent a time. Through invy and ambitioun of the heads of the two factiouns, the votes of manie did inclyne to Johne Stewart, sonne to Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albanie, sonne to King James the Secund, remaining at that time in France. None so fordward for him as Alexander Lord Hume, who feared the power of the Dowglasses would increasse, if the governement continued in the queen's persoun. Johne Stewart, Duke of Albanie, arrived at Dumbartane the 19th day of May, in the yeere 1515. He was declared in a parliament holdin, in Julie thereafter, at Edinburgh, Governour, and created Duke of Albanie; for his father Alexander, brother to King James the Thrid, was forfaulted, and died in banishement in France. Johne Hepburne, Pryor of Sanct Andrewes, filled the heart of the Governour with jealouseis and suspiciouns, pretending great skill in the affaires of the countrie; layed furth before him the deedlie feids and factiouns, bands and confederaceis of some cheefe noblemen; assured him they could not be reduced in order, unlesse a power was sent frome France: designed the Erle of Angus, the Lord Hume, and Andrew Forman, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, as the cheefe heads. But his malice was most bent against the last two, becaus the Lord Hume had assisted Forman to get possessioun of the bishoprick, and for that caus, had gottin to his younger brother, David Hume, the abbacie of Coldinghame. Forman purchassed freinds at court by bribes and pensiouns. But the informatiouns givin against the Lord Hume had peirced deepe into the Regent's heart. He called to his remembrance what the Humes had done to his father and his uncle; what their part was at the feild of Floddon; what surmises there were of their guiltinesse of the death of King James the Fourth.

When the Lord Hume perceaved the duke estranged from him,

he practised with the queene, advising her to convey herself secreitlie, and her sonne, to England, and to committ him to the custodie of the English king, Henrie the Eight, her brother. When this plott was discovered, Alexander Lord Hume, and his brother William, withdrew themselves to England. The queene, the Erle of Angus, and his brother George, followed after. The queene remained at Harbottle castell till she was delivered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglas, mareid afterward to Matthew Stewart, Erle of Lennox. By the Governour's perswasioun and allurements, the Erle of Angus and Lord Hume returned home. New jealouseis arise in the heart of the Governour. He perswadeth the Erle of Arran, James Hammiltoun, his brother-in-law, to tak upon him the governement, wherupon he and his brother David Hume were convict of treasoun in a parliament. He was received in favour againe, upon conditioun, if he offended afterward, the memorie of his bygane offensses sould be renued. The Governour conceaved a new jealousie; intysied the Lord Hume with manie promises, to come to a conventioun which was to be holdin. He would not be disswaded by his freinds, but would needes come to court. He and his brother were committed incontinent to ward, and within few dayes after arraigned. James Erle of Murray, base sonne to King James the Fourth, accused him cheefelie of the slaughter of his father King James; for it was whispered among manie, that the king was not slaine at Floddon feild, but one cloathed with his apparell, like him in countenance and stature: that he was seene to returne through Tweede, and that he was slaine beside Kelso by the Lord Hume's freinds or dependers. It was reported also, that Gilbert Galbraith, at a certaine time when the Governour persued the Humes, vaunted that he was one of the six that slue the king at Kelso. But these things were so uncertane, that when they were alledged they did not greatlie hurt him. At last, his accusers have recourse to other private and bypast offensses. He was accused as author and partaker of all stirres and commotioums in former times, and of unfaithfull dealing at Floddon feild. Alexander Lord Hume was beheaded upon the 8th, his brother upon the

9th of October, and their heads sett upon the tolbuith of Edinburgh. Andrew Ker of Phairnihirst was spared. The Erle of Arran and the Erle of Lennox were receaved in favour before this time.

About the end of the spring following, to witt, the 7th of June, 1518, the Governour having obteaned licence to goe to France, and having appointed some to governe in his absence, embarked at Dumbartane. He appointed the Erles of Angus, Arran, Argile, Huntlie, the Archbishops of Sanct Andrewes and Glasgow, Governours in his absence, to whome he joyned Monsieur de la Bautrie, Antonie Dairsie, whome he made Captan of Dumbar castell, and Wardane of the East Marches. The Governour had takin with him a number of the cheefe noblemen, or their freinds and sonnes, under the colour of courtesie, but in effect as hostages, that by this meanes he might suppresse stirres and tumults in the countrie. Some he confyned. He placed garisouns of Frenchemen in Dumbar, Dumbartane, and Garvie castells. Bautrie was left as a spy, to observe what fell out, and to advertise the Governour. He was slaine in the Governour's absence by Sir David Hume of Wedderburne. His head was sett up in the toun of Dunce, and therafter, when the Frenche were expelled out of Hume castell, was sett upon the wall of the castell. The rest of the Governours, fearing some farther commotioun, conveened, and choosed the Erle of Arran principall Vice-governour. The Governour himself was not muche greeved with the slaughter of La Bautrie, becaus he had writtin to the Court of France, that there was no need of the Governour; he could governe without him to their contentment. The Erle of Arran was made Wardan of the East Borders in La Bautrei's place, wherewith the Erle of Angus was not content.

The Erle of Arran came to Edinburgh in September 1519, looking to have beene chosin proveist. But the citicens choosed Archibald Dowglas of Kilspindie: heerupon arose great dissensioun betwixt the Erle of Arran and the Erle of Angus, becaus of the repulse he had gottin. He assisted Andrew Ker of Phairnihirst in Januarie 1520, when their was a variance betwixt the Erle of An-

gus and Phairnihirst, for the bailifrie of Jedburgh Forrest, more for hatred of the Erle of Angus than anie love he careid to Phairnihirst. But the Laird of Cesfurd, then Wardane of the Middle Marche, assisted the Erle of Angus. The Erle of Arran sent his bastard sonne, James Hammiltoun, with four hundreth Merce-men, to assist Phairnihirst. John Somervell of Camnethen, or, as others relate, the Laird of Cesfurd, invaded him by the way beside Kelso, slue five or six of his followers, and chased himself to Hume castell.

A conventioun being appointed the 28th of Aprile at Edinburgh, the Hammiltouns professed they could not thinke themselves secure in that toun where Archibald Dowglas of Kilspindie, uncle to the Erle of Angus, or, as others will have him, coosin-germane, was proveist. He demitted his office, least he sould seeme to be an hinderance to the affaires of the common weale. Robert Logane, a citicen, is chocin in his place. The Hammiltons finding the Erle of Angus his freinds not yitt conveened, conveene with the cheefe noble men of the west, in James Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, then Chanceller, his hous. They conclude it needfull to apprehend the Erle of Angus, alledging that his surpassing power beyond other subjects would hinder the free proceedings of the conventioun. The erle being informed, sent to them his uncle Gawin, Bishop of Dunkell. He desired the Bishop of Glasgow to be an interteaner of peace, and to procure that whatsoever quarrell was betwixt the two noblemen might be debated before the conventioun. The other answered, the Erle of Arran was highlie offended with the invading of his base sonne, which could not be done without the Erle of Angus his directioun; and for the slaughter of La Bautrie committed by Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, his brother-in-law, "not without his knowledge and counsell," said he, "for which caus he will needs have him to goe to waird. There is no remeid, and I cannot mend it, upon my conscience." With that, he knocked on his breast, so that the jacke, or secreit which he had putt on under his coat, rattled. The Bishop of Dunkell answered, "Your conscience clatters, my Lord:" alluding to the rattling of the plaits

of his jacke, or secreit; returned, and shew to the Erle of Angus there were no meanes of reconciliatioun, and as few to escape; went home to his hous, not for age or infirmitie, for he was not yitt past the fourtie-six yeere of his age, but to pray, as he said, or indirectlie to checke the other bishop, who had putt on his armour. Yitt he sent his servaunts and dependers to accompanie the Erle of Angus.

The erle had in companie eightie or a hundreth men. They came doun the streete, from the strait Bow, where he loodged; speares were reached to them out of the housses, where they were made, and from other citicens; for he was popular and weill beloved. Thus had he no small vantage of his enemeis, who had no long weapouns. He placed some at everie wynde heid, and with all, stopped the heids of so manie wyndes, as he could get horse, or creills, or barrells of aill to serve his turne, and left onlie the Blacke Friar Wynde free, at the which he waited himself, with a few whome he had reserved to stay with him. When his enemeis were saileing out at the head of Blacke Friar Wynde, he slue a number of them, and chassed the rest doun the wynde. The Erle of Arran and his sonne James fled doun by a wynde to the North Loche, and went over upon a coale horse, at a part which is now not passable, no man persuing that way. Bishop Beton went out on foote, disguised, to Linlithquo, and from thence to the queene. Among the seventie-two men which were slaine were Sir Patrik Hammiltoun, the Erle of Arran's brother, and the Master of Montgomeric, sonne to the Erle of Eglinton. A great number fled to the Gray Friars. In the verie meane time, the erle's brother, Williame, Pryor of Coldinghame, and Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, came with eight hundreth horse, and finding the ports shutt, brake up the wicket with fore hammers. But the enemeis were scattered before they entered. This stirre fell out the last of Aprile 1520. The nixt yeere, in the moneth of Julie, the Erle of Angus, accompaneid with George Hume, brother to the late Lord Alexander, his owne brother, the Pryor of Coldinghame, Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, and a number of gentlemen, went to the

tolbuith of Edinburgh, where they stayed till the heads of the late Lord Hume and his brother were takin doun, and bureid with great solemnitie in the Gray Friars.

The Duke of Albanie returneth the same yeere, after five yeeres' absence, and arived in the west about the end of October. He came to Edinburgh, accompaneid with the queene, who was returned out of England in the time of his absence; the Archbishop of Glasgow, Chaunceller, the Erle of Huntlie, and manie other lords, baroums, and knights. The Erle of Angus was banished to France, for the stirres raised by him in his absence. The Bishop of Dunkel was sent for to Rome, at the Governour's instance. He died of the plague at Londoun, in his journey to Rome. The erle feared forfalture at the parliament holdin in Januar 1522. But by the procurement of the queene his wife, howbeit there was small lyking betweene them, the forfalture was spaired. This yeere, the King of England sent his herald Calencieux, to require that the duke might depart out of the countrie, alledging it was so promised to him by the King of France, at their last interview, that he sould not be suffered to returne to Scotland; and that it was no reasoun he sould have the custodie of the king, seing if the king was cutt off he was nixt to the crowne. He compleaned also that the Erle of Angus was not suffered to remaine at home with his wife, his sister. The duke answered, that neither the King of France nor King of England might stay him frome comming to his owne countrie, and that he would defend the king and the countrie, as became him of ductie and conscience; that he had used greater clemencie toward the Erle of Angus than he had deserved.

The Emperour came to England, and stirred up the English king to warres against the Frenche, whereupon the Scots and Frenche were banished out of England, and a white croce sewed upon their uppermost garment, to distinguishe them frome others. The Frenche king sent to the Governour to perswade him to tak armour against the English. The Governour hearing that the Erle of Shrewsburie was raising an armie of eight thowsand men, went

with a great armie to the west borders, till he came to the water of Esk. But perceaving the nobilitie unwilling to invade England at that time, seing it was sufficient to make a shew of warre, to divert the English frome France, least he sould seeme to have done nothing, sent to the Lord Dacres, Wardane of the West Marches, to informe that truce might be obteaned if he would come to a parlie. The other being unprepared to make resistance, and ignorant of the backwardnesse of the Scotish nobilitie, came to the Governour's campe, after pledges had beene delivered. And so, upon the elleventh of September, an abstinence from warre was concluded till ambassaders were sent to England to treate of peace. Those who were averse frome the warres raised a bruite, that the Lord Dacres had offered money to the Governour, or promised; howbeit it was never payed. It was thought this rumour was spread to colour their owne aversenesse. Ambassaders were sent in October to England, but returned without agreement or conclusioun of peace.

The Governour past, about the end of October, by the west seas to France, after he had stayed a full yeere in Scotland. This yeere, Andrew Forman, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, deceased, and James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Chanceller of Scotland, was removed to Sanct Andrewes, and made also Abbot of Dumfermline. The archbishoprick of Glasgow was givin to Gawin Dumbar, the King's schoolemaster. In the yeere 1523, after the departure of the duke, the countrie was divided in factiouns. The English king had made sundrie invasiouns, and had besett the sea, to cutt hope of forraine aide, and so in a maner assayed to constraine the Scots to agree to a league. Suche as had withdrawin their affectioun frome the Frenche applyed themselves to the queene, the Erle of Angus being out of the countrie, and the Lord Hume takin away by death. The queene, to pleasure her brother, to draw the governement to herself, and to strenthen herself against her owne husband, whome she liked not since her returne out of England, becaus in her absence he had sett his affectioun upon the Laird of Traquare's daughter, upon whome he begatt a daughter called Jeane Dowglas, perswadeth those of her factioun to deliver her

some out of the hands of strangers, and themselves frome the present bondage. The English king recommendeth to this factioun his sister's good meaning and intentioun; pretendeth he would seeke the weale of his nephew, and defend him so farre as he was able; and if they would breake the league with the Frenche, and joyne in confederacie with the English, offereth to bestow his onlie daughter Marie upon King James. The English factioun reasouned after this maner; the Frenche differ frome us in soyle, in language, in maners, lawes, decrees. If they be the enemeis, they cannot greatlie hurt us; if friends, they cannot helpe muche. They ly farre off, and never take part with us but when they are forced, for their owne advantage. All the hope of their succour dependeth upon the favour of the wind and the seas, and may be stopped by the enemie, as we find at the same verie instant. The English are born in the same ile with us, agree with us in language and maners as if we were of one natioun, are at hand with men, money, and munitioun.

The Frenche factioun, speciallie suche as were pensioners, or sought their owne privat commoditie with the detriment of the countrie, reasouned for a continuatioun of the league with the Frenche; alledged that the English did feede us with vaine hopes, to the end they may oppresse this commoun weale, and we are denuded of forraine aide; that commonlie there never wanted occasioun of dissensioun among neighbours; that no bond was so firme betweene neighbour countreis which was not brokin when opportunitie of advantage was seene. Some suspected the large offers of the English king, and called to remembrance what Edward the Furst did in the controversie betweene the Bruce and the Balioll: how Edward the Fourth promised his daughter Cecile to King James the Thrid his sonne, but when his daughter was readie for mariage, he tooke occasioun of the civill dissensioums to vex us with warre, instead of performing of his promise. The Frenche factioun not prevailing with their reasoums, urged two points. One is, that their old freinds sould not be rejected unheard; another, that time was not spent upon that which could not be determined but in par-

liament. By this meane, the French factioun obteaned that nothing could be decerned before the returne of the Governour.

The Governour not being able to returne before August, as he promised, becaus the English king had appointed a navie to ly in waite for him on the seas, sent before him in the moneth of June, to encourage the countrie with hope of his tymous returne with five hundreth Frenche men. Whill the Duke of Albanie was on the seas, returning to Scotland, the Erle of Surrey entered with an armie of ten thowsand, or, as others write, twentie thowsand men, and burnt the toun of Jedburgh, the 23d day of September. The same day, the Duke of Albanie, Governour, arrived at Arran. His returne moved manie, who inclyned to the English league, to stand to the old league with the Frenche. He brought with him three hundreth Frenche men, and a hundreth men of armes. He cometh to the Borders the 20th of October, with an armie. Perceaving the nobilitie unwilling as before, he went doun this side of Twede, pitched his tents in Caldstreme, sent over two thowsand or three thowsand to besiege the castell of Warke. There were slaine three hundreth, manie of them Frenche. They were constrained to leave off the siege, becaus the water of Twede was like to rise by the falling of raine, and the besiegers might readilie be cutt off by the Erle of Surrey, lying at Anwicke, with an armie of fortie thowsand men. The Governour returneth in haste, fearing the storme of snow which was falling.

KING JAMES THE FYFT.

THE YEERE OF OUR LORD M.D.XXIV.

The Duke of Albanie, Governour, in a conventioun of the nobilitie, holdin about the end of the spring, the yeere 1524, craved licence to goe to France, promising to returne before the first of

September; that they would conclude no peace nor truce with the English before his returne; that they make no alteratioun in the governement; that the king be keeped in Stirline in the meane time. He embarketh about the middest of May. After his departure, the young king was brought frome Stirline to Edinburgh, by his mother, the Erles of Arran, Lennox, Crawfurd, and other young lords, the 27th of Julie. Soon after, in a conventioun holdin at Halyrudhous, he tooke the governement in his owne hands, and receaved the oath of fealtie of the noblemen. The officers of estate resigned their offices, which, within few dayes after, were raundered to them againe. He went up to the tolbuith of Edinburgh in great pompe, the 20th of August, to take upon him the governement with a greater solemnitie, and thereby to declare that the governement of the Duke of Albanie was expired.

The English king, Henrie the Eight, had sent to France, to the Erle of Angus, before he heard of the duke's departure, to come to Scotland, and move insurrectioun against the duke. But the duke was gone before he came. The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, and the Bishop of Aberdeene, who had beene cast in prisoun for standing against all alteratioun in governement before the first of September, against which time the Governour promised to returne, were, at the same time that the Erle returned, that is, within a moneth after they were cast in prisoun, reconciled to the king. They spared not, before their reconciliatioun, to use their owne weapouns of interdyting.

After the returne of the Erle of Angus, there followed great alteratiouns in court. The queene was altogether sett as an enemie against her husband, in so farre, that although the King of England wrote to her, to be reconciled for her owne honour, peace of the countrie, and better ordering of her affaires, she refused. Her hatred moved her to joyne in factioun with the Erle of Arran. Johne Stewart, Erle of Lennox, and Coline Campbell, Erle of Argile, malcontent becaus they were not admitted to anie part of guiding the court, and ruling the countrie with the queene, and the Erle of Arran, joyned with the Erle of Angus. They gather a

number of the nobilitie, and procure themselves to be chosin tutors and guides of the king and realme. They went with speede over Forth, and in a maner constrained James, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, Chanceller, to joyne with them. From thence they went to Stirline, where they changed the officers of estate. Frome thence they returned to Edinburgh.

M.D.XXV.

After that the Erle of Angus and his factioun came to Edinburgh, the castell, after few dayes, was raundered. The queene, the Erle of Arran, and all the rest, were dismissed, but the king, whome they tooke in custody. The governement of king and countrie was layed upon the three erles, Angus, Argile, Lennox. They agree to attend upon the king by course, everie one of them severallie four moneth. But their freindship endured not long. The Erle of Angus, to whome fell the first course, brought the king to the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes his loodging in Edinburgh, and used his houshold stuffe as his owne, for the bishop had now swerved frome them to the other factioun. The bishoprick of Dunkell being vacand by the death of Robert Cockburne, and George Crichton, Abbot of Halyrudhous, succeeding in his place, the Erle of Angus moved the king to dispone the abbacie of Halyrudhous to his brother Williame, who had possessed the pryorie of Coldinghame now five yeeres, since the slaughter of Robert Blacader, last pryor, who was slayne by Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, above the Hairie Craigs, on the water of Ay, beside Aitton, or, as others report, within two myle of Berwick. Patrik Blacader, coosingermane to Robert Blacader, Archdeacoun of Dumblane, had the just title by the Pope's dispositioun, and consent of Duke Albanie, Governour. There was inimitie betwixt Patrik Blacader and Johne Hume of Blacader, brother to Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, not onlie for the slaughter of the pryor, wherof he was partaker with his brother, but also for a clame of the lands of Blacader, which he claimed as heyre of taillie from Johne's wife, and her sisters, heyres of lyne, or for their waird of mariage onlie, as the

heyres of Blacader do now report. Patrik Blacader, Archdeacoun of Dumblane, had layin in waite diverse times, to have slaine Johne Hume. Johne Hume, understanding that he was to come to Edinburgh, lay in waite for him by the way, and slue him neere the ports. Whether the Erle of Angus had sent for him, or whether Johne Hume knew that he had, both are uncertane. The erle, whill he lived, ever denyed that there was anie assurance givin by him, or anie in his name. The report went otherwise, spread by suche as sought his disgrace. According to this report, it is recorded by Buchanan, that he was sent for by the Dowglasses, to transact with Johne Hume, their freind, least they sould seeme to possesse violentlie the patrimonie which he claimed, and that he had the Erle of Angus his subscriptioun for assurance. Howsoever it was, in the tumult diverse going furth to persue after Johne Hume, the erle's brother, Sir George Dowglas, went furth to apprehend him at the erle's commaund, incensed against him for misorder in the time of his governement, as his favourers did report. But others not understanding so muche, and seing manie Dowglasses and Humes, with their freinds in his companie, returned, suspecting they were come to assist him. Alwise there was no searche made for him after.

The Erle of Argile had withdrawin himself frome the other two. The Erle of Lennox, howbeit he followed the king, yitt was malcontent that the Erle of Angus sould dispone offices at his pleasure. Howbeit the Erle of Angus suffered the king to follow his pleasures, yitt begamne he to be wearie of him, hearing manie things imputed to him, partlie true, partlie false; for the king's domesticks were corrupted by the queene and the Erle of Arran's factioun. The king reveeleth his minde to his familiars, speciallie to the Erle of Lennox, whome he loved deerly; consulteth with him how to be freed of the Erle of Angus.

M.D.XXVI.

The Erle of Angus taketh the king with him to Jedburgh. The cheefe of the clans were charged to bring in the malefactors

which depended upon them. Manie robbers and oppressors were executed. Sir Walter Scot of Balcleuche was purposed to invite the king to his hous, and to deteane him as it were against his will, till that others of the other factioun had repaired to him. The Erle of Angus, understanding what was their intentioun, cometh backe with the king. Balcleuche cometh, accompaneid with a thowsand horse, to Melrose bridge, of purpose to take the king frome the Erle of Angus by force, as had beene before appointed by the other factioun, not without the king's owne knowledge and consent. The Erle of Angus, howbeit, at that time inferiour in number, having in his companie some choise men of his owne name, George Lord Hume, and Andrew Ker of Fadownside, accompaneid with some of their owne surname, resolveth to fight. They lighted on foote. The theeves and outlawes left Balcleuche with a small number of his owne servaunts. Himself is wounded. On the Erle of Angus his side is slaine the Laird of Cesfurd. But at lenth, the other partie was putt to flight, and eightie of them slaine in the chasse. The Erle of Lennox stood as a spectator to behold, which bewrayed the secret malcontentment he had conceaved before, and therefore he stayed not long at court after. Buchanan referreth this skirmish to the 23d of Julie 1526.

The Erle of Angus perceaving himself to be hated of manie, to strenthen his factioun draweth to him the Hammiltons, who now for a long time had absented themselves frome court. The Erle of Lennox, beloved of manie, and having obteaned secreetlie the king's missives to some noblemen, assembleth his factioun at Stirline, where was present James Beton, Archbishop, together with some other bishops. It was concluded among them to sett the king at libertie. The Erle of Lennox hearing that the Hammiltons were conveened at Linlithquo, to stoppe their passage to Edinburgh, marched towards them, of purpose to assault them before they joyne with the Dowglasses, howbeit the forces of his owne factioun were not yitt fullie gathered. The Hammiltons sent carelie in the morning to advertise the Dowglasses. The king, himself, made manie shifts to protract time. He fained himself to

be sickelie; made no great haste to rise. When he was in the way he road slowlie; pretended he would goe aside to ease nature. When alluring speeches prevailed not with him, to caus him hasten his pace, Sir George Dowglas, the Erle's brother, said to him, "Rather ere the enemeis take yow frome us, we sall keepe the halfe of your bodie with us." These words made suche an impressioun in his heart, that he could never be reconciled with Sir George.

The Erle of Arran not staying for the Erle of Angus, encountered the Erle of Lennox and his companie, neere to Aven bridge, distant a myle frome Linlithquo. The Erle of Lennox laboured to putt the Hammiltons frome the hills: they threw doun stones upon his companie. When they were almost come to the shocke, the rumor of the Dowglasses' comming is noysed. When as they were comming indeed, to aide the Hammiltouns, the Erle of Lennox' companie fled. The Hammiltons, speciallie the bastard, Sir James, the Erle of Arran's sonne, execute great crueltie. The king, understanding by the clamour and noyse, that they were joyned together in conflict, sent Andrew Wood of Largo, to procure safetie to the Erle of Lennox his owne persoun, if he might, by anie means. But the erle was slaine before he came. His death was lamented not onlie by the king, and his uncle, the Erle of Arran, but also by the Erle of Angus himself. Williame Cunninghame, Lord of Kilmares, receaved manie wounds, but his life was saved by his freinds the Dowglasses.

The dissensioun betwixt the Erle of Arran and the Erle of Lennox proceeded not onlie frome the Erle of Arran his societie with the Erle of Angus, but also frome the late divorcement of his wife. The Erle of Lennox was nephew to the Erle of Arran, by his sister Margaret, mareid to his father by the procurement of King James the Fourth; and failing heyres of his owne bodie, was to succeed to him as weill in the Erledome of Arran, as in the title to the crowne, the king's heyres failing. The Erle of Arran had no childrein by his wife, sister to the Lord Hume. He obteaned a divorcement not without her consent, alledging he had before his mariage lyin with a kinswoman of hers, so neere in blood, that his

mariage with her was incestuous, and could not be conteaned with a good conscience. After divorcement he mareid a daughter of the Laird of Creigh's, brother to James Beton, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes. Yitt was not the Erle of Lennox putt out of all hope of successioun to the erledome, if he could find iniquitie of collusioun committed in the divorcement. The Erle of Arran had no right in the successioun to the crowne, but by King James the Third his sister, unlawfullie divorced from her husband, Thomas Boyd, Erle of Arran. It was thought that the king would provide for the Erle of Lennox his securitie of the title to the crowne out of his owne favour.

The Dowglasses, to strike a terrour in the hearts of suche as favoured not them, intend to persue, by law, suche as had borne armour against the King. Some bought their remissioun, some offered their dependance to the Dowglasses, others to the Hammiltouns. Gilbert Kennedie, Erle of Cassils, was slaine by the Shireff of Air's freinds. The Shireff of Air was stirred up by the Erle of Arran's base sonne, Sir James, becaus he refused to offer his dependance to the Hammiltouns, alledging his hous had the pre-eminence in the league concluded betwixt their grandfathers, his grandfather being named before the Erle of Arran. The Shireff of Air was summouned to underly the law, but not daring compeere, fled out of the countrie.

The Erle of Angus knowing verie weill that James Beton, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, stirred up the Erle of Lennox against him, tooke the castell of Sanct Andrewes by force, and spoiled it. The bishop fled from hole to hole for safetie of his life. The queene, also, to escape the hands of her husband, keeped herself secreet and solitarie.

M.D.XXVII.

When the Erle of Angus was to ryde to Liddisdaill, to apprehend some theeves, he and Arran counselled the king to goe with them in persoun. The king goeth in the moneth of June to Jedburgh, with eight thowsand men. The cheefe of the clans came in to the

king upon the 8th of June, and delivered pledges for their good demeanour in time to come.

Upon the 17th of Julie, there was a great assemblie of the nobilitie at Halyrudhous. The Erle of Lennox his horse-keeper wounded Sir James Hammiltoun, base sonne to the Erle of Arran, with a dager, in six severall parts, in the throng of the people, under the utter porche of the Abbey Close. The Hammiltouns suspected the Dowglasses had remembered some old quarell. They had almost beene sett together by the eares, if inquirie had not beene made hastilie. There were present two thowsand men, dependers and followers of the Dowglasses and the Hammiltouns, for the most part. They were all commaunded to goe in single ranke to the walls of the utter closse. The man was deprehended with his bloodie dager. He confessed the fact, but was so farre frome repenting, that he cried out, "Fy on the feeble hand which did not fulfill that which the minde was resolved to putt in execution!" He was tortured, but would never confesse that anie other was author, or privie to his interprise. He was condemned to be hanged. His naked flesh was pinched with a burning yron in sundrie parts of his bodie, yitt could they wring out of him no signe of remorse. Buchanan referreth this fact to the moneth of June or May, when the Erle of Angus was to ryde to Liddisdaill. He recordeth also, that at that time he hanged twelve theeves, and keeped other twelve as pledges, whome he hanged also within few dayes after, becaus the borderers keeped not good order.

M.D.XXVIII.

Master Patrik Hammiltoun suffered martyrdome in the beginning of this yeere, or, according to the old reckoning, in the end of the 1527 yeere, the yeere ending at the 25th day of Marche. He was borne of noble parentage. His father was brother to the Erle of Arran, his mother was sister to Johne Duke of Albanie. He was provided to an abbacie, and intituled Abbot of Ferne. About the 23d yeere of his age, he went to the schooles in Germanie; for then the universities of Wittenberg and Marpurg were famous. He

became familiar with Martine Luther, Philip Melancton, and Francis Lambert. He so profited in knowledge and judgment in maters of religioun, that through the incitatioun of Francis Lambert, he was the first in all the universitie of Marpurge, latelie erected by Philip, Langrave of Hasse, which publiclie did sett up conclusiouns to be disputed upon concerning faith and workes, reasouning no lesse learnedlie then ferventlie upon the same. What these propositiouns were may appeare, partlie in his treatise called Patrik's Places, which is extant in the Booke of Martyrs, and Mr Knox his Historie of the Church of Scotland. He did grow daylie no lesse in fervencie and zeale than in knowledge, for the which, and for the integritie of his life, he was had in admiratioun of manie. He was so inflammed with zeale to God's glorie that he could not remaine long there, but resolved with himself to returne to his native countrie, desirous to impart unto his countriemen the fruict of his learning and knowledge, which he had receaved in Germanie. He brought with him one of the three companiouns who went with him out of Scotland. After his return, the bright beames of the true light, which, by God's grace, did shine into his heart, beganne to breake furthe in publick, as weill as in secreet. He was weill learned in philosophie, abhorred sophistrie, and wished the text of Aristotle to be better understood and used in the schooles than it was; for sophistrie had corrupted all, as weill in divinitie as in humane arts and sciences.

In short processe of time, the rumour of his reasouns and doctrine troubled the cleargie, and came to the eares of James Betoun, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, a conjured enemie to Christ Jesus. He could not suffer with patience, that the kingdome of darknesse, wherof within this realme he was the head, sould be anie wise assailied; therefore he travelled with Mr Patrik, to draw him to Sanct Andrewes, where, after conference sundrie dayes, he had his freedome and libertie. The bishop, and his bloodie butchers the doctours, seemed to approve his doctrine, and to graunt, that manie things craved reformatioun in the church. Among the rest, there was one that secreetlie consented with him almost in all points,

named Frier Alexander Campbell, a man of good witt and learning, but corrupted with the love of the world. When the bishops and doctors had sufficientlie understood what was Mr Patrik's judgement, fearing that by him their kingdome sould be endomaged, travelled with the king, who was then addicted to their directioums, and perswaded him to passe in pilgrimage to Sanct Dothesse in Rosse, to the end that no intercessioun sould be made for the life of the innocent servaunt of God; who, suspecting no suche cruelltie as in their hearts was concluded, remained still (a lambe among the wolves) till that, upon a certane night he was apprehended in his chamber, and by the bishop's band was careid to the castell, where that night he was keeped, and upon the morne brought furth to judgement, where he was condemned to dee by fire, for the testimonie of God's truthe.

The articles for which he suffered are sett doun by Mr Fox, in the Booke of Martyrs, as he receaved them out of the registers :— 1. That man hath no free will. 2. That there is no purgatorie. 3. That the holie patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passioun. 4. That the Pope hath no power to loose and bind, neither anie Pope had that power after Sanct Peter. 5. That the Pope is Antichrist, and that everie preest hath the power that the Pope hath. 6. That Mr Patrik Hammiltoun was a bishop. 7. That it is not necessarie to obteane anie bulls from anie bishop. 8. That the vow of the Pope's religioun is a vow of wickednesse. 9. That the Pope's lawes be of no strenth. 10. That all Christians worthie to be called Christians doe know, that they be in the state of grace. 11. That none be saved but they are before predestinated. 12. Whosoever is in deidlie sinne is unfaithfull. 13. That God is the caus of sinne in this sense; that is, that He withdraweth his grace frome men, whereby they sinne. 14. That it is divelish doctrine to injoyne to anie sinner actuall penance for sinne. 15. That the said Mr Patrik himself doubteth, whether all childrein departing incontinent after their baptisme, are saved or condemned. 16. That auricular confessioun is not necessarie to salvatioun. These articles above writtin were givin in, and layed against Mr Patrik Hammil-

toun, and inserted in the registers, for which also he was condemned by them which hated him to death. But other learned men, which commouned and reasouned with him, doe testifie that these articles following were the verie articles for which he suffered:—

1. Man hath no free will.
2. A man is onlie justifeid by faith in Christ.
3. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sinne.
4. He is not worthie to be called a Christian, who beleeveth not that he is in grace.
5. A good man doeth good works; good works doe not make a good man.
6. An evill man bringeth furth evill works; evill works being faithfullie repented, doe not make an evill man.
7. Faith, hope, and charitie, be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another, in one man, in this life.

As touching the other articles wherupon the doctors gave their judgements, as diverse do report, he was not accused of them before the bishop, albeit in privat disputatioun he had affirmed, and defended the most of them. Now, that the condemnatioun of the said Mr Patrik might have the greater authoritie, they caused the same to be subscribed by all those of anie estimatioun who were present. To make the number the greater, they tooke the subscriptioun of childrein, if they were of the nobilitie. The Erle of Cassils, being but twelve or thirteen yeeres of age, was compelled to subscribe his death, as himself did afterward confesse. Immediatelie after dinner, the fire was prepared before the old Colledge, and he was led to the place of executioun. Yitt men supposed that all was done onlie to strike his heart with terrour, and to caus him recant. But God had otherwise decreed, for the manifestatioun of his owne glorie and power, in strenthening his servaunt, and for the manifestatioun of their beastlie tyrannie. The Lord so strenthened his faithfull witnesse, that neither for feare of death, or torments, or love of the world, could he be moved to swerve one

jote from the truthe once professed. At the place of executioun, he gave to his servaunt, who had beene his chamberlane a long time, his gowne, his coat, bonnet, and suche like garments, saying, "These will not profite in the fire, but they will profite thee. After this, of me thou can receave no commoditie, except frome the example of my death, which I pray thee beare in minde; for albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and feirefull before men, yitt it is the entrance into eternall life, which none sall possesse that denie Christ Jesus before this wicked generatioun." The innocent servaunt of God being bound to the stake, in the middes of some coales, some timber, and other mater appointed for the fire, a traine of powder was made, and sett on fire, which scorched the left hand of the blessed servaunt of God, yea, and also that side of his face; but neither the wood nor coales were kindled. So remained the servaunt of God, appointed to death, in torment, till that some ranne to the castell againe for more powder, and dry timber or wood, which at last being kindled, he cried with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, receave my spirit! How long sall darknesse overwhelme this realme? How long will thou suffer this tyrannie of men?" The fire was slacke, and therefore his torment the greater. But most of all was he greeved by some wicked men, amongst whom Alexander Campbell, the Blacke Frier, of whome we made mentioun before, was principall, who cried continuallie, "Convert, heretick: call upon our Ladie; say, *Salve Regina!*" &c. to whome he answered, "Depart, and trouble me not, thou messinger of Satan!" But whill the frier still roared, he said to him, "Wicked man, thou knoweth the contrarie, and the contrarie to me thou hath confessed. I appeale thee before the tribunall seate of Jesus Christ." After which, and other words, which could not weill be understood, becaus of the present tumult, and vehemencie of the fire, the witnesse of Jesus Christ gott victorie after long suffering. The Blacke Frier, Campbell, his publick accuser, was so troubled with his fearefull citatioun of him before God's tribunall, that he was distracted of his witt ever afterward, and died within few dayes after, at Glasgow, with a phrenesie, and as one despairing.

John Frith, the translater of his treatise out of Latine in English, called Patrik's Places, prefixed before the same the epistle following:—

"Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in these last dayes, and perellous times, hath stirred up in all countreis witnesses unto his Sonne, to testifie the truthe to the unfaithfull; to save, at the least, some frome the snares of Antichrist, which leade to perditioun, as yee may heare perceave by that excellent, and weill learned young man, Patrik Hammilton, borne in Scotland, of a noble progenie, who, to testifie the truthe, sought all meanes, and tooke upon him preesthood, (even as Paul circumcised Timothie, to winne the weake Jewes,) that he might be admitted to preache the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soone as the Chamberlane and other Bishops of Scotland had perceaved that the light begaume to shyne, which disclosed their falshood that they conveyed in darknesse, they layed hands on him; and becaus he would not denie his Saviour, Christ, at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Neverthelesse, God of his bounteous mercie, to publishe to the whole world, what a man these monsters have murthered, hath reserved a little treatise made by this Patrik, which, if yee list, yee may call 'Patrik's Places;' for it treateth exactlie of certane commoun places, which knowne, yee have the pithe of all divinitie. This treatise have I turned into the English tongue, to the profite of my natioun, to whom I beseeche God to give light, that they may espie the deceatfull pathes of perditioun, and returne to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting. Amen."

The word Chamberlane, as I take it, is a mistaking for Chancellor; and it would appeare that the servaunt of God suffered martyrdome when Bishop Betoun was Chancellor.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE SENTENCE WHICH WAS PRONOUNCED AGAINST MR PATRIK HAMMILTOUN.

"*Christi nomine invocato.* We, James, by the mercie of God, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, Primat of Scotland, with the coun-

sell, decree, and authoritie of the most reverend Fathers in God, and Lords, Abbots, Doctors of Theologie, Professours of the Holie Scripture, and Masters of the University assisting us for the time, sitting in judgement within our metropolitane church of Sanct Andrewes, in the caus of hereticall pravitie against Mr Patrik Hamiltoun, Abbot or Pensionarie of Ferne, being summoned to appeare before us, to answere to certane articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him; and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the caus being ripelie weighed, discussed, and understood by faithfull inquisitioun made in Lent last past, we have found the said Mr Patrik manie wayes infamed with heresie, disputing, holding, and mainteaning diverse hereseis of Martine Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is alreadie condemned by generall councells, and most famous universiteis. And he being under the same infamie, we, deeming before him to be summouned and accused upon the premisses, he, of evill minde, as may be presumed, past to other parts furth of the realme, suspected and noted of heresie. And being latelie returned, not being admitted, but of his owne head, without licence or priviledge, hath presumed to preache wicked heresie. We have found also, that he hath affromed, published, and taught diverse opiniouns of Luther, and wicked hereseis, after that he was summouned to appeare before us and our counsell: that man hath no free will: that man is in sinne so long as he liveth: that childrein incontinent after their baptisme are sinners: all Christians that be worthie to be called Christians know that they are in grace: no man is justified by works, but by faith onlie: good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope, and charitie, are so knitt, that he that hath the one hath the rest; and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest, &c.; with diverse other hereseis and detestable opinions: and hath persisted so obstinat in the same, that by no counsell or perswasion he may be drawin therefrome, to the way of our right faith. All these premisses being considered, we, having God and the integritie of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsell and advice of the Professors of the Holie

Scripture, men of law, and others, assisting us for the time, doe pronounce, determine, and declare the said Mr Patrik Hammiltoun, for his affirming, confessing, and mainteaning of the foresaid hereseis, and his pertinacitie, (they being condemned alreadie by the church, generall councells, and most famous universiteis,) to be an heretick, and to have an evill opinioun of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemne and define him to be punished by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all digniteis, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore doe judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated. This our sentence definitive was givin and read at our metropolitane church of Sanct Andrewes, the last day of the moneth of Februarie, anno 1527, being present, the Most Reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawin Bishop of Glasgow, George Bishop of Dunkelden, Johne Bishop of Brechin, Williame Bishop of Dumblane, Patrik Pryor of Sanct Andrewes, David Abbot of Aberbrothicke, George Abbot of Dumfermline, Alexander Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Henrie Abbot of Lendores, Johne Pryor of Pittenweeme, the Dean and Sub-Deane of Glasgow, Mr Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c. in the presence of the cleargie and the people."

THE COPIE OF A LETTER CONGRATULATORIE, SENT FROME THE DOCTORS OF LOVAINE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF SANCT ANDREWES, AND DOCTORS OF SCOTLAND, COMMENDING THEM FOR THE DEATH OF MR PATRIK HAMMILTOUN.

"Your excellent vertue (most honorable Bishop) hath so deserved, that albeit wee be farre distant both by sea and land, without conjunctioun of familiaritie, yitt we desire with all our hearts to thanke you for your worthie deid, by whose works that true faith, which not long agoe was tainted with heresie, not onlie remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our deere freind, Mr

Alexander Galloway, Channon of Aberdeene, hath shewed us the presumptioun of the wicked heretick, Patrik Hammiltoun, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have 'Cutt off when there was no hope of amendiment,' &c. The which thing, as it is thought commendable unto us, so the maner of the proceeding was no lesse pleasaunt, that the mater was performed by so great consent of so manie estates, as of the cleargie, nobilitie, and vulgar people, not rashlie, but most prudentlie, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seene the sentence which yee pronounced, and allway doe approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous; so that whosoever will defend for a truthe, with pertinacitie, anie one of the same, sould be esteemed an enemie to the faith, and an adversarie to the Holie Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeare to be without errour, to those that will consider onlie the bare words; as, for example, 'Good workes maketh not a good man, but a good man worketh good workes,' yitt there is no doubt but they conteane a Lutherane sense, which in a maner they signifie, to witt, that workes done after justificatioun make not a man the better, nor are worthie of anie reward before God. Beleeve not that the example sall have place onlie among you; for there sall be among 'externe natiouns, which sall imitate the same,' &c.

"Certanlie yee have givin us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your Universitie, which was founded according to the example of our Universitie of Lovaine, to be equall to ours or elles above; and would God occasioun were offered of testifeing our mindes towards you! In the meane time, lett us labour with one consent, that the ravening woolves may be expelled frome the sheepefold of Christ, whill we have time. Lett us studie to preache to the people more learnedlie heerafter, and more wiselie. Lett us have inquisitours and spyers of bookes conteauing that doctrine, especiallie that are brought in frome farre countreis, whether by apostat monkes, or by merchants, the most suspected kinde of men in these dayes. It is said, that since Scotland first embraced the Christiane faith, it was never defiled with anie heresie. Per-

severe, therefore, being moved therunto by the example of England, your nixt nighbour, which, in this most troublous time, is not chainged; partlie by the working of the bishops, among which Roffensis hath shewed himself an evangelicall Phœnix, and partlie of the king, declaring himself to be another Mattathias of the new law, pretermitting nothing that may defend the law of his realme; the which, if your most renowned King of Scotland will follow, he sall purchasse to himself eternall glorie. Further, as touching the condigne commendatioun due for your part, (most reverend bishop, in this behalfe,) it sall not be the least part of your praise, that these hereseis have beene extinct some time in Scotland, you being Primat of Scotland, and principall author therof, albeit they also that assisted you are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the Reverend Bishop of Glasgow, of whose eriditioun we have heere givin us partlie to understand; and also the Reverend Bishop of Aberdeene, a stout defender of the faith; together with the rest of the Prelats, Abbots, Pryors, and Professours of the Scripture. Lett your Reverend Fatherhood take this little testificat of our duetie toward you in good part, whome we wishe long, and happilie weill to fare in Christ. From Lovaine, anno 1528, Aprile 21.

"By the Masters and Professors of Theologie in the Universitie of Lovaine.

"YOURS TO COMMAND."

When these cruell woolves had, as they supposed, cleane devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for within Sanct Andrewes, yea, almost through the whole realme, everie man did inquire wherefore Mr Patrik Hammiltoun was burnt. When his articles were heard, it was questiouned whether suche articles were not necessarie to be beleeved under the paine of damnatioun. Within short space, manie beganne to call in doubt manie things which they held before for certaine and undoubted veriteis, in so muche, that the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, Sanct Leonard's Colledge principallie, by the labours of Mr Gawin Logie, and the novices of the Abbey, by the

Sub-Prior, Mr Johne Winrame, beganne to spy the vanitie of the receaved superstitioun. Mr Gawin Logie instilled into his schollars the truthe secreitlie, which they, in processe of time, spread through the whole countrie, wherupon did arise a proverbe. When anie man savoured of true religioun, it was said to him, "Yee have drunken of Sanct Leonard's well." Yea, within few yeeres after, beganne both Blacke and Gray friars to preache publiclie against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abusses of the whole Ecclesiasticall estate.

Frier William Archbishop preached, in a sermoun at Dundie, more liberallie against the licentious life of bishops than they could weill beare, and against the abuse of cursing, and false miracles. The Bishop of Brechin having his placeboes[1] and jacke-men[2] in the toun, buffeted the frier, and called him heretick. The frier went to Sanct Andrewes, and communicated the heads of his sermoun with Mr Johne Maior, whose word was then holdin as an oracle in maters of religioun. Mr Johne said, his doctrine might weill be defended, and conteaned no heresie. There was a day appointed for repeating of the sermoun, and advertisement were givin to suche as were offended. So, in the parish church of Sanct Andrewes, at the day appointed, where were present Mr Johne Maior, Mr George Lokhart, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Mr Patrik Hepburne, Pryor of Sanct Andrewes, with all the Doctors and Masters of the Universiteis, he discoursed upon the theme, "Veritie is the strongest of all things." Cursing, he graunted, was the most fearefull thing upon the face of the earth; but denied that it sould be used for everie light caus, but onlie against open and incorrigible sinnes. "But now," said he, "the avarice of preests, and ignorance of their office, hath caused it altogether to be vilipended; for the preest, whose duetie and office is to pray for the people, standeth up on Soonday, and crieth, 'One hath tint a spurtell; there is a flaill stollin beyond the barne; the goodwife on the other side of the gate hath lost a horne spoone; God's curse and myne I give to

[1] Hangers-on. [2] Salaried feudal retainers, who acted as bullies.

them that knoweth of this geere, and restoreth it not!'" He told a mirrie tale, how, at a certane time, after a sermoun which he made at Dumfermline, he came to a hous where gossips were drinking their Soonday's pennie, and being thristie, asked a drinke: "Yes, father," said one of the gossips, "but yee must first resolve us of a doubt; to witt, what servaunt will serve a man best, upon least expensse?" "The good angel," said he. "Tush!" said the gossip, "we meane not suche high maters." Whill he was musing upon an answere, the man said, "I see, father, the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. 'Know ye not how the bishops and their officialls serve us husbandmen? Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a placke, to indure for a whole yeere, to curse all that looke over our dykes? That keepeth our corne better nor the sleeping boy, who will have three shillings in fee, a shirt, and a paire of shoes in the yeere.'" He declared, likewise, how diligent the ancients were to trie the truthe of miracles. "But now," said he, "greedie preests not onlie embrace false miracles, but also cherish and hyre knaves for that purpose, that their chappells may be the more renowned, and offerings may be augmented. And therupon are manie chappells founded, as if our Ladie were mightier, and tooke greatter pleasure in one place than another, as of late dayes our Ladie of Karse Grange hath hopped frome one greene hillocke to another. But, honest men of Sanct Andrewes," said he, "if yee love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or ellis send them with honest companie; for if yee knew what miracles were wrought there, yee would neither thanke God nor our Ladie!" He alledged, the civill magistrat might correct Churchemen, and deprive them of their benefices, for open vices.

Upon another day, he made another sermoun of The Abbot Unreasoun,[1] to whome he compared the Prelats of that age, for they

[1] Such mumming festivals as the Feast of Fools, the Boy-Bishop, the Lord of Misrule, &c. although their object was to ridicule every thing sacred, were tolerated or even encouraged by the church, throughout the greater part of Europe, during the Middle Ages. The festival of the Abbot of Unreason was the favourite of the Scots;

were no more subject to lawes than the Abbot of Unreasoun. "There was," said he, "a prelat, or at least a prelat's peere, a true servaunt to the King of Love, who, upon a night, asked at his gentlemen by the faith they owe to the King of Love, that they would truelie declare how manie weomen everie one of them had, and how manie of them were men's wives. One answered he had lyin with five, and two of them were mareid; another, that he had lyin with seven, and three of them were mareid. It came at last to my Lord himself, who making it verie nice for a little space, said, 'I am the youngest man, and yitt have I had the round dossoun, and seven of them are men's wives!' Now," said the frier, "this God and King of Love, to whom our prelates make homage, is the master devill of hell, frome whome suche workes proceed." This prelat was knowne by his proper tokens to have beene Pryor Patrik Hepburne, who continued still in his faith to his God and King of Love. It was supposed, notwithstanding of his free preaching, that the frier remained a Papist in his heart; for the rest of the friers, fearing to lose the benedictioun of the bishops, to witt, their malt, their meale, and other sett pensiouns, caused the frier to flee to England, where, for defence of the Pope, he was cast into prisoun, at the commandement of King Henrie the Eight. But so it pleased God to open the mouth of Balaam's owne asse, to crie out against the vitious life of the cleargie of that age! I know not to what yeere preciselie to refare the Frier Archbishop his preachings; but it appeareth that they were uttered after that King Henrie the Eight had shaken off the Pope's authoritie, howbeit, not Poperie, becaus soone after these sermouns made by him he fled to England, and was imprisouned, as we have said, for defence of the Pope's authoritie. Soone after, consultatioun was takin that some might be burnt, for men beganne verie liberallie to speeke. A mirrie gentleman, named Johne Lindsay, familiar with Bishop Betoun, standing by, said, "My Lord, if yee burne anie moe, except yee follow my counsell, yee will utterlie destroy your selves. If

and the office of that mock functionary was to divert his audience with parodies of the church service, and sermons, mixed with every kind of tumultuous licence.

yee will burne them, lett them be burnt in hollow sellers, for the smooke of Mr Patrik Hammiltoun hath infected als manie as it blew upon."

Alexander Turnour, after he had beene imprisouned seven yeeres in the Towre of Londoun, returned home. He spake more freelie of preests than they could weill beare, becaus, in his absence, Sir Johne Dungevall, according to the charitie of churchemen, intertained his wife, and wasted the poore man's substance. Yitt was he accused of heresie, and summouned to answere at Sanct Andrewes. He leaped up mirrilie upon the scaffold, and casting a gambold, said, "Where are the rest of the players?" Mr Andrew Oliphant beganne to read his accusatioun. To the first article, that he despised the masse, he answered, "I heare moe masses in eight dayes then three bishops there sitting say in a yeere." Accused of contempt of the Sacraments, he said, "The preests were the most commoun contemners, and speciallie of matrimonie; which he proved by the instance of manie preests there present, naming the men's wives with whome they had lyin, and speciallie Sir Johne Dungevall, who, seven yeeres together, had abused his owne wife, and consumed his wealth. And becaus I compleaned of suche injureis, I am summoned hither," said he, "and accused as one that is worthie to be burnt. For God's sake, will yee take wives of your owne, that I, and others, whose wives yee have abused, may be revenged upon you." The old Bishop of Aberdeene, Gawin Dunbar, to justifie himself before the people, said, "Carle, thou sall not know my wife." He answered, "My Lord, yee are too old; but with the grace of God, I sall drinke with your daughter, ere I depart." Some smiled, others laughed, for the bishop had a daughter in that same toun, mareid to one Andrew Balsone. Then the bishops bad, Away with the carle! He answered, "I will not depart this houre: I have more to speeke against the vices of preests then I can exprese this whole day."

After diverse purposes, they commaunded him to burne his bill. He demaunded the caus. It was answered, "Yee have spokin these

things wherof yee are now accused." He answered, "The great divell beare them away that first or last said them!" So he tooke the bill, and chawing it, he spatt upon Mr Andrew Oliphant's face. "Now, burne it or drowne it, whether ye will, yee sall heare no more of me. But I must have somewhat of everie one of you, to beginne my packe again, which a preest, and my wife, a preest's whoore, have spent." Everie prelat and riche preest, to be quite of his evill, gave him somewhat, and so he departed. He understood nothing of religioun, yitt was it a fearefull thing to speeke anie thing against preests. It was judged heresie, although it was spokin in a man's sleepe. Richard Carmichaell, a singer in the Chappell Royall of Stirline, happened in his sleepe to say, "The devill tak away the preests, for they are a greedie packe!" He was accused by Sir George Clappertoun, Deane of the Chappell, and was forced to burne his bill. But God shortlie after raised up against them stronger champiouns.

Alexander Setoun, Blacke frier, of great estimatioun, beganne to spy the corruptiouns of Poperie. For the space of a whole Lent he taught the commandements onlie, ever breating in the eares of his auditors, that the law of God had beene of manie yeeres not truelie taught, and that men's traditiouns had obscured the puritie of it; that Christ was the end and perfectioun of the law; that there was no sinne where God's law was not violated; that remissioun of sinnes cometh by unfained repentance, and faith apprehending God, the Father, mercifull in Christ, his Sonne, and that it lyeth not in man's power to satisfie for his sinnes. He made no mentioun of Purgatorie, Pardouns, Pilgrimages, Prayer to Sancts, or suche like trifles. The dumbe Doctors, and the rest of that foresworne rable, beganne to suspect him, yitt said they nothing publicklie till Lent was ended. He went to Dundie, and in his absence, one hired for the purpose openlie condemned the doctrine which he had taught. Frier Alexander returned without delay to Sanct Andrewes, and caused immediatlie toll the bell. He affirmed in his sermoun, and that more plainlie than at anie time before, whatso-

ever he had taught in all his Lent sermouns, adding, that within Scotland there were no true bishops, if bishops sould be knowne by suche notes and qualiteis as Paul requireth in bishops. His speeches were careid with wings to the bishop's eares. He sent for him without delay, and accused him for speeking slaunderous-lie of the dignitie of bishops, in saying, it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or elles he was but a dumbe dogge, which fed not the flocke, but his owne bellie. He answered, "My Lord, the report-ers of these things are manifest lyers."

The bishop was glade of his answere, and said, "Your answere pleaseth me weill; I never could thinke of you, that yee would be so foolish as to affirme suche things: where are the knaves that brought me this tale?" They compeered, and affirmed as they did before. He still replied they were lees. Whill witnesses were produced, and men beganne to hearken, he turned him to the bishop, and said: "My Lord, yee may heare and consider what eares these asses have, who cannot discerne betwixt Paul, Isay, Zacharie, Malachie, and Frier Alexander Setoun. In verie deed, my Lord, I said, that Paul said, 'It behoved a bishop to be a teacher;' Isay, that 'They that feede not the flocke are dumbe dogges;' Zacharie, that 'They are idol-pastors.' I of my owne head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God be-fore had pronounced; at whom, my Lord, if you be not offended, you cannot justlie be offended at me." Howbeit, the bishop was highlie displeased, as weill with the scoffe and bitter mocke, as at the bold libertie of the learned man; yitt he durst not hazard to execute his malice at that time, for he feared his learning, bold spirit, and favour he had both of the people and of the king; for he was at that time his Confessor, and had exhorted him to the feare of God, to the meditatioun of God's law, and unto puritie of life. The bishop and his complices laboured by all meanes to make the said frier odious to the king, and easilie found the meanes; for they stirred up the Gray friers, who by their hypocrisie de-ceaved manie, to traduce the innocent as an heretick. The carnall Prince abhorring all counsell repugning to his filthie lusts, beleeved

easilie their accusatioun; and becaus he remembred his admonitiouns had beene a terrour to his corrupt conscience, willinglie he subscribed their accusatioun, adding, that he knew more in that mater than they did, for he understood weill eneugh that he smelled of the new doctrine, by suche things as he had shewed to him under confessioun. He promised to follow the counsell of the bishops in punishing him and all others of that sect. Frier Alexander was informed of these things by his freinds and familiars, and perceaved the king's countenance towards him to be changed. To avoide the furie of a bloodie Prince, he departed out of the countrie, in his habite. When he came to Berwicke, he wrote backe to the king this letter following:—

"Most gracious and soverane Lord, under the Lord and King of all, of whome onlie thy Highnesse and Majestie hath power and authoritie to exercise justice within this realme, under God, who is King and Lord of all realmes, and thy Grace and all mortall kings are but servaunts unto that onlie immortall Prince, Christ Jesus, &c. It is not, I wote, unknowne to thy gracious Highnesse, how that thy Grace's sometime servaunt and orator (and ever sall be to my live's end) is departed out of thy realme, unto the next adjacent of England. Neverthelesse, I beleeve the caus of my departing is unknowne to thy gracious Majestie; which onlie is, becaus the bishops and churchemen of thy realme have had heretofore suche authoritie upon thy subjects, that apparauntlie they were rather king and thou the subject, which unjust regiment is of itself false, and contrare to Scripture, and God's holie law, then thou art their king and maister, and they thy subjects, which is verie true, and testifeid expresslie by the Word of God. And also, becaus they will give no man of anie degree or estate (whom often they call hereticks) audience, time, nor place, to speake and have defense, which is against all law, both the old law, called the law of Moses, and the new law, called the Gospell. So that, if I might have had audience, and place to speeke, and shewed my just defence, conformable to the law of God, I sould never have fled to anie other realme, suppose it sould have cost me my life. But becaus I beleeved

I sould have no audience nor place to answere, (they are so great with thy Grace,) I departed, not doubting, but moved of God, unto a better time that God illuminat thy Grace, even to give everie man audience (as thou souldest, and mayest, and is bound by the law of God) who is accused to the death. And to certifie thy Highnesse that these are no vaine words, but of deid and effect, heere I offer me to thy Grace to come in the realme again, so that thy Grace will give me audience, and heare what I have for me of the law of God, and caus anie Bishop or Abbot, Frier or Secular, which is most convenient, (some of them cannot read their matins who are made judges of heresie!) to impugne me by the law of God. And if my part be found wrong, thy Grace being present, and judge, I refuse no paine worthie or condigne for my fault. And if that I convict them by the law of God, and that they have nothing to lay to my charge but the law of man, and their owne inventioums, to uphold their owne glorie, and pridefull life, and daylie scourging of thy poore subjects, I report me to thy Grace as judge, whether he hath the victorie that holds him at the law of God, which cannot faile, nor be false, or they which hold them at the law of man, which is right oft plaine contrarie, and against the law of God, and therefore of necessitie false, and full of leesings. For all thing which is contrarie to the veritie (which is Christ and his law) is of necessitie a leesing.

"And to witnesse that this comes of all my heart, I sall remaine at Berwicke whill I gett thy Grace's answere, and sall without faile returne, having thy hand-writt that I may have audience, and place to speeke. No more I desire of thee; wherof if I had been sure, I sould never have departed. And that thou mayest know the truthe therof, if feare of the justnesse of my caus, or dread of persecutioun for the same, had moved me to depart, I could not so pleasauntlie revert, onlie distrust was the caus of my departing. Pardoun me to say that which lyeth to thy Grace's charge. Thou art bound by the law of God (suppose they falslie lee, saying, it perteeneth not to thy Grace to intermeddle with suche maters) to caus everie man in anie case accused of his life, to have his just defense, and his ac-

cusers, conforme to their owne law. They blind thy Grace's eyes that knowes nothing of thy law. But if I prove not this out of their owne law, I offer me to the death. Thy Grace, therefore, by experience may daylie learne (seing they neither feare the King of Heaven, as their lives testifie, neither their naturall Prince, as their usurped power in their actioums shewes) why thy Highnesse sould be no longer blinded. Thou mayest consider that they pretend nothing elles but onlie the maintenance and upholding of their barbed mules,[1] augmenting of their insatiable avarice, and continuall overtgrowing and swallowing up thy poore subjects; neither preaching nor teaching out of the law of God (as they sould) to the rude, ignoraunt people, but contend who may be most high, and most riche, and neerest thy Grace, to putt the temporall lords and lieges out of thy counsell and favour, who sould be, and are, most tender servaunts to thy Grace, and in all time of need to the defense of thy crowne.

"And where they desire thy Grace to putt out thy temporall lords and lieges, becaus they despise their vitious life, what elles intend they but onlie thy death and destructioun, as thou mayest easilie perceive, suppose they colour their false intente and minde with the pursute of heresie? For when thy barroums are putt doun, what art thou but the King of Bane,[2] and then of necessitie must be guided by them? And there, no doubt, where a blind man is guide, must be a fall in the myre. Therefore, lett thy Grace take boldnesse and authoritie, which thou hath of God, and suffer not their cruell persecutioun to proceed without audience givin to him that is accused, and just place of defence; and then, no doubt, thou sall have thy subjects' hearts, and all that they can or may doe in time of need; tranquillitie, justice, and policie in thy

[1] Richly caparisoned and soft-paced ambling mules were an especial mark of the luxury of the Scotish clergy at this period. (See Sir David Lindsay's Complaynt, and the Three Estaitis.) In Chaucer's time, the English monks seem to have been equally noted for their extravagant studs of horses, as we may learn from his Monk, in the Canterbury Tales.

[2] In allusion to the choosing of the King of Bane on Twelfth Night.

realme, and finallie, the kingdome of the heavens. Pleaseth you to give this, or the copie, to the clergie or churchmen, and keepe the principall, and thy Grace sall have experience if I goe against one word that I have spokin. I sall daylie make my heartlie devotioun for thy Grace, and for the prosperitie and weilfare of thy bodie and soule. I doubt not but thy gracious Highnesse will give answere of these presents unto the presenter of this unto thy Highnesse. At Berwicke, by thy Highnesse's servitour and orator,

(*Sic subscribitur*) "ALEXANDER SETOUN."

This letter was delivered in the king's owne hands, and reade by manie. But what could greatlie availl, where the pride and corruptioun of bishops commaunded what they pleased, and the flatterie of courteours fostered the insolent Prince in all impietie? Alexander Setoun remained in England, and taught the gospell in sinceritie, certaine yeeres, with great commendatioun, and to the comfort of manie. He became Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolk. He was denounced, detected, and presented by three preests, of whome one was Fellow of Whittington Colledge, called Richard Taylour, the other Johne Smith, the third Johne Huntingtoun, who after was converted to the same doctrine himself. He made answere, by writting to the pretended objectiouns of his adversareis, which had gathered certane articles out of his sermoun, preached the 3d of November 1541, at Sanct Antoneis, in Londoun; first, denying manie things there objected against him, taking upon his conscience that he never spake diverse of these words; and againe, manie other things he never meant to suche end or purpose as they did wrest them. But for all that he could say for himself, the Ordinarie proceeded in his Consistorie judgement, ministering unto him certan interrogatoreis after the Popish course, to the number of ten articles. The greatest mater layed against him was, for preaching free justificatioun by faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good workes; and man's free will. He was also challenged for affirming, that privat masses, and dirgees, and other prayers, profited not the soules of the departed. In the end, he

and W. Tolwine, Parsoun of Sanct Antoneis, who had beene examined before Bishop Bonner, for suffering Frier Alexander to preache in his church, having no licence of his Ordinarie, and allowing his sermouns, and for making holie water without the generall exorcisme, were forced to recant at Paule's Crosse, and beare a faggot, anno 1541; for at this time certaine persouns were troubled for the six articles of Poperie which King Henrie the Eight reestablished. In his sermoun he had these words, "Putt the case, I have two servaunts, the one is called Johne, and the other is called Robert; and I promise to send you suche a day twentie pund by Johne, my servaunt, and at my day I send you, by Johne, my servaunt, twentie pund wanting a farthing, which Robert doth bring thee; and so thou hath thy twentie pund, everie pennie and farthing. Yitt will I aske, if I be true of my promise, or not? Thou mayest say 'Nay;' and why? becaus I promised to send the whole twentie pund by Johne, and did it not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Therefore, I say, if thy workes doe merit, or bring one little jote or title towards thy justificatioun, then is Christ false of his promise, who said he would doe all together." The rest of the heids of his sermoun may be seene in the "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," sett furth by Mr Foxe. Albeit, by the craftinesse of Bloodie Bonner, Bishop of Wincester, and others, he was circumvented and forced to recaunt, yitt Mr Knox doubteth not but that God powerfullie assisted him at his death, which shortlie after followed; and that he found mercie at the hands of God, wherupon he ever exhorted all men to depend. He was of a quicke ingyne, and tall stature. I find in Mr Johne Davidson's scrolles, that he was brother to Niniane Setoun, Laird of Tough. I cannot find the precise time of Frier Alexander's flight out of this countrie; yitt seing he is placed by Mr Knox, in his Historie, as a sufferer for the truthe not long after the death of Mr Patrik Hammiltoun, I have inserted his acts in this place.

Alexander Alesius, a channon and preest in Sanct Andrewes,

made an oratioun in Latine, at a Synod of bishops and preests, where he exhorted the rulers, and governours of the Kirk, to godlinesse and diligence in their calling; as he himself relateth in the Epistles prefixed to his booke dedicated to King James the Fyft. After this oratioun, or rather sermoun, he was deteaned a whole yeere in prisoun. But by the helpe of some channons, he was rescued out of prisoun, and fled in the night to a shippe in the roads, and frome thence he sailed to Germanie, as Cochlæus maketh mentioun in his "Apologie of the Kingdome of Scotland," dedicated to King James the Fyft. He remained for the most part in the Universitie of Lipsick, and was in great account with Luther and Melancton. He came afterward to England; for we finde in the Booke of Martyrs, that he assisted the Lord Cromwell, in an assemblie of learned men, appointed by the king, in the yeere 1537. The Lord Cromwell, by chance, meeting him by the way, as he came to the assemblie, brought him with him to the convocatioun-hous, where all the bishops were assembled together. Stokesly, Bishop of Londoun, mainteaned the number of seven sacraments, and some other bishops favoured his part; others favoured the Bishop of Canterburie. Lord Cromwell, the King's Vicar-Generall, desired them to be contented to heare Alexander Alesius. Alexander desired them, as the Archbishop of Canterburie had done before, to agree first upon the signification of the word *Sacrament*. "Whether will yee," said he, "call a sacrament a ceremonie instituted of Christ in the Gospell, to signifie a speciall or singular vertue of the Gospell and of godlinesse, as Paul nameth remissioun of sinnes to be; or whether meane yee everie ceremonie generallie, which may be a token for a significatioun of an holier thing?" He alledged all the Sacraments which had beene instituted by Christ himself, have some manifest word of God, and signifie unto us the remissioun of our sinnes. Stokesly replyed, it was false. Then said Alesius, he would prove it not onlie by manifest authoritie of Scriptures, but also by evident testimoneis of ancient doctors and schoole writters. The Bishop of Hereford, moved with the Bishop of London's frowardnesse, willed Alesius

not to contend with the bishop in such maner, by the testimoneis of doctors and schoole men, for so muche as they doe not all agree in like maters, neither are they stedfast among themselves, but doe varie, and in manie points are utterlie repugnant. Wherefore, if this disputatioun sall be decided by their mindes and verdicts, there sould be nothing established, neither sall appeare anie way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commaunded by the king, that these controverseis sould be determined onlie by the rule and judgement of the Scripture. Alesius being incuraged, proceeded further to urge the Bishop of Londoun with this argument. Sacraments be seales, ascertaining us of God's will: without the Word, there is no certantie of God's will: *Ergo*, without the Word there is no Sacraments. "Farther," said he, "Paul teacheth evidentlie that onlie Christ, and none but he, had power to institute a Sacrament; and that neither the Apostles nor the church hath anie authoritie to alter, or to adde anie thing unto his ordinance; wheras he sayeth, 'I have receaved of the Lord that which I have delivered unto you,' &c. To what purpose sould he goe about to move the people to beleeve him, and to winne their hearts with this protestatioun, if it had beene lawfull for him to have made anie sacraments, or to have altered the forme and maner of ministring this sacrament, as some men both wickedlie and shamefullie doe affirme, that the Apostles did alter the forme of Baptisme?" The Bishop of Londoun, in his answere, said, that unwrittin veriteis, and traditions of Fathers, were in equal force with God's writtin word. He was laughed to scorne for his answere. Alesius would have proceeded further to confute his blasphemous lee; but Lord Cromwell bad him be content, for it was needlesse, and the time was spent. Yitt ended he with these words, "If I can declare and prove that our Christiane faith and religioun doth lean onlie upon the word of God, which is writtin in the Scriptures, then yee will graunt to me there be no sacraments but those that have the manifest word of God to confirme them." The bishop consented to this, and so the assemblie was dissolved for that day. The nixt day, becaus he was commaunded to absteane frome disputatioun,

he delivered his minde to Lord Cromwell, who afterward shew the same to the bishops. Howbeit at this time the religioun was not whollie reformed in England, yitt some reformatioun was had by the diligence and care of Lord Cromwell. He returned againe to Germanie, but returned never to Scotland againe.

Master Johne Fife fled also at the same time with Alesius, and for his good behaviour, and great learning, was holdin in admiratioun with the godlie, and remained a long time at Lipsick; but returned into Scotland, and died in Sanct Leonard's, about the beginning of the Reformatioun, or soone after, as Mr Davidsone his memorie could serve.

Doctor Maccabeus, commonlie called Makcalpie, or, as some call him, Makdowall, was singularlie learned. He fled at the same time with the other two to Germanie. For his singular wisdome, beside his learning and godlinesse, he was made a Burgomaster in a certane toun. In what honour and credite he was with Christian, King of Denmark, Cawpmanhowen, and famous men of diverse natiouns can testifie.

Henrie Forresse, or, as others call him, Forrest, a young man, borne in Linlithquho, who, a little before, had receaved the orders of Bennet and Collet, as they terme them, affirmed, and said, that Mr Patrik Hammiltoun died a martyr, and that his articles were true, for which he was apprehended, and putt in prisoun, by James Betoun, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes. He caused, shortlie after, a certane frier, named Walter Laing, heare his confessioun, to whome, when he had declared in his secreet confessioun his conscience, how he thought Mr Patrik to be a good man, and wrongfullie to be putt to death, and that his articles were true, and not hereticall, the frier reveeled the confessioun to the bishop, when as before it was not throughlie knowne what he mainteaned. This confessioun was brought as sufficient probatioun against him. He was therefore convented before the Counsell of the cleargie and doctors, and there concluded to be an heretick, equall in iniquitie with Mr Patrik Hammiltoun, and decreed to be givin to the secular Judges, to suffer death. When the day came of his death, and that

he sould first be degraded, and was brought before the cleargie, in a greene place, being betweene the castell of Sanct Andrewes and another place called Monimaill, als soone as he entered in at the doore, and saw the face of the cleargie, perceaving wherunto they tended, cried with a loude voice, saying, "Fy on falshood! fy on false friers, reveelers of confessioun! After this day lett no man ever trust anie false friers, contemners of God's word, and deceavers of men." And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of Bennet and Collet, he said with a loude voice, "Take frome me not onlie your owne orders, but also your owne baptisme," —meaning thereby, whatsoever is beside that which Christ himself instituted, wherof there is a great rablement in baptisme. Then, after his degradatioun, they condemned him as an heretick equall with Mr Patrik aforesaid. So he suffered death for his faithfull testimonie to the truthe, at the North Church Stile of the Abbey Church of Sanct Andrewes, to the intent the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be the more affrayed to fall in the like doctrine, which they termed by the name of heresie.

Thus farre Mr Foxe, in the Booke of Martyrs. Mr Knox, in his Historie, relateth, that he was adjudged to the fire for no other crime but becaus he had a New Testament in English. It may be, that this brought him in suspicioun. But he was not throughlie knowne till he reveeled himself in his secreet confessioun to Frier Laing. The precise time of his suffering is not sett doun by anie that have writtin of our martyrs. But it would appeare by Mr Knox his Historie, and the mentioun he himself maketh of the death and doctrine of Mr Patrik as of a thing recent, that he suffered either this yeere, 1529, or the yeere following. Becaus the times wherein the martyrs and confessors above mentiouned suffered, are not cleerlie distinguished by anie history that I have seene, I have subjoyned their martyrdoms and sufferings to the martyrdome of Mr Patrik Hammiltoun, the first martyr, seing they followed soone after.

The yeere 1528, the Erle of Angus and his brother, Sir George,

being absent frome court, imployed in the affaires of the countrie, or otherwise secure and negligent, confiding too muche in the king's favour, and their owne strenth, the king conveyed himself secreetlie out of Falkland to Stirline, in the night, and sent for the nobilitie. The king and the nobilitie assembled at Stirline; sent a charge to the erle and his brother, whill as they are in the way, ryding to Stirline, commanding them to absteane from all publick governement, under the paine of death, and that neither he, nor anie of his freinds or dependers, come within twelve myles of the court. His freinds counsell him to ryde fordward. But he returneth to Edinburgh, and convocateth his freinds; the king gathereth his forces at Stirline; both to defend themselves, rather than to invade other. The erle went out of Edinburgh the secund of Julie, and the king entered with displayed banner. After intreatie of freinds, these conditioums were offered to the Dowglasses; that the erle remaine confyned beyond Spey, till the king's pleasure was further knowne; that his brother Sir George, and uncle Archibald, sould enter in waird in the castell of Edinburgh. They reject these offers, and therefore were summouned to compeere at Edinburgh in September, where the Parliament was to be holdin. In the meane time, Mr Gawin Dumbar, the king's schoolmaster, was constituted Chanceller, in place of the Erle of Angus; Robert Cairncroce, a man better knowne by his money than by his vertues, was constituted Treasurer, in the place of Archibald Dowglas of Kilspindie, the erle's uncle. The king, understanding that the Dowglasses intended to stoppe the holding of the Parliament, by surprising the toun of Edinburgh, sent forces thither, and prevented them. At this parliament, the Erle of Angus, his brother, his uncle by his father Archibald, and Archibald Drummond of Carnock, were forfaulted. The greatest motive to induce the Parliament to condemne them was, the king's asseveratioun, that he was in feare of his life als long as he was under their tutourie and governement. Johne Bannatyne, one of their dependers, protested openlie, that nothing be done in prejudice of the Erle of Angus, becaus he had just causses of feare to absent himself, which sould be alledged in

the owne time. By vertue of this protestatioun, the forfalture was reduced seventeen yeere after. Others report that they were forfaulted for assembling the king's subjects to invade his persoun, and deteane him against his will the space of two yeeres, all which time he stood in fear of his life.

Within few dayes after, his brother William, Abbot of Halyrudhous, deceassed, partlie through sicknesse, and partlie through greefe. Robert Cairncroce obteaneth gift of the Abbacie frome the king, under pretence of a wager, that the king would not give him the nixt vacand benefice, that by this policie the law of "Ambitus," hunting for, or buying of benefices, might be eluded. He was riche, and the king was skant of money.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, to besiege the castell of Tamtallon. The Erle of Angus furnished the castell with men, munitioun, and provisioun, and withdrew himself to the Borders. David Falconer, the king's principall Gunner, comming frome Dunbar castell with artillerie, was slaine by the Dowglasses. The king was constrained to raise the siege, but swore, that, so long as he lived, the Dowglasses sould never be receaved in favour.

The Erle of Angus, seeking to be avenged upon his adversareis, vexed their favourers and freinds, even to the ports of Edinburgh, so that the toun was like a besieged citie. All disorders committed in the south countreis were imputed to the Dowglasses. A shippe called the Martine, loadened with pretious commoditeis, and breaking at the Skait-raw, a part therof was spoiled by some horsemen belonging to the Dowglasses, the rest was takin away by the commoun people dwelling beside. The rude people, through ignorance, burnt the cannell instead of stickes.

M.D.XXIX.

The Dowglasses being pursued by the Erle of Argile, and George Lord Hume, authorised with the king's commissioun, deserted of the Hammiltouns and other freinds, were forced to withdraw themselves to England, as our writters report. But those who were actors

in the skirmishes betwixt them and the Dowglasses report, that sixtie or eightie men of Argile's companie were slaine, and the rest drivin backe when they were comming toward Dumbar, wherupon was made a deriding ryme. They report that he retired to England, not compelled by force, but at the King of England's desire. The English king had sent two knights in ambassadge to the king, to intreate for their peace, for he himself was preparing for warre against the Emperour Charles, and therefore was loathe to leave anie jarres in the ile. Hard and difficill it was to satisfie our king. At last, as they report, it was agreed, that they sould be receaved in favour, and to peace, within suche a space as was agreed upon, the king's honour and credite being saved by their retiring, and raundering of the castell of Tamtallan. The castell was raundered, but the conditiouns upon the king's part were not keeped, except that favour was graunted to Alexander Drummound, to returne home to the countrie, not so muche for performance of anie promise, as in favour of Robert Bartan, who had requeested for him. James Colvill and Robert Cairncroce, suspected to be favourers of the Dowglasses, were removed frome court, and their offices bestowed upon this Robert Bartane.

M.D.XXX.

In the moneth of Marche, James Erle of Murrey, base sonne to King James the Fourth, was made Lieutenant-Generall, and sent to the Marches, to meete with the Erle of Northumberland at a day of truce. But nothing was done, becaus they contended about the place of meeting. The Scots alledged they sould meete in the Scotish ground, becaus it was so accorded in the dayes of King Henrie the Seventh, and King James the Fourth, for a part of satisfactioun of the slaughter of Sir Robert Ker, Wardane of the Middle Marches, at a day of truce. The Erle of Northumberland refuseth. So no redresse was made for goods stollin, nor peace concluded.

In Aprile, the Erle of Bothwell, Lord Maxwell, Lord Hume, Lairds of Balcleuch, Phairnihurst, Johnestoun, and some other

cheefe men on the Borders, were putt in waird in the castell of Edinburgh, or confyned; but within few moneths after were restored to libertie, after they had delivered pledges for their allegiance.

In the meane time, in the moneth of Julie, the king went with an armie of eight thowsand men to Ewisdaill, to apprehend and punishe theeves. Johne Armestrange, a notorious theefe, who had compelled the English to pay him blacke male, and was terrible to the Lord Maxwell himself, whill as he was comming to the king, intysed by some courteours, but without a safe-conduct, was intercepted by fiftie horsemen lying in an ambushe, and brought to the king, as if he had beene apprehended by force. He and a great number of his companie were hanged upon growing trees. His apprehenders, to make him the more odious, alledged that he had promised to raunder to the English a part of Scotish ground next adjacent to their Borders.

M.D.XXXI.

A landed man, named Johne Scot, after he had travelled through Italie, France, and the Holie Land, returneth home. Before his departure out of the countrie, he had succumbed in an actioun of law, and becaus he was not able to pay the summe which the other partie had evicted, he tooke sanctuarie at Halyrudhous. There he absteaned frome meate and drinke certaine dayes. The bruite of his abstinence comming to the king's eares, the king caused putt him into David's towre, in the castell of Edinburgh, and bread and water to be sett beside him. He absteaned frome eating or drinking thirty-two dayes. When he was lett furth, the people came flocking to him. He uttered manie idle speeches, and among the rest, that by the helpe of the blessed Virgin, he could fast suppose never so long time. He went to Rome, where he was committed to prisoun, by Pope Clement, till triall was takin of his abstinence. He is sett at libertie, and a sealed testimoniall graunted to him, with a scale of lead, and some masse cloathes. After he had givin the like prooffe at Venice, he got fiftie ducats to supplie his charges

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to Jerusalem. He brought with him frome Jerusalem some date-tree leaves, and a pocke full of stones, which he fained were takin out of the piller to which Christ was bound, when he was scourged. By the way, when he was at London, he made an harang against King Henrie's divorce at Paul's Croce, and shaking off of the Pope's authoritie. He was therupon committed to prisoun, but was sett at libertie, after he had beene keeped fiftie dayes, all which space he absteaned frome meate and drinke. When he came to Scotland, he would have joyned himself with Thomas Doughtie, who had builded a chappell to Marie Lareit,[1] with money which he had collected among the people, where he made great gaine by fained miracles. When anie preest came to say masse, he had either one colluding begger or other, who fained he was cured of some infirmitie either of bodie or minde. Johne Scot being rejected by Thomas Doughtie, erected an altar in a chamber neere Edinburgh, wheron he sett his daughter, a young maid, and waxe candles about her burning, to be worshipped in place of the Virgin Marie. But this device not succeeding, he returned to his old craft, wanting no good will but witt to deceave.

This yeere, indulgence of grace was graunted to the Blacke Friers in Edinburgh, for the burning which happened upon the Low Sunday after Mr Patrik Hammilton's death, when holie bells, steeple, and all, was burnt. Others record that the Blacke Friers was burnt upon a Saturday, in the Marche following after his death.

M.D.XXXII.

In the beginning of this yeere, the Erle of Bothwell was committed to waird in the castell of Edinburgh, for that he went privilie to England, and had secreet conference with the Erle of Northumberland, without the king's knowledge.

[1] Loretto. This chapel, as we learn from the writings of Sir David Lindsay, was not only a complete store-house of false miracles, but a very fashionable place of pilgrimage; and he pourtrays, in frightful colours, the excesses of those who repaired to the shrine under pretence of devotion. The building was demolished by the soldiers of the Earl of Hertford, in his invasion of 1543.

There had beene no sett dayes nor place appointed before time for judgment of pecuniall and civill causses. Johne Duke of Albanie had obteaned from the Pope, that a yeerelie summe of money sould be levied of the clergie, for the fees of some few judges that sould be appointed to that use. Gawin Dumbar, Bishop of Aberdeene, appealed in his owne name, and name of the clergie, to the Pope. This controversie continued frome the 10th of Marche to the 22d of Aprile, at which time the Colledge of the Judges was established in Edinburgh. In the beginning, manie things were profitablie devised by them, and justice ministred with equitie. But the event answered not the expectatioun of men; for seing in Scotland there be almost no lawes except the acts of Parliament, wherof manie are not perpetuall, but temporarie, and the judges hinder what they may the making of suche lawes, the goods of all men are committed to the arbitrement and decisioun of fyfteen men, which have perpetuall power, which, in truthe, is but tyrannicall impyre, seing their owne arbitrements stand for a law, as sayeth Buchanan. Others record, that where as before certaine of the clergie, barons, and citicens, were chosin everie yeere, to travell through the foure quarters of the realme, to give judgment in civill causses, it often happened, that either through ignorance of the judge, who had not atteaned to perfect skill in the lawes, or by brybing, wrongous decrects were obteaned; the judges were so often changed, that no caus could be weill examined by one man at one time. It was therefore ordeaned in Parliament by the king's persuasioun, that a definite number of judges sould have their residence at Edinburgh, to decide suche controverseis. The halfe number consisted of the clergie, the other halfe of the laitie, as they called them. Over them was sett, as President, one of the clergie; for the corrupt clergie neglected their owne callings, and intangled themselves with civill affaires which belonged nothing to them.

M.D.XXXIII.

In the yeere 1533. sharpe inquisitioun was made against those

who savoured of the truthe, to pleasure the Pope. The Pope, againe, to gratifie the king, graunted to him the tenth part of all the benefices for three yeere to come. Mr Foxe referreth to this yeere the martyrdome of Henrie Forresse; for he sayeth, he suffered the yeere before the death of Mr Normand Gourlay.

Walter Stewart, brother to Andrew Stewart, Lord of Ochiltrie, was accused before Bishop Dumbar of Glasgow, in Marche, for casting doun an image in the kirk of Aire. He recanted his opiniouns after long dealing with him. But in his returning home, he drowned in the water of Calder, so that falling frome his horse, none could rescue him. At lenth, getting hold of a great stone, he cried to his freinds, and exhorted them that they tooke example by him, not to redeeme life by recanting the truthe, for experience there proved it would not be sure. He protested he was there to dee in the truthe which he professed; and that being sorie for his recantatioun, he was assured of the mercie of God in Christ. He willed them to remember this worke of God to their owne profite. Being overcome, and drawin frome his grippe of the stone, he drowned, none being able to rescue him in the deepe whither he was carreid, howbeit the water was not deepe where he first fell. George Grode, one of the cheefe clerkes of the Colledge of Judges in Edinburgh, ryding behind him, upon the same horse, was saved.

This yeere, Mr Gawin Logie, Doctor of Sanct Leonard's Colledge, who taught the truthe secreetlie to manie of his schollers, was forced to flee out of the countrie.

The English king, after he had concluded a league with the Frenche king, Francis, against Charles the Emperour, whose aunt he had putt away by divorcement, hunted for occasiouns of warre with the Scots. He made invasioun by his souldiours of Berwick upon the Merce. They burnt Coldinghame, Dunglas, and manie villages, killed and spoiled at their pleasure, without anie injurie offered. When he thought this not sufficient provocatioun, he demaunded Canabie to be restored as apperteaning to English ground, whereof questioun had never beene moved before, and the

Dowglasses to be restored to their owne countrie. The king caused proclaime the Erle of Murrey his Lieutenant-Generall, and dividing the countrie in four parts, appointed everie quarter to send their companeis by course, to ly upon the Borders fortie dayes. The Scots revenge the last injurie with forraging the English borders. King Henrie is desirous of peace, but would neither offer, nor seeke it directlie, but moved the King of France to deale in that mater. The King of France sent his ambassader, to trie in whose default the breache was made. King James purged himself; compleaned that his ambassaders were deteaned a long time without an answere; sent letters with the Frenche ambassader, wherin he craved a continuance of the old league which was renued last at Rowen, by the Duke of Albanie, Governour; and with him he sent David Betoun, Abbot of Arbrothe, to answere to the calumneis of the English king, to treate anent the ratificatioun of the league and of alliance. He gave him letters to be delivered to the Parliament at Parise, if his bussinesse did not succeed; and directioun, immediately after, to withdraw himself in all haist to Flanders, of purpose, as is likelie, to treate with Charles the Emperour of mariage. The letters were full of expostulatioums and complaints that the ancient leagues had beene neglected, and the articles agreed upon last at Rowen were not observed, and all for favour of the English king, their commoun enemie. In the meane time were the English and Scots vexing other with incursioums. Certaine commissioners of both the realmes were at Newcastell, to treate for redresse, and recompense of wrongs and injureis, but they could not agree. The Frenche king sendeth another ambassader, to compose the controversie. By his procurement truce was concluded.

M.D.XXXIV.

In time of truce, the king sett himself earnestlie to mariage, sent ambassaders to seeke the secund daughter of France, seing the eldest was dead. The Frenche king answered, she was so weake, that there was no hope of long life to her, lett be of childrein. He sent ambassaders to Charles the Emperour, to treate of contract of

affinitie with him. The Emperour his ambassader, Godscall Erick, came from Toledo in Spaine, by Ireland, to Scotland, the 24th of Aprile. His message conteaned the injureis done to Katharine, Queene of England, and her daughter Marie; the calling of a gene-rall councell to the overthrow of the Lutherane heresie, and a treatie of mariage. The Emperour offered to the king's choice one of three Mareis, Marie, his sister, wedow to Ludowick of Hungarie, slaine by the Turkes; Marie of Portugall, his neece, by his sister Leonora; Marie of England, his coosin-germane, by his aunt Katharine. He insisted most upon the last, partlie to separate the Scotish king frome the Frenche, partlie to sett the Scotish and English king by the eares. Our king answered, the last was profitable, but dangerous and uncertane, neither could he, being left the onlie man of his lyne, suffer so long a delay. He preferred to them all his neece by his sister Isabell, daughter to Christerne, King of Denmarke: the Emperour answered, she was affianced to another.

The king was this yeere made Knight of the Garter by the English king, of the Goldin Fleece by the Emperour, of the Order of Sanct Michael by the French king; in remembrance wherof, he caused the armes of Scotland, adorned with these three orders, to be sett over the palace gate of Linlithquho.

This sommer he sailled about the Sky, and the Lewes, and other iles, and brought with him some pledges, and others, authors of troubles. Some of them he sent to Edinburgh, some to Dumbar castell, which was but latelie delivered to him, for Johne Duke of Albanie had a garisoun of Frenchemen in it, and keeped it to that time.

The same yeere, (1534,) in the moneth of August, the bishops having gottin fitt opportunitie, renued their battell against Jesus Christ. David Stratoun, a gentleman of the hous of Lawrestoun, and Mr Norman Gourlay, were brought to judgement in the Abbay of Halyrudhous, the king himself, all clothed with reid, being present. Great paines were takin upon David Stratoun to make him to recant, and burne his bill. But he, ever standing to his defense,

was in end adjudged to the fire. He asked grace at the king. The bishop answered proudlie, that the king's hands were bound, and that he had no grace to give to suche as by their law were condemned. So was he with Mr Norman, after dinner, upon the 27th day of August, ledde to a place beside the Rude[1] of Greenside, and were both hanged and burnt, according to the mercie of the Papisticall kirk. According to Mr Foxe his informatioun, which he receaved out of Scotland, they were burnt upon the Greeneside betweene Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seing the fire, might be stricken with terrour and feare. David Stratoun at the first hated the preests onlie for their pride and avarice. The Bishop of Murrey exacted of him the tenth fish: his answere to his servaunts was, if they would have that which his servaunts had gottin, it was reasoun they sould come, and receave it where they gott the stocke; and as was constantlie affirmed, he caused his servaunts cast the tenth fish in the sea againe. Processe of cursing was ledde against him, which, when he contemned, he was summouned to answere for heresie. He had beene before verie stubborne, and despised all reading, speciallie of good purposes: now, he delyted in nothing but reading, albeit he could not read himself, and exhorted everie man to peace and concord, and to the contempt of the world. He frequented muche the companie of Johne Areskine, Laird of Dun, a man mervelouslie illightenned in respect of these times. When the Laird of Lawrestoun, being then a young man, was reading to him upon the New Testament, he chaunced to reade this sentence of our Master, "He that denieth me before men, I will denie him in the presence of my Father, and before his angels." At which words, as one revived, he suddanlie cast himself upon his knees, and extending his hands, and looking constantlie with his visage toward the heaven a reasonable time, he burst furth at lenth in these words: "O Lord, I have beene wicked, and justlie may thou abstract thy grace frome me; but, Lord, for thy mercеis sake, lett me never denie thee, nor thy truthe, for feare of death or bodilie paine." The issue declared that his

[1] Rood or cross at Greenside well.

prayer was not powred out in vaine. Mr Normand was a man of reasonable eruditioun and knowledge, although it was joyned with weakenesse. He had said there was no Purgatorie, and that the Pope was not a bishop, but the Antichrist, and that he had no jurisdiction in Scotland. James Hay, Bishop of Rosse, satt in judgement, as commissioner to James Beton, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, as Mr Foxe relateth.

To that same dyett were summouned others also, of whome some compeered in the Abbey kirk of Halyrudhous, abjured, and publiclie burnt their bills. Others compeered not, but fled out of the countrie. Adame Dayes, or Dease, a shipwright that dwelt on the north side of the bridge of Leith, was one of the number. Henrie Cairnes, skipper in Leith, fled out of the countrie to the easter seas; Johne Stewart, indweller in Leith, died in exile. Mr Williame Johnestoun, advocat, fled out of the countrie, returned in the time of Governour Hammiltoun. Reid, Bishop of Orkney, bought his houss, being confiscated, with a small summe, so that it was thought great favour that he gott the use of one chamber. But after his death, he gott no buriall, neither in churche nor churcheyarde. Mr Henrie Henrysone, schoolemaster of the Grammar Schoole at Edinburgh, was often summouned, and in end for noncompeerance was condemned as contumax and an heretick. He died in England. Sir Williame Kirkie, preest, whether he compeered and abjured, or fled, we can find no certaintie. Mr Foxe refereth to this time, Sir James Hammiltoun of Linlithquho, shireff, and his sister Katharine. James Hammiltoun was accused as one that mainteaned the opinioums of Mr Patrik, his brother, to whome the king gave counsell to depart, and not to compeere, for in cace he compeered, he could not helpe him, because the bishops had perswaded him that the caus of heresie did no wise apperteane to him. And so, James fled, was condemned as an heretick, his goods and lands confiscated, and disposed unto others. His sister Katharine appeared, and being accused of heresie, to witt, that her owne works could not save her, she graunted, and after long reasouning betweene her and Mr Johne Spence, the lawyer, she con-

cluded in this maner: "Worke heere, worke there, what kinde of working is all this? I know perfytlie that no kinde of workes can save me but onlie the workes of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." The king hearing these words, turned him about, and laughed, and called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she was his ant, and so she escaped.

A woman of Leith was detected upon this occasioun. When the middewife, in time of her labour, bad her say, "Our Ladie, helpe me!" she cried, "Christ, helpe me! Christ, helpe me, in whose helpe I trust!" She was also constrained to recant, and escaped without confiscatioun of her goods, becaus she was mareid. Thus farre Mr Foxe of the three last. The publick ceremonie of recanting in these times was, to beare a faggot of dric stickes, and burne it publicklie, to signifie that they were destroying that which sould have beene the instrument of their death.

Notwithstanding of the cruell tyrannie of the bloodie bishops, the knowledge of God did wonderfullie encreasse within this realme, partlie by reading, and partlie by conference, which in these dangerous dayes was used to the comfort of manie. Merchants and mariners who heard the true doctrine preached, and the vanitie of Popish religioun openlie discovered in other countreis, were no idle instruments in advancing religioun.

The Frenche king acknowledging his owne daughter Magdalene to be weake and infirme, and offering anie other of the royall blood, James Erle of Murrey, Johne Lord Areskine, Williame Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeene, and one Robert Reid, were sent in ambassadge to France. The Duke of Vandosme's daughter, Marie de Burbone, was offered in mariage. When they had accorded upon all conditioums, yitt doubting if the king would be pleased, made no contract. The English king, to cast in impediments, sent the Bishop of Sanct Daveis to Scotland, in November. He brought with him some English bookes, conteaning the grounds of religioun. The Pope's authoritie was greatlie diminished in England, and the king acknowledged in parliament holdin this yeere, supreme Head of the Kirk within his dominioums, in all spirituall

causses, and over all persouns. The Pope's bulls, pardouns, indulgences, dispensatiouns, were made voide and of none effect. The king shew the bookes to some courteours who were most addicted to the preests. They had skarse looked upon them, when they condemned them of heresie, and flattered the king for his good fortune, in that he had not polluted his eyes with looking upon suche pestiferous writts.

M.D.XXXV.

The yeere following, the same bishop returned with Lord Williame Howart, and came to Stirline, before the king was aware. The English king craved an interview and conference with the Scotish king, to treate upon maters important for the weale of both the natiouns, putting him in hope that he would give him his daughter in mariage, and make him successour, if they agreed in other things. And to the end he might trust him the better, he would create him presentlie Duke of Yorke, and Lieutenant of the whole realme. The day was appointed, and the king would gladlie have accepted suche offers. But the Hammiltons laboured under hand that the king might not marie. Sundrie reasouns were objected against the interview, honest in shew. "If yee putt yourself in the hand of your old enemie, yee will be forced to obey his will, nill yee, will yee." The deteaning of King James the First eighteen yeere in England, the alluring of King Malcolme, and his brother, King Williame, to Londoun, and then taking them over to France, to the warres against the Frenche king, their old confederate, was called to minde. The prelats and preests, fearing the fall of their glorie, and trouble of their kingdome, which beganne to be shaken then in England, flocked to court. "What," said the preests and prelats, "religioun is to be betrayed at this interview, after the ruine wherof will follow the ruine of the kingdome! What shame, what impietie is it to forsake now, or make defectioun frome that ancient religioun for the defense wherof all Europ is taking armes, and making supplicatiouns!" They corrupt his cheefe courteours, and offered by them to the king a great summe of

money. The superstitious king, muche addicted to his preests and corrupt courteours, was altogether disswaded to meete the English king at Yorke, as was promised, wherupon followed great troubles.

M.D.XXXVI.

The king, impatient of anie longer delay, seing the treatie of mariage was brought to no conclusioun by his ambassaders, resolveth upon a voyage to France. He embarked at Leith the 24th of Julie, with five shippes, few or none knowing whither he intended to direct his course. When the shippes were tossed with contrarie winds, being asked of the skipper what course he would keepe, he answered, "Land us in anie countrie but in England." Then was his purpose understood; and howbeit he might have easilie turned his course homeward, yitt would he rather saile about Scotland, and by the westerne seas, to France. Whill they were in the west seas, the wind not favouring them, he was brought backe againe whill he was sleeping. When he awaked, he was so offended, that he could never be throughlie appeased with Sir James Hammiltoun, base sonne to the Erle of Arran, nor other devisers of that tricke. There wanted not some that fed him in his humour, and made him apprehend that Sir James had accompaneid him, under colour of service, but in truthe to crosse his intentioun. He landed at Sanct Ninian's, in Galloway, frome whence he returned to Stirline, and frome thence went in pilgrimage to our Ladie of Lareitt her chappell, beside Musselburgh, where Thomas Doughtie, Hermite of Lareitt, abused the people with fained miracles. He embarked againe the first of September, and arrived at Deepe, the tenth day after. When he came to court, the king refered to his choice his eldest daughter Magdalene, or a younger called Margaret, mareid after to the Duke of Savoy. He dealt plainlie with him, assuring him that his eldest daughter was sickelie, weake. But he had contracted familiaritie with her before by messengers, which was now confirmed by sight and conference. So they were contracted the 25th of November, 1536. An hundreth thowsand crownes of the

summe promised with her endowrie, with threttie thowsand franks of pensioun during his life, were delivered to him at his returne, beside cupboords of plate, and riche jewells, farre above the summe promised in dowrie, and two shippes with artillerie, powder, and munitioun, wherof the one was called the Salamander.

M.D.XXXVII.

The mariage was solemnized the first of Januar, in the church of Nostredame, in Parise. They tooke their leave of the Frenche king about the end of Aprile, and landed at Leith the 26th of May. Frome thence, they were conveyed with great pompe to the Abbey of Halyrudhous. But she being consumed with an hecticke fever, ended her dayes the 7th or 10th of Julie, immediatelie following. Her death was dolorous to men of all sorts but to preests and prelats, for they feared the fall of their pompe, and want of their pleasures, becaus she had beene brought up with the Queene of Navarre, her aunt. Then beganne first the use of mourning, or doole weeds, in Scotland.

This yeere, the Erle Bothwell was banished out of Scotland, England, and France, for his secreet communicatioun with the English.

The Master of Forbesse was beheaded the 10th of Julie, after that he had beene convict by an assise as having, some yeeres before, sought with the Dowglasses to slay the king. Strauchane, one of his servaunts, the reveeler or rather forger of the conspiracie, was seduced by Huntlie. It was knowne also that the greatest part of the assise was corrupted by the said erle. Howbeit the people thought him not guiltie of that treasoun, yitt did they not lament his death, becaus he had beene otherwise guiltie of manie haynous offensses. The king seemed to repent of this fact soone after, for he receaved one of his brethrein to court, and the other he restored to his brother's patrimonie, and was carefull of his mariage. The Master of Forbesse had mareid the Erle of Angus his sister, which had procured him the king's hatred.

Jeane Dowglas, Ladie Glames, a sister to the Erle of Angus,

was convict by an assise as having, with her second husband, Gillespick Campbell, her sonne, an old preest, and Johne Lyoun, kinsman to her first husband, sought to have killed the king with poysoun. Howbeit they dwelt farre frome court, and nothing could be extorted frome their freinds or servaunts which might anie wise serve against them, yitt were they tortured, and committed to the castell of Edinburgh. Jeane Dowglas was burnt the fyft day after the beheading of the Master of Forbesse. Her death was muche lamented by the people for her nobilitie, her youth, her beautie, her curage at her suffering, but most of all becaus it was judged, that hatred against her banished brother, rather than guiltinesse of anie crime committed, had brought her to that end. Her husband, Gillespick Campbell, whill he preassed to escape out of the castell by a cord, over the wall, the cord being short, he brake all his bones, and died. His sonne, a simple youth, skarse lyable to anie suspicioun for suche a crime, was deteaned in waird during the king's life, and after restored to his patrimonie. The accuser was one Williame Lyoun. He repented, but too late, of his calumneis, and confessed his wicked purpose to the king; but the king relented nothing of his rigour, or of the forfalture of their laiids: his anger against the Dowglasses was implacable. Archibald Dowglas of Kilspindie, whome he loved singularlie for his abilitie, when he was a childe, and called him his Graysteill, came secreetlie in the countrie, fell doun upon his knees before him, when he was comming frome the parke of Stirline to the castell, and craved pardoun. The king past by, seeming to take no notice of him. This gave occasioun to the English king to blame his nephew, and to alledge the commoun saying, "A king's face sould have grace."

This yeere his foure bastard sonnes, borne of diverse weomen, were provided to riche abbaceis and pryoreis, Melrose, Kelso, Coldinghame, Halyrudhous, Sanct Andrewes, the revenues wherof were brought in to the king's coffers so long as he lived, by which he had als much money as of the patrimonie of the crowne.

Andrew Charters, a Charterhouse frier, fled this yeere to Eng-

land, where he stayed a yeere, and therafter fled to Germanie, where he cast off his cowle. He stayed at Wittenberg a yeere; therafter he returned to Antwerpe, was spoiled by the way beside Culen, but was releeved by some Scotishmen when he came to Antwerpe. Frome thence he came to Zeland, frome whence he sent a letter to his brother, Proveist of Dundie, wherin he inveyed vehementlie against bishops, preests, abbots, monkes, friers. Among other words he hath these following:—"Shortlie, I tell the whole order which they call Spirituall, in Scotland, of these that will be esteemed religious, is diabolicall, aud they are the childrein of the divell. When they perceave that anie man taketh up their craft, or falshoode, or preasseth to diminishe their gaine, controll their pride, or challenge them of fornicatioun, he is incontinent accused of heresie; so that if Christ himself were in Scotland, he sould be made more ignominious by our spirituall fathers, than he was of old by the Jewes. Their will standeth for a reasoun. They dare not committ the controversie to disputatioun, except one of themselves be judge. That which I write to you, I dare boldlie avouche before all the preests, bishops, abbots, and friers of Scotland." Frome thence he went to Italie. He was a man of quicke ingyne, aud goodlie personage; wherupon King Henrie said to him, after that he had talked with him an houre, "It is a pitie that ever yee were a frier."

M.D.XXXVIII.

Marie Gwise of Loraine, Dutchesse of Longaveill, widow, and daughter to the Duke of Gwise, landed at Balcomie in Fife, the 14th of June 1538, and frome thence was conveyed to Sanct Andrewes, where the mariage betwixt her and King James the Fyft was solemnized, and confrimed in the Abbey Churche. She had beene espoused before by procurators with great triumphe in Parise.

Sir Johne Borthwicke, Knight, called commounlie Captane Borthwicke, was accused and convicted by witnesses' bare names, without anie other proofe at all, as an heretick, for mainteaning the

articles underwrittin, in the cloyster of Sanct Andrewes, the 28th of May, in the presence of a number of bishops, abbots, pryors, doctors, friers, officialls, and noblemen. 1. That our holie Father the Pope, as Christ's Vicar, hath not, neither can exercise greater authoritie over Christians heere on earth, than anie other bishop or prelat. 2. That Indulgences and Pardouns, graunted by our Supreme Head the Pope, are of no force, strenth, or effect, but tend onlie to the abuse of the people, and deceaving of their soules. 3. That the Pope is an open user of Simonie, daylie selling the gifts of the spiritualiteis, and that it is lawfull for all bishops to be coupled and joyned in matrimonie. 4. That all these hereseis commounlie called the hereseis of England, or at the least, the greatest or most part of them, be now presentlie understood and knowne by the Englishmen to be of themselves good and just, and are to be observed of all faithfull Christians as most true and conformable to the law of God; and that he had perswaded manie persouns to embrace the said hereseis. 5. That the Scotish natioun and cleargie be altogether blind, whome he did also say and affirme that they had not the true Catholick Faith. And this he did openlie teache, and preached also, that his faith was muche better, and more excellent, than the faith of all the clergie in the realme of Scotland. 6. Agreeable to the ancient errours of Johne Wickleffe, and Johne Husse, arche hereticks, condemned in the Councell of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached that the clergie ought not to possesse or have anie temporall possessiouns, neither to have anie jurisdictioun or authoritie in temporaliteis, even over their owne subjects, but that all these things ought to be takin frome them, as it is at this present in England. 7. Falslie, and against the honour, state, and reverence of the Sacred Majestie of the King of Scots, he hath said, holdin, and affirmed, that our most noble King of Scots, Defender of the Christiane Faith, sould appropriat unto himself all the possessiouns, lands, and rents of the churche, givin and graunted by his predecessors, and also graunted by himself, and convert them to his owne privat use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath manie times writtin unto him, so hath he with

his whole endeavoure perswaded our said noble lord and king therunto. 8. He willed and desired, and often times with his whole heart prayed, that the Church of Scotland might come, and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruine, as the Church of England was alreadie come unto. 9. He hath openlie said and affirmed, that the lawes of the church, that is to say, the sacred canons approved and allowed by the Holie Catholick and Apostolick Church, are of no force, strenth, or effect, alledging therefore and affirming, that they are made and invented contrarie to the law of God. 10. Diverse and manie wayes hath he said, holdin, and also affirmed, and openlie taught, that there is no religioun to be observed or keeped, but simplie to be abolished and destroyed, as it is now in England; and despising all religioun, affirming that it is but abusing of the people, he hath taught that their habits and vestures are deformed, and verie monstrouous, having in them no maner of utilitie or holienesse; inducing and alluring als muche as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinioun to beleeve, that all religioun in the kingdome of Scotland sould be subverted, and utterlie takin away, to the great offense of the catholick church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christian religioun. 11. It is plainlie manifest by lawfull prooffes, that the said Johne Borthwicke had, and presentlie hath, diverse bookes suspected of heresie, condemned als weill by the Papall, as also regall and ordinarie authoritie, and prohibited by the law; that is to say, speciallie the New Testament, commounlie printed in English, Œcolampadius, Melancton, and diverse treatises of Erasmus, and other condemned hereticks: as also a booke intituled "*Unio Dissidentium*," the which conteaneth most manifest and great errours, and hereticall assertiouns; and hath read and studied the same, als weill openlie as privatlie; and hath presented and communicated them to others, and also hath instructed and taught manie Christians in the same, to divert and turne them away frome the true Christian and Catholick Faith. 12. It is manifest, that the said Johne Borthwicke was so obstinat in all the foresaid errours and hereseis, and so mainteaned and taught them with suche an indured heart and

minde, that he would by no meanes be disswaded frome them by his freinds, and diverse other persouns which did deerelie love and favour him, but choosed rather obstinatlie to persevere in the said errours.

THE SENTENCE AND CONDEMNATIOUN AGAINST SIR JOHNE BORTHWICKE.

"Of all which the premisses, and manie other errours holdin by him, spokin, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the commoun fame and report is, that the said Sir Johne Borthwicke is holdin, reputed, and accounted of verie manie as an heretick, and principall heretick which holdeth evill opiniouns of the Catholick Faith. Wherefore, wee, David, by the title of S. Steven in mount Celio, Prelat and Cardinall of the holie church of Rome, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, Primat of the whole kingdome of Scotland, and borne Legat of the Apostolick See, sitting after the maner of Judges in our tribunall seate, the most holie Gospells of God being layed before us, that our judgement might proceed frome the face of God, and our eyes behold and looke upon equitie and justice, having onlie God, the veritie and truthe of the Catholick Faith before our eyes, his holie name being first of all called upon, having, as is before said, heerupon holdin a councell of wise men, as weill divines as lawyers: we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir Johne Borthwicke, called Captan Borthwicke, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errours and hereseis aforesaid, and wicked doctrins manifoldlie condemned, as is aforesaid, and by lawfull prooffes against him in everie one of the premisses had, being convicted, and lawfullie cited, and called, not compeering, but as a fugitive runne away, and absent; even as though he were present, to be an heretick, and is, and hath beene convicted as an heretick, and as a convicted heretick and heresiarch to be punished, and chastenned with due punishment, and afterward to be delivered, and left to the secular power.

Moreover, we confiscat and make forfeyte, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeyte, all and singular his goods, movables, and unmoveables, howsoever, and by whatsoever title they be gottin, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices whatsoever he hath hitherto had; reserving, notwithstanding, the dowrie, and suche part and portioun of his goodes as by the law, custome, and right of this realme, unto persouns confiscated ought to apperteane. Also wee decree, that the picture of the said Johne Borthwicke being formed, made, and painted, to his likenesse, be careid through this our citie, to our cathedrall church, and afterward to the mercat croce of the same citie, and there, in tokin of maledictioun and curse, and to the terrour and example of others, and for a perpetuall remenberance of his obstinacie and condemnatioun, to be burned. Likewise, we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said Johne Borthwicke be heerafter apprehended and takin, that he sall suffer suche like punishment due by order of law to hereticks, without anie hope of grace or mercie to be obteaned in that behalfe. Also we plainlie admonishe and warne, by the tenour of these presents, all and singular faithfull Christians, both men and weomen, of what dignitie, state, degree, order, conditioun, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with what soever dignitie or honour ecclesiasticall or temporall they be honoured withall, that frome this day fordward, they doe not harbour nor receave the said Sir Johne Borthwicke, commounlie called Captane Borthwicke, being accused, convicted, and declared an heretick, and an archheretick, into their housses, hospitals, castells, citeis, touns, villages, or other cottages, whatsoever they be, or by anie maner of meanes admitt him therunto, either by helping him with meate, drinke, or victualls, or anie other thing whatsoever it be they doe shew unto him anie maner of humanitie, helpe, comfort, or solace, under the paine and penaltie of greater and further excommunicatioun, confiscatioun, and forfeytures. And if it happen that they be found culpable or faultie in the premisses, that they sall be accused therefore as the favourers, receavers, defenders, mainteaners, and abetters of hereticks; and sall be punished

therefore, according to the order of law, and with suche paine and punishment as sall be due unto men in suche behalfe."

Mr Foxe referreth this processe to the 28th of May 1540. Mr Knox, in his Historie, recordeth, that he was burnt in figure, for a spectacle and triumph to Marie of Loraine, latelie arived frome France, and consequentlie referreth it to this yeere, 1538. Yitt, becaus there is no mentioun made heere of the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, James Beton, who was yitt alive, it appeareth that the processe was ledde in the yeere 1540. Howsoever it is, afterward when the articles came to his hands, he wrote an ample answere. In his answere to the first article, he impugneth the Pope's title. "Those holie ones," sayeth he, "doe magnifie their Lord, by like title as commoun theeves and robbers are accustomed to profere the captans and ringleaders of their robreis and mischeefes, calling them in everie place the most honest and good men; where as, it is evident, likewise, that in the whole world there is no man more givin to ryott, which more greedilie doth seeke after all kinde of delicatenesse and wantonnesse, and finallie, aboundeth with all kinde of vice." Then he proveth he cannot be affirmed to be the Vicar of Christ, seing he hath not, nor can not exercise more power or authoritie over Christians than anie other bishop or prelat.

In his answere to the second article, he sheweth how cunning and notable cookes the Romanists are, who can make a confectioun of so manie sundrie herbes, as are the merits of Christ and his sancts; mixing their blood with the blood of Christ, and making up the treasure of the kirk of the merits of Christ, his sancts, apostles, martyrs, which they affirme have merited at their death more than was necessarie for them, the which treasure the Pope pretendeth is committed to his custodie and dispensatioun, wherupon arise indulgences and pardouns. But he proveth, that no man can merite for himself, lett be for others; and that when we have done all that we can doe, we are but unprofitable servaunts. As touching the reasoun that the blood of martyrs is not shedde in vaine without fruict or profite, and therefore ought to be confered to the commoun profite and utilitie of the church, he answereth, that the profite and

fruict therof is abundant; to glorifie God by their death, to subscribe and beare witnesse to the truthe by their blood, and by the contempt of this present life to witnesse that they doe seeke after a better life, and by their constancie and steedfastnesse to confrome and establishe the faith of the church, and to subdue and vanquishe the enemie.

In answere to the thrid article, he proveth the Pope not onlie to be an user of Simonie, but also a notable deceaver, when as he maketh fares and mercats of pardouns, which are nothing lesse than he faineth them to be. The mariage of preests he proveth by manie arguments.

In answere to the fourth, he letteth see how blind the cardinall and his adherents were, who esteemed that religioun heresie which was had in estimatioun in England; for what religioun at that time was used in England, the like the whole realme of Scotland did embrace. In this point onlie, the English differed frome the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist, the other not; which he often times wished were shaken off their neckes also. Idols were worshipped by both natiouns. The profanatioun of the Supper and Baptisme was like into them both; wicked superstitioun raigned on both parts, and true worshippe was deformed and defaced with hypocrisie.

In answere to the fyft, he proveth the Scotish natioun and their cleargie to be blinded, because they neither heare Christ nor his apostles: they attribute to the Pope Christ's power; they forbid preests to marie; they will enter in at the doore of heaven by the Virgin Marie and Sanct Peter; they build high temples and chappels for idols, where they committ spiritual fornicatioun; they fall doun flatt before images, and offer up incense to them; they prefere and embrace traditiouns fained and invented by man's head, before the law of God; they establish righteousnesse in their workes, sanctificatioun in holie water, and other externall things, redemptioun in peeces of leed, which they doe buy of the great Antichrist; their churchemen offer up daylie Christ, both for the sinnes of the quick and the dead, as they brag and boast.

In answere to the sixt, he sheweth the difference betwixt the Levites under the Old Law, and the Popish cleargie, in that the administratioun of their sacred and holie things, after their death, passed unto their posteritie, as it were by right of inheritance. If anie heritage be provyded or gottin for them, he doth not gainsay but that they sall possesse it. "But still doe I assume," sayeth he, "that all temporall jurisdictioun sould be taken frome them;" and by Christ's answere to his disciples contending among themselves for greatnesse he proveth, that not onlie the office of a pastor is distinct, and divided frome the office of a prince and ruler, but that they are in effect so muche different and separated, that they cannot agree or joyne together in one man. He alledgeth also the exampell of Christ, who refused the office of a civill judge. As for that which is alledged, that Moses did supplie both the offices at once, he answereth, that it was done by a rare miracle, and for a time, untill things were brought to better estate. When there was a certane forme and rule prescribed him by the Lord, then tooke he upon him the civill governement, and the preesthood he was commaunded to resigne unto his brother. "It is against nature," sayeth he, "that one man sould suffice both charges. Wherefore it was diligentlie foreseene and provided for in all ages. Neither was there anie bishop, so long as anie true face or shew of the church did continue, who once thought to usurpe the right and title of the sword." "Wherupon," sayeth he, "in the time of Ambrose, this proverbe tooke his originall, that 'Emperours did rather wishe or desire the office of preesthood, than preests anie impire.'"

In answere to the seventh, he sayeth, "It is no mervell though these madde dogges doe so barke against me, whome they thinke to have counselled the king's majestie, (I would to God I had also throughlie perswaded him,) that he sould take away from these unjust, sacriligious possessors, the riches wherewith all they are fatted and engreased like swine: for this is the nature of dogges, that if anie man goe about to tak away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatche at him, and teare him with their teeth. Who would not judge it more than childish to bestow the king's victu-

alls or meate upon the belleis of the prophets of Baal and Jezabell? And they who indow suche filthie sinkes with suche revenues, follow the footsteppes of Jezebell. For what other thing doe they, when as they daylie are bleating and bowing before their images, burning incense, and fall flatt doun before their altars, but that which in times past the prophets of Baal did, when as they transported the worship of God unto an idol?" It was no heresie then to require that the riches which were wickedlie bestowed upon them, and their possessiouns, might be takin frome them.

In answere to the eight, he sayeth, he deserved rather thankes, that with so sinceere and good a heart wished them so happie a fall, who were hanging upon the filthie papes and breests of the Whore of Babylon, where they were made drunke with the wine of her whordome, and unshamefastnesse, than to be slaundered, reproched, and to have snares layed for his life.

In answere to the nynth, he sayeth, that the power of the church is not suche, that it may, at her owne will and discretioun, teache new doctrins, or, as they terme it, frame new articles of faith, or establishe new lawes, but is subject unto the word of the Lord, and is, as it were, included in the same. And this he proveth fullie.

In answer to the tenth, he sayeth, the cardinall and his adherents be under a most heavie and greevous curse, when as they doe so generallie confound the Christiane religioun and their wicked monkerie, that they intitle them both by one name of Holinesse. Augustine doth affirme, that it is not lawfull for monkes to live idle upon other men's labours: our monkes doe constitute the principall part of holinesse in idlenesse, which they call a contemplative life. They faine another rule of perfectioun than that commoun rule delivered to the whole universall Church. They compare their monasticall professioun unto Baptisme. They dissipate and divide the communioun of the church, separating themselves frome the lawfull societie and fellowship of the faithful, and claming to themselves a peculiar ministrie and privat administratioun of the sacraments; wheras monkes in times past had no severall church from others, or administration of the sacraments, but were a part and portioun of the

commoun people, albeit they dwelt asunder. The monkes of old ledde a chast and godlie life, in prayer, reading, and disputatiouns; they were not chargeable and burthenous to others; they wrought with their owne hands, to gett that which might susteane the bodie. Whatsoever did superabound more than was necessarie for their sustentatioun, by restraint of delicate and delicious fare, they distributed to the needie and the poore. They did not reject anie kinde of meates as polluted and defiled. No man was condemned of the rest, which confessed himself unable to imitate or follow them. They had alwayes in their minde how commendable a thing love and charitie is. They remembered that all things were cleane to them that were cleane. The cloisters in these our dayes are brothell housses, swine styes, and dennes of discord. They make fares and mercats to build up Sodome again. They intangle and bind themselves with manie perverse and wicked kinds of worshipping, so that they are not consecrated by their monkerie to God, but unto the devill. Therefore, he concludeth, all Christiane princes sould rightlie and duelie doe their offices, if, as in times past, Josias pulled doun, and overthrew the high places which his elders, the kings of Judah had builded, so they would abolishe and drive away the monkes.

In answere to the eleventh, he is greatlie commoved with their blasphemous tongue, which dare pronounce the New Testament to be heresie. As for Œcolampadius, Melancton, and Erasmus, he sayeth, he is not so madde as to plead their caus, seing they are men of singular learning and eloquence. In answere to the last, he sayeth, "I know not by what reasoun they call them my freinds, which so greatlie laboured to convert me; neither will more esteeme them than the Madianites, which, in times past, called the childrein of Israel to doe sacrifice to their idols." This worthie knight ended his age with fullnesse of dayes in Sanct Andrewes.

Thomas Coklaw, parish preest in Tillibodie, mareid secreetlie a widow in the same village, named Margaret Jamesoun, but dwelt in sundrie housses. At last the mater brake furth, and he was accused by the Bishop of Dumblane. He was condemned to perpetuall im-

prisonment, and mewed up betweene two walls. But by helpe of his brother, or brother's sonne, breaking the wall with gavelockes[1] and other instruments, he escaped and fled to England, where he became a minister.

Robert Logie, channon regular at Cumbuskenneth, brother or kinsman to Mr Gawin Logie, used muche the companie of the Vicar of Dolor, and had embraced the truthe. When he perceaved he was to be apprehended, he conveyed himself secreetlie to Tillibodie, where he found the treasure which Thomas Cocklaw had layed under a horse stall, as the said Thomas directed him, and followed after. He was hardlie persued by the way, and drew in to a sheepfold, till the persuers were past by. He went to Dundie, where he tooke the seas. There was great search made for him in the Vicar of Dolor's hous. He was a bringer up of the novices at Cumbuskenneth, and taught the grammar. He was seene teaching some yeeres after at Londoun, but we can learne no further of him.

John Richardsone, a channon of the same abbey, fled soone after him.

John Lyne, a Grey frier, left his hypocriticall habite, and the denne of these murtherers, the Grey friers, and fled to England.

M.D.XXXIX.

In Februare, Johne Killore, Blacke frier, Deane Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dolor, and channon regular, Johne Beverege, Blacke frier, Sir Duncane Simsone, a preest at Stirline, a gentleman called Robert Forrester, in Stirline, were summouned by the Cardinall and the Bishop of Dumblane. At the day of their appearance they were condemned to the death, without anie place for recantatioun, becaus, as was alledged, they were heresiarches, or cheefe hereticks and teachers of hereseis; and speciallie becaus manie of them were at the briddell and mariage of a preest, who was Vicar of Tillibodie, beside Stirline, and did eat flesh in Lent, at the said briddell. They were cruellie murthered upon the Castell Hill of Edinburgh, the last of Februarie. This crueltie was used by the cardinall, the

[1] Crow-bars.

chancellor, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the incestuous Bishop of Dumblane. Frier Killore sett furth the historie of Christ's passioun in forme of a commedie, which was acted at Stirline, in the king's presence, upon a Good Friday, in the morning, in which all things were so livelie expressed, that the verie simple people understood and confessed, that as the preests and obstinate Pharisees perswaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilat condemne him, so did the bishops, and men called religious, blinde the people, and perswade princes and judges to persecute suche as professed Christ Jesus his blessed gospell. This plaine speeking so inflammed them, that after that they thristed ever for his blood. The Vicar of Dolor said to his servaunt, Andrew Kirkie, that he never heard a more heavenlie speeche all his lyftyme, than out of the mouth of Frier Killore, when he was imprisouned in the castell of Edinburgh. But this Andrew could not remember the words. Buchanan sayeth, that five were burnt at this time, nyne recanted, and manie fled out of the countrie, of which number he himself was one. The names of the recanters we have not sett doun in our historie. Onlie by report we heare of Walter Cowsland, merchant at Stirline, and James Watsone, merchant, who burnt their faggots. But as for the Vicar of Dolor, burned at this time, we will sett doun a fuller historie of his death and life than hath beene yitt extant. Wee sall beginne with that which Mr Foxe hath in his Acts and Monuments.

"Deane Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dolor, preached everie Sunday to his parochiners, the Epistle or Gospell, as it fell for the time, which then was a great noveltie in Scotland, to see anie man preache except a Blacke frier or a Grey frier. Therefore the friers invyed him, and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkell, in whose diocie he remained, as an heretick, and one that shewed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the cleargie deteastable in the sight of the people. The bishop, moved by the friers' instigation, called the said Deane Thomas, and said to him, 'My joy, Deane Thomas, I love you weill, and therefore I must give you my counsell how you sall rule and guide your self.'

To whome Thomas said, 'I thanke your lordship heartilie.' Then the bishop beganne his counsell on this maner:—'My joy, Deane Thomas, I am informed that yee preache the Epistle or Gospell everie Sunday to your parochiners, and that yee take not the kow nor the upmost cloath frome your parochiners,[1] which thing is verie prejudiciall to the church men. And, therefore, my joy, Deane Thomas, I would you tooke your kow and upmost cloath, as other church men doe, or elles it is too muche to preache everie Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people thinke that we sould preache likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find anie good Epistle, or anie good Gospell, that setteth furth the libertie of the holie churche, to preache that, and lett the rest be.' Thomas answered, 'My lord, I thinke none of my parochiners will compleane that I take not the kow nor the uppermost cloath, but will gladlie give me the same, together with anie other thing they have; and I will give and communicat with them anie thing that I have. And so, my lord, we agree right weill, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship sayeth it is too muche to preache everie Sunday, indeid, I thinke it is too little, and also would wishe that your lordship did the like.' 'Nay, nay, Deane Thomas,' said my lord, 'lett that be, for we are not ordeaned to preache.' Then said Thomas, 'Where your lordship biddeth me preache when I finde anie good epistle or a good gospell, truelie, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospells, and among them all I could never find anie evill epistle or evill gospell. But if your lordship will shew me the good epistle and the good gospell, and the evill epistle and the evill gospell, then I sall preache the good, and omitt the evill.' Then spake my lord stoutlie, and said, 'I thanke God, that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament was! Therefore, Deane Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise[2] and my pontificall.' Of these words arose a proverb, which is commoun in

[1] The corpse-present of a cow, and the uppermost cloth, or coverlet of the bed, on the death of a parishioner, was demanded as a due by the vicar of the parish.

[2] Breviary.

Scotland, 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkelden, that knew neither the New Law nor the Old Law.' 'Goe your way,' said my lord, 'and lett be all these phantaseis; for if yee persevere in these erroneous opiniouns, yee will repent it, when yee may not mend it.' Thomas said, 'I trust my caus be just in the presence of God, and therefore I passe not muche what doe follow therupon.' So my lord and he departed at that time. But soone a summons was directed, as we have heard." Thus farre Mr Foxe.

Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dolor, was a gentleman of the hous of the Laird of Forrets in Fife. His father was master stabler to King James the Fourth. After he had gottin some beginning in the rudiments, he went to Culen and learned his grammar, and by the help of a riche ladie, was susteaned there at the schooles. After he returned, he was made a channon in Sanct Colme's Inche, and was then a fervent Papist. There fell out a debate betwixt the abbot and the channons, about their portioun due to them for their maintenance. They gett the booke of their foundatioun, that they might understand the better what allowance was due to them everie day. The abbot tooke the booke frome them, and gave a volume of Augustin's, to reade and studie in stead of it. "O, happie and blessed was that booke!" said he manie a time after, whereby he came to the knowledge of the truthe. He converted the younger channons, "but the old bottells," he said, "would not receave the new wine." Therafter, he was made Vicar of Dolor. He taught his flock the Tenne Commandements, and shew them the way of their salvatioun to be onlie by the blood of Jesus Christ. He penned a little Catechisme, which he caused a poore childe answere him, when anie faithfull brother came to him, to allure the hearts of the hearers to embrace the truthe, which, indeid, converted manie in the countrie about. He rose at six of the morning, and studied till twelve, and after dinner till supper, in sommer. In winter he burnt candle till bed time. When he visited anie sicke persoun in the parish that was poore, he would carie bread and cheese in his gown sleeve to the sicke persoun, and give him silver out of his purse, and feed his soule with the bread of life.

He was verie diligent in reading the Epistle to the Romans in the Latine tongue, whereby he might be able to dispute against the adversareis. He would gett three chapters *par cœur* in one day, and at evening gave the booke to his servaunt, Andrew Kirkie, to marke when he went wrong in the rehearsing; and then he held up his hands to the heavens, and thanked God that he was not idle that day.

He was diverse times summouned before the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes and Dunkelden, to give account of his doctrine; but he gave suche reasouns and answers, that he escaped till the cruell cardinall, David Beton, got the upper hand. When he was brought to the place of executioun, Frier Hardbuckell biddeth him follow him. "Say, I beleeve in God," sayeth the frier; "I beleeve in God," sayeth he: "and in our Ladie," sayeth the frier; "I beleeve as our Ladie beleeveth," said he. "Say," said the frier, "I beleeve in God, and in our Ladie." "Ceasse," said he, "tempt me not: I know what I sould say as weill as yee, thankes be to God!" So he left him, and tempted the rest after the like maner. In the meane time, whill he was saying to the people, "I never ministered the sacraments, but I said, 'As the bread entereth into your mouth, so sall Christ dwell by livelie faith into your hearts.'" "Away! away!" said one standing beside, with his jacke on him, "we will have no preaching heere!" Another taketh the New Testament out of his bosome, holdeth it up before the people, and crieth, "Heresie! heresie!" Then the people cried, "Burne him! burne him!" He cried with a loud voice, first in Latine, and then in English, "God be mercifull to me, a sinner!" after that, first in Latine, then in English, "Lord Jesus, receave my spirit!" After that, as his maner was to end with some psalmes in his prayer, he beganne at the fiftie-first psalm in Latine, "*Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*," *&c.* and so continued till they pulled the stoole frome under his feete, and so wirried, and after burnt him. This informatioun Mr Johne Davidsone receaved from his servant, Andrew Kirkie, by letter, which he translated in Latine, in his Catalogue of the Scottish Martyrs. He addeth farther,

that when the pardoners would come to his kirk, to offer pardoun for money, he would say, "Parochiners, I am bound to speake the truthe to you: this is but to deceave you: there is no pardoun for our sinnes that can come to us frome Pope, or anie other, but onlie by the blood of Christ." When the Abbot of Sanct Colme's Inche would say to him, "Will yee say as they say, and keepe your minde to yourself, and save yourself?" "I thanke your lordship," said the vicar, "yee are a freind to my bodie, but not to my soule. Before I denie a word which I have spokin, yee sall see this bodie of myne blow away first with the wind, in ashes." When one of the number was wirried, and burnt before him, he said, when it was told him, "Yea, he was a wylie fellow: he knew there were manie hungrie folkes comming after him, and he went before to cause make readie the supper." Thus ended this faithfull servaunt of God, invyed by the cleargie for his good life, diligent preaching of the word, and spairing the kow and the uppermost cloath.

Mr George Buchanan, to whome was committed the charge of the king's bastard childrein, was not spared: he was committed to prisoun, among others, but escaped out of waird. He went to Portugall, where he also was in great daunger. He was suspected of heresie, for his little worke, which is intituled *Franciscanus*, wherin he reveeles the mystereis and abuses of the friers; and becaus in a privat conference he had said to some of his schollers, that Augustine did not seeme to favour the fictioun of transubstantiatioun. He was cast in prisoun, and therafter brought furth to triell. As for his Franciscanus, he answered, that he had writtin it at the king's commaund, and that there was no article of faith nor Christiane religioun condemned in it. As for Augustine, he said he did no more but recite his words, which he hath in the 16th chapter of the third booke, "*De Doctrina Christiana*," where he sayeth, "If the speeche of Scripture be a precept forbidding that which is haynous and flagitious, or commanding that which is profitable and good, it is not a figurative speeche. But if it seeme to command any thing haynous or flagitious, or forbid anie thing that

is good or profitable, it is a figurative speeche. 'Except yee eate the fleshe of the Sonne of Man, and drinke his blood, yee sall not have life in you,' seeme to command a thing haynous or flagitious. Therefore it is a figure, commanding us to be partakers of our Lord's passioun, and to lay up in our memorie, profitablie and sweetlie, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." "If thir words," said he, "savour of heresie, then condemne Augustine; and albeit yee sould condemne Augustine, it is no reasoun I sould be punished for his fault." And so he was dimitted when he could not be convinced, neither by reasoun nor by witnesse, and came to France, to the great detriment of literature in Portugall. The King of Portugall wrote to him most loving letters, to move him to returne; but he had liberall conditioums offered him in France, and would not cast himself in the hands of the Inquisitors again, in Portugall.

After his returne to Scotland, he was a professour in Sanct Leonard's Colledge, and gave prooffe of his skill in theologie, in the exercise of prophecie, when it fell to him by course. He was afterward master to the young King James the Sixt. He ended his life at Edinburgh, the 74th yeere of his age, the yeere 1582. His learning and skill in philosophie, humanitie, poesie, and the politicks, is so weill knowne to all the learned of Europ, that I neede not blow the trumpet to sound his praises, seing the most learned in Europ have done it—Beza, Josephus Scaliger, Sturmius, and manie moe. He was a man of austere countenance, but mirrie, and quicke in conference, and answeres to anie questioun. This veine left him not when he was neere to his departure out of this life, for when Mr Davidsone came to visite him, he professed his confidence in the blood of Christ. Among other speeches he had, he said, "The Masse is a rediculous thing; and if it were turned in English, it might be perceaved how rediculous it was: as, for example, when the preest sayeth, '*Dominus vobiscum!*' 'The Lord be with you,' the people might answere, 'Whether will yee goe in an ill houre?'" In September, in time of the vacance, before his departure, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Melvill, Mr

Thomas Buchanan, hearing that he was weake, and his Historie under the presse, came over to Edinburgh, purposelie to visite him, and to see the worke. They found him sitting in his chaire, teaching the man that served him to spell. After salutatioun, he shew to them the Epistle Dedicatorie to the king, which, when Mr Andrew had read, he told him that it was obscure in some places, and wanted certane words to perfyte the sentence. "I may doe no more," sayeth he, "for thinking upon another mater." "What is that?" said Mr Andrew. "To dee," said he; "but I leave that, and manie moe things, to you to helpe." They went frome him to the printing hous. Finding the printer to have proceeded to the end of the 17th booke, they stayed the printer frome proceeding anie farther, till they had conferred with Mr George. When they came to him againe, they found him bedfast beside his custome. They aske him how he did? "Even going the way of weelfare," said he. Mr Thomas shew unto him the place anent the buriall of Davie, "which," said he, "will offend the king, and may stay the whole worke."[1] "Tell me, man, (sayeth he,) if I have told the truthe?" "Yes, Sir, I thinke so," said Mr Thomas. "Then," said he, "I will byde his fead, and all his kinne." Therafter, he said, "Pray, pray to God for me, and lett him direct all." So when the Chronicle was printed, soone after, this learned, wise, and godlie man ended this mortall life. Mr James Melvill, one of the three, who was present, hath registered this in his owne privat register of suche things as fell out in his time. In December 1582,

[1] Buchanan's account of the burial of David Rizzio is as follows:—"Primum omnium, cadaver Davidis, quod ante fores templi propinqui sepultum erat, (Regina,) curavit de nocte transferendum, ac in sepulchro proximi Regis et liberorum ejus collocandum. Et hoc factum, ut inter pauca improbum sinistris sermonibus locum præbuit: 'Quam enim ulteriorem adulterii confessionem exspectarent, quam ut illum terræ filium, nullis honestis studiis nulla in publicum opera impensa, insignem, patri ac fratribus, quoad potuit, honore supremo æquaret, et, quod pene invidiosus erat, hominem spurcum prope in Magdelenæ Valesiæ, paulo ante Reginæ, amplexus daret?'" —*Buchan. Rer. Scot. Histor.* xvi. 65. This insinuation, which touched James so nearly, was a common topic of the day, and was expressed in every form, from the indignant language of the historian, to the sly query of Henry IV. of France, who asked, If the Scotish Solomon, as they called him, was David the fiddler's son?

Mr Johne Davidsone and Mr James Carmichaell, conferring with Mr Randulph, postmaster, when they were in England in time of their banishment, he shew unto them Mr George Buchanan's epistle before Baptistes, writtin with his owne hand, which had these words, "*Sed hic metus utinam sit vanus.*" Mr Randulph confessed this to have beene done by himself and two others, to whome Mr George sent the epistle and booke to be printed.

After that this crueltie was used in Edinburgh, upon the Castel-hill of Edinburgh, the rest of the bishops behoved to shew themselves no lesse fervent to suppresse the light than did the cardinall. There were two apprehended in the diocie of Glasgow, Hieronymus Russell, a Gray frier, a young man of a meeke nature, quicke spirit, and good understanding; and one Kennedie, who had not past the 18th yeere of his age, a man of good witt, and excelling in Scotish poesie. Mr Johne Lawder, Mr Andrew Oliphant, and Frier Meirman, were sent to assist the Bishop of Glasgow, at the least to stirre him up to dippe his hands in the blood of God's servaunts. N. Kennedie at the first was faint, and would gladlie have recanted. But whill space was denied unto him, the Spirit of all comfort beganne to worke in him. The inward comfort beganne to burst furth as weill in visage as in tongue and word; for his countenance beganne to be cheerefull, and with a joyfull heart and loude voice he uttered these words upon his knees, "O eternall God! how wonderfull is that love and mercie which thou beareth to mankinde, and unto me, the most miserable wretche and cative, above all others! For even now, when I would have denyed thee, and thy Sonne, our Lord Jesus Christ, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnatioun, thou, by thy owne hand, hath pulled me out frome the verie bottome of hell, and made me to feele that heavenlie comfort, which taketh frome me that ungodlie feare wherwith before I was oppressed. Now I defie death: doe what yee please; I praise my God I am readie!" These godlesse tyranns, the servaunts of Sathan, railed upon godlie and learned Hieronymus. He answered, "This is your houre and power of darknesse: now sitt yee as judges, and we stand wrongfullie accused, and more

wrongfullie to be condemned. But the day sall come when our innocencie sall appeare, and yee sall see your owne blindnesse, to your everlasting confusioun. Goe forward, and fulfill the measure of your iniquitie." Whill the servaunts of God thus behaved themselves, a variance ariseth betwixt the bishop and the beasts which came fromc the cardinall. The bishop said, "I thinke it better to spaire these men, than to putt them to death." The dotting doctors said, "What will yee doe, my lord? Will yee condemne all that my lord cardinall, other bishops, and we have done? If so yee doe, ye shew your self enemie to the church and us, and so we will repute you, be yee assured." The faithlesse man affrayed, adjudged the innocents to dee, according to the desire of the wicked. The meeke and gentle Jerome Russell comforted the other with manie comfortable sentences, oft saying unto him, "Brother, feare not; more mightie is he that is in us, than he that is in the world: the paine which we sall suffer is short, and sall be light, but our joy and consolatioun sall never have an end; therefore, lett us strive to enter in by the same strait way wherby our Master and Saviour hath entered in before us. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed alreadie by Him for whose sake we suffer." With these, and the like comfortable sentences, they passed to the place of executioun, and triumphed over death and Satan. Thus did these cruell beasts intend nothing but murther in all the quarters of this realme. So far had that blinded and vitious man the prince—most vitious I say, for he neither spaired man, wife, nor maid, after his mariage more than he did before—had givin himself to obey the cruell appetite of the bloodie beasts, that he had made a solemne vow, that none sould be spaired that was suspect of heresie, though he were his owne sonne.

Florence Wilsone, a Blacke frier, in Elgine of Murrey, threw off his moonkish habite this yeere, (1539,) and fled out of the countrie. He was a learned man, and of great expectatioun, as Gesnerus gathered, partlie fromc his workes, and partlie by conference with him at Lions. The yeere following, as he maketh mentioun in his Bibliothecke, when he was in England, he had some conference

with the Bishop of Rochester. The bishop tooke him to have beene a merchaunt. But after some conference he perceaved him to be a learned man, and burst furth in these words: "I mervell that the hereticks can interprete the Scriptures so perfytelie!"

There were manie professors at this time, howbeit secreit, not onlie among the citicens and burgesses, as Sibilla Lindsay, spous to Johne Fouler, George Aldjoy, merchaunt, Johne Maine, merchaunt, Patrik Lindsay, goldsmith, and his brother, frier Alexander, a great mathematician and maker of horologes, Francis Aikman, apothecare, and sundrie others in Edinburgh, but also among the nobilitie.

Williame Hay, Erle of Arroll, was learned both in humanitie and divinitie, and speciallie weill versed in the New Testament. He would rehearse word by word the choisest sentences, speciallie suche as served to establishe solid comfort in the soule by faith in Christ. Muche suffered he for the caus of Christ. Mr Robert Alexander, advocat, who had beene his schoolemaster, sett furth his testament in Scotish meeter, which was printed after in Edinburgh, anno 1571, by Thomas Bassandine, printer. It was dedicated to Lilias Ruthven, Ladie Drummond, as the dedicatorie Epistle following sheweth:

> "To the Right Noble and Vertuous Ladie Lilias, Ladie Drummond of Innerpeffray and Balquhidder, her humble orator, Mr Robert Alexander, Advocat, wisheth mercie and grace frome God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.
>
> "At Sanct Andrewes, about the yeere of God 1539, I, right noble and vertuous Ladie, at the desire of certaine godlie persouns, I interprised to sett furth the letter will and testament of the Right Noble Williame Erle of Arrol, Lord Hay, and Great Constable of Scotland, your Ladieship's dearest uncle, a plant of all godlinesse, not onlie brought up into humaniteis, but als weill in the schoole of Christ, for whose testimonie he suffered great injurie oft times; yitt not the lesse as a most valiaunt souldiour he ever abode by the ensigne of his soverane Captane, Christ, and

never retired backe therefra during the whole course of his most perellous dayes, which I have now finished as simplie and plainlie as I can devise, becaus it could serve for no purpose to ly so long among my writtings, which I offer to your Ladieship, moved of godlie zeale, through your notable fame and godlie behaviour, beseeching your Ladieship to accept the same in good part; and I sall pray the Lord our God that yee be not onlie found a mirrour of vertue in this life, but as weill ye may be found blamelesse at the comming of the Lord Jesus, who mot preserve your Ladieship in all godlinesse, and increasse of honour."

William Lord Ruthven, father to Patrik Lord Ruthven, was privie to all his cariage, speciallie in maters concerning religioun.

Johne Stewart, sonne to the Lord Methven, who mareid Queene Margaret after she had obteaned divorcement frome the Erle of Angus, was a fervent professour of the truthe, and made manie ballats against the corruptiouns of the time, after the death of the Vicar of Dolor.

Alexander Erle of Glencarne, the thrid brother of the hous, but by the death of his brother come to the erledome when he was a young man, painted furth the hypocrisie of the friers in ryme, as followeth, intituled "An Epistle directed frome the holie Heremite of Larite, to his Brethrein the Gray Friers." The name of the heremite at that time was Thomas Douchtie, that deceaver of the people, of whome we have made mentioun before.

"I, Thomas, heremite in Loreit,
Sanct Francis' brother doe heartilie greet;
Beseeching you, with firme intent,
To be watchfull and diligent.
For thir Lutherans risen of new,
Our Order daylie doe pursue.
Thir smaikes doe sett their whole intent,
To read the English New Testament;
And say we have them cleane deceavit.
Therefore in haste they must be stoppit.

Our statelie hypocrisie they prise,
And us blasphemeth on this wise,
Saying, that we are hereticks,
And false, loud, lying, mastiffe tykes,
Cummerers and quellers of Christ's kirk.
Suche lazie skamblers that will not worke,
But idlie our living winnes;
Devouring woolves into sheepe's skinnes;
Hurkland with hoods into our neck,
With Judas' minde to jouke and becke,
Seeking Christ's people to devoure.
The over throwers of God's glore;
Professors of hypocrisie,
Doctors of idolatrie;
Fishers with the Feind's nett,
Upclosers of heaven's yett;
Cankered corrupters of the creed;
Hemlocke sawers among good seed,
To throw in brambles that men doe twist,
The hie way kennand them frome Christ.
Monsters with the Beast's marke,
And dogs that never stint to barke.
Churche men that are with Christ unkend;
A sect that Satan's self hath send,
Lurkand in hollowes, like traitour tods:
Mainteaners of idols and false gods.
Phantastick fooles, and phrensie-fleechours,
To turne frome truthe the verie teachers.
For to declare their whole sentence,
Would muche cummer your conscience.
To say your faith, it is so starke;
Your cord, and lowsie coat, and sark,
Yee lippen may you bring to salvatioun,
And quite excludeth Christ's passioun.

I dread this doctrine, if it last,
Sall either gar us worke or fast;
Therefore with speede we must provide,
And not our profite lett overslide.
I framed myself within short while,
To curse our Ladie in Argile;
And there on craftie wise to worke,
Till that we builded had a kirke.
Since miracles made by your advice,
The kitterells thought they had but lyce.
The second part to us they will bring.
But orderlie to dresse this thing,
A gaist I purpose for to gang,
By counsell of Frier Walter Laing,
Which sall make certane demonstratiouns,
To helpe us in our procuratiouns,
Your holie order to decore.
That practise he proved once before,
Betwixt Kirkaldie and Kingorne;
But limmars made therat suche scorne,
And to his fame made such digressioun,
Sensyne he heard not the king's confessioun.
Though at that time he came not speed,
I pray you take good will as deid,
And some among your selves receave,
As one worth manie of the lave,
What I obteane may, through his art,
Reasoun would yee had your part.
Your Order handles no money;
But for other causualitie,
As beefe, meele, butter, and cheese,
Or what I have that ye please;
Send your brethrein, *et habite*,
As now, not elles, but *valete*.

By Thomas, your brother, at command,
A culurune kithed throw manie a land."

Notwithstanding of the cruell persecution of God's servaunts, preests and friers were day by day farther contemned, and their hypocrisie and craft espyed and deteasted.

This yeere, the queen was delivered of a man-childe at Sanct Andrewes. The king's mother was witnesse at the baptisme. She departed this life soone after her returne to Methven, and was bureid in the Charter-house church at Sanct Johnston, beside the tombe of King James the First.

This yeere, James, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, departed this life. Before his departure, he provided Mr David Beton, cardinall, to his see, and before that to the abbacie of Arbrothe; Mr George Durie, Archdeacoun of Sanct Andrewes, to the abbacie of Dumfermline.

M.D.XL.

The king, being now secure, as he thought, of his owne life, becaus he had a sonne, beganne to contemne the nobilitie as base spirited, not darring attempt anie thing against his hous, now established, and made sure by offspring. He applyeth his minde to sumptuous buildings, and therefore had need of money. The nobilitie, to eschew the burthein, informe him that the cleargie were wealthie: the cleargie affirme the like of the nobilitie. He held both in suspense, betwixt hope and feare. In the meane time came ambassaders frome the English king, to crave an interview at Yorke, and to shew the benefite that might be reaped thereof. The cleargie suspected the end of this meeting was to perswade the Scotish king to abolishe the Pope's power, to make himself supreme Head of the Kirk, to suppresse abbeyes, and to seaze upon the lands and jewells belonging to religious housses. They layed before his eyes the dangers that might ensue of that interview, what is King Henrie's intentioun, what credite sould be givin to his promises. Under-

standing that he had need of money, they offer unto him threttie thowsand crowns yeerlie, and at extraordinar occasiouns, if need required, to spair none of their goods or rents. They layed doun an overture to him, how he may get an hundreth thowsand crowns by yeere, by confiscating the goods, and forfeyting of hereticks disobedient to the Pope and his lawes, if he would constitute suche a judge as they would nominate to him. There would be no delay in triell and searche, seing so manie thowsands in the countrie make no scruple to reade upon the bookes of the Old and New Testament, to talke freelie of the Pope's power, to contemne the rites of the kirk, to deny due reverence to religious persons. A judge was graunted unto them, according to their desire: Sir James Hammiltoun, bastard brother to the Erle of Arran, a man muche oblished to them before for large gifts; a man that would make no scruple to committ anie thing never so haynous, if by that means he might purchase the king's favour, who had beene a long time offended at him. Others report, that the English king gott a full promise made to his ambassadour, Lord William Howart, to meete him at Yorke; and that the King of England made great preparatioun, and that some preparatioun also was made in Scotland. But by the perswasioun of the cleargie in speciall, the king's promise was falsified, and that therupon the English king sent letters of reproache to the king and his councell. Howsoever it was, the English king is frustrated of the hope he had of the interview, as he was before in the yeere 1534. Buchanan recordeth, that there was twice motioun made of an interview, and that this differeth frome the former.

In the meane time, Sir James Hammiltoun, Shireff of Linlithquho, and coosin-german to Sir James, the bastard, returneth to Scotland, after a long exile. He had obteaned the king's warrant, upon an offer he made to the king to discover a conspiracie contrived by Sir James, the bastard. When he understood in what danger he and the rest of the professours of the truthe were in, he sent his sonne to the king, who was presentlie to passe over the water to Fife. He overtaketh him before he sett his foote in the boat; telleth him there was a dangerous conspiracie to be putt in

executioun, if it were not prevented. The king sent the young man to the Excheker-house, to his Master of the Household, Sir James Lermonth, the treasurer, Sir James Kirkaldie, the secretar, Thomas Lord Areskine. He willed them to trust the messenger as weill as if he were present himself, and in tokin therof, sent with him his ring. The first two were favourers and secreet professors of the truthe. Sir James is apprehended after dinner, and committed to the castell. But the three above named, understanding by freinds at court, that the king would sett him at libertie again, with speed they hasted to court, and urged the king to prosecute his former intentioun, becaus their man was of a hautie and perverse spirit, and would preasse by all meanes to be avenged for the indignitie alreadie receaved. He was convicted by an assise, condemned, beheaded, and his bodie quartered. The crimes objected against him were in speciall, that he intended to have brokin the king's chamber, and killed the king; and that he had secreet communicatioun with the Dowglasses, the king's denounced rebels. His death was lamented by few or none, becaus of his former lewde and disordered life, but by his freinds, and the cleargie, who had fixed all their hopes on him. Frome this time furth the king's jealousie over the nobilitie increassed, and his troubled minde was terrifeid with fearefull dreames.

The blind prince, addicted to the preests, who fed him with offers of goldin mountaines, if he would be directed by them, vowed, that none suspected of heresie sould be spaired, though he were his owne sonne. His minioums, pensioners to preests, poussed him fordward in his furie, speciallie Oliver Sinclar, brother to the Laird of Rosling. The queene was delivered of another sonne this sommer, which was baptized in the chappell of Stirline, and called Arthure. Within eight dayes after he deceassed, as did also his elder brother James, at Sanct Andrewes, within six houres after. So he that would not spare his own sonne, if he were an hereticke, is deprived of both. After the beheading of Sir James Hammiltoun, the said Sir James appeared to him in dreame, or as his troubled minde imagined, in visioun, having a drawin sword in his

hand, with which he seemed to strike frome the king, first his right arme, then the left, saying these words, "Take that, till thou receave a finall payment for all thy impietie;" or, as Buchanan recordeth, he threatned to come againe, shortlie, and bereave him of his life. This visioun or dreame he told the day following, with sorrowfull countenance, and soone after died his two sonnes, as we have said.

Manie other wayes was he forewarned by God to repent his wicked life, as he himself confessed. George Steill, the greatest flatterer at court, and a malicious enemie to the servaunts of God, in the open audience of manie refused his portioun of Christ's kingdome, if the prayers of the Virgin Marie sould not bring him thereto. He dropped off his horse in the king's owne presence. That night that Thomas Scot, Justice-Clerk, died in Edinburgh, he lying in Linlithquo, affrayed, at midnight, or after, cried for torches, and caused all that lay beside him in the palace rise, and told them that Thomas Scot was dead; for he had beene at him with a companie of devills, and had said unto him these words, "O, woe unto the day that ever I knew thee, or thy service! For serving thee against God, against his servaunts, and against his justice, I am adjudged to endlesse torment." This Thomas Scot, before his death, pronounced ever these words with terrible voice, "*Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum:*" that is, I am condemned by the just judgement of God. His conscience was troubled most for his delatioums and false accusations of suche as professed the truthe, as Mr Thomas Marjoribankes, and Mr Hugh Rig, then advocats, did confesse to Mr Henrie Balnaves, while he was sitting in Sanct Giles kirk, and desired him to forgive the said Thomas, for they were but even now come frome him. But none of these fearefull warnings did either change or mollifie the obdured heart of the leacherous and avaritious tyranne, but still he proceeded frome impietie to impietie.

This yeere James Wedderburne, eldest sonne to James Wedderburne, merchant at Dundie, called James Wedderburne at the West Kirk Stile, was delated to the king, and letters of captioum directed to take him. He departed secreetlie to France, and re-

mained at Rowan and Deep till he deceassed. He had beene brought up in Sanct Leonard's Colledge in his youth, in the time of the governement of Johne Duke of Albanie, and was reasonablie weill instructed in philosophie and humanitie. Therafter he went to France, where he played the merchant. After his returne, he was instructed in religioun by James Hewat, a Blacke frier at Dundie. He confirmed the doctrine which the other had receaved in his youth, in St Leonard's Colledge, under Mr Gawin Logie. This James had a good gift of poesie, and made diverse comedeis and tragedeis in the Scotish tongue, wherein he nipped the abusses and superstitioun of the time. He composed in forme of tragedie the beheading of Johne the Baptist, which was acted at the West Port of Dundie, wherin he carped roughlie the abusses and corruptiouns of the Papists. He compiled the Historie of Dyonisius the Tyranne, in forme of a comedie, which was acted in the play-feild of the said burgh, wherin he likewise nipped the Papists. He counterfooted also the conjuring of a ghaist, which was, indeed, practised by Frier Laing, beside Kingorne, which Frier Laing had beene confessor to the king. But after this conjuring the king was constrained, for shame, to remove him.[1] When he was at Deepe, the factors at Deepe, Johne Meldrum, Henrie Tod, Johne Mowat, Gilbert Scot, delated him to the Bishop of Rowan; but the bishop refused to meddle with him, becaus they could prove nothing against him. They informed the bishop and channons of Rowan, that he was declared an heretick in Scotland: the bishop desired them to send for the processe, and that being tryed, he sould have no residence there. We heare no farther but that he remained as factor at Deepe, and deing, said to his sonne, "We have beene acting our part in the theater: you are to succeed; see that you act your part faithfullie!"

Mr Johne Wedderburne, his brother, brought up also in the course of philosophie, under Mr Gawin Logie, being perswaded by his freinds, albeit against his will, he tooke on the order of preesthood, and was a preest in Dundie. But soone after he beganne to

[1] See page 137.

professe the (reformed) religioun. Being summouned, he departed to Almaine, where he heard Luther and Melancton, and became verie fervent and zealous. He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scotish meeter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rymes in godlie rymes. He returned after the death of the king, in December 1542, but was againe persued by the cardinall, and fled to England.

Mr Robert Wedderburne, the youngest brother, brought up also under Mr Gawin, excelled his brother both in humanitie and knowledge of the Scriptures. He succeeded to Mr Robert Barrie, Vicar of Dundie. He went to Parise, where he remained cheeflie in companie of those that were instructed in religioun, as Mr Alexander Hay, N. Sandelands, sonne to the Laird of Calder, in West Lothiane, and Lord of Sanct Johne, whose father and whole familie were most zealous in advancing of religioun. After the death of the cardinall, he returned to Scotland. The vicar, his mother's brother, being departed, he gott possessioun of the vicarage, but remained for the most part with the Laird of Calder. When he was comming home out of the east countreis, in a Danskein ship, the shippe was driven by contrarie winds upon Norway, where the passingers landed at Ripperwicke, and remained certane dayes. In the meane time, upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even, 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passingers, some Popish, and some Protestants, he, and the rest of his fellowes, tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the cardinall's death, to make his pourtraiture, or statue, of a great oaken blocke, and therupon write his name in paper affixed theron. They accuse him, condemne him, and burne his statue in a great fire of timber. The cardinall was slaine that same verie day, in the morning, in his owne castell of Sanct Andrewes.

M.D.XLI.

In the yeere 1541, there was no warre, nor yitt certane or settled peace betwixt the two neighbour countreis, England and Scotland. Some referre to this yeere the interview above mentioned.

M.D.XLII.

At the roade called the Haddon-rigge Road, Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard Bowes, captane of Norhame, Sir Williame Mowbray, knight, Sir James Dowglas, base sonne to the Erle of Angus, and James Dowglas of Parkheid, then rebels, were takin prisoners by George Gordoun, Erle of Huntlie, and the Lord Hume. The Erle of Angus, and his brother Sir George, hardlie escaped. The preests and prelats, proud of this victorie, incouraged the king, so that there was nothing heard but, "All is ours! they be but hereticks! If we be one thowsand, and they tenne thowsand, they darre not fight. France sall enter upon the one side, and we on the other, so sall England be conquered within a yeere." If anie man was seene to smile at suche a vanitie, he was a traitour and an heretick. When Sir Andrew Ker of Littledane reported the newes, he was rewarded with the lands of the Hirsill. But there was no great reasoun to bragge of this victorie, for the English contemned the Erle of Huntlie his forces, and whill they are negligent, they are encountered with the conjunct forces of Huntlie and Hume, who came accompaneid with four hundreth men.

The English king being incensed, sent Thomas Howart, Duke of Norfolke, Lieutenant-generall, accompaneid with the Erles of Shrewsburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surrey, Hereford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fourtie thowsand men. Ambassaders were sent to treate of peace, but were deteaned till the armie came to Berwicke. Huntlie is sent to the Borders with tenne thowsand men, and the king's campe pitched at Falaw. The English armie entered in Scotland the 21st of October, and stayed eight or tenne dayes, but never camped a myle frome Tweede side. Some forreyes were runne upon Smailame, Stitchell, Nenthorne, Long Ednome, Sprowstone, and other villages adjacent. Some corne they burnt, beside that which the great host consumed, but small bootie careid they away. The king came to Fawla two dayes before Hallowevе. He had with

him eighteene thowsand men. While he stayed at Fawla for artillerie and gunnes, the lords beginne to call to minde how he had beene long abused, speciallie by the preests' pensiouners. It was concluded among them to act the like of that which was done at Lawder bridge, where King James the Thrid his cheefe courteours were hanged. But becaus the lords could not agree among themselves upon the persouns, everie lord favouring his owne freind, all escaped. Their purpose was reveeled to the king, and by him to the courteours, who, till they came to Edinburgh, stood in no little feare. But it was soone forgottin. Whill time is thus protracted, the English armie, for lack of victuals, returned over Tweede in the night without order, and dissolved. The king could not be appeased with the Erle of Huntlie, becaus he pursued not after them. He desired the lords and barons to pursue them. They answered with one consent, that to defend his persoun and realme, they would hazard their life and whatsoever they had; but to invade England, neither had they so just quarrell as they desired, neither yitt could they be able to do anie great harme, considering they had beene long absent frome their owne housses, their provisioun spent, and the time of the yeere not convenient. In words he praised their prudent foresight, and wise counsell; but their interprise against his courteours, and the bold refusall to fulfill his desires, and that in his owne face, so wounded his proud heart, that he decreed a notable revenge, which he had no doubt putt in executioun, if God, by his owne hand, had not cutt the cords of his impietie. Others write, that they alleged for a reasoun, that the king himself being there in persoun, and his two sonnes latelie deceassed, it was dangerous to hazard battell. He returned to Edinburgh the second or third of November.

Without longer delay his abusers assembled at Halyrudhous, where manie accusations were layed against the most part of the nobilitie. Some were hereticks, some favourers of England, some freinds to the Dowglasses; and so there could be none faithfull to the king, in their opinioun. The cardinall and the preests, finding the king whollie addicted to their devotioun, delivered to him a

scroll of suche as they, in their inquisitioun, had convicted for hereticks; for this was the order of justice which these holie fathers keeped in condemning of innocent men: whosoever would accuse anie of heresie, he was heard, and no respect nor considerationn had what minde the accuser bare to the persoun accused: whosoever were produced for witnesses were admitted, how suspect and infamous so ever they were. If two or three had provin anie point against the accused, that, by their law, was holdin heresie: he was an heretick; there rested no more but a day to be appointed to his condemnatioun, and to the executioun of their corrupt sentence. This freedome to shed innocent blood the devill never gott but in the kingdome of Antichrist, that the innocent sould dee, and neither know accuser nor witnesse. The same scroll, or the like, had the cardinall or prelats presented to the king before, when he returned from navigatioun about the Isles, at which time the Erle of Cassils, Sir James Kirkaldie, Laird of Grange, the Lairds of Raith, Calder, Ormestoun, Brunston, Langnidrie, Barnbougall, Sir James Lermonth of Dairsie, and diverse others, were sett down in scroll. But it was then refused by the prudent advice of the Laird of Grange, treasurer, of whome he had a good account. He opened up clearlie to the king, so farre as he knew for the time, the abuses which were entered in the kirk by the ambitioun of the Pope, bishops, and clergie, and the great rents they had gottin, which were givin upon good intent by King David; willing the king to annexe the great benefices again to the crowne, and doe as the King of England, his uncle, had done. He desired him also not to refuse the meeting at Yorke with the English king. This advice being considered by the king, (for being out of passioun he was tractable,) he gave this answere in the palace of Halyrudhous, to the cardinall and prelats, after that they had uttered their malice, and shewed what profite might arise to the crowne if he would follow their counsell; "Packe, you javells![1] Gett you to your charges, and reforme your owne lives,

[1] A term of contempt frequently used by the Scotch poets of that period, but the meaning of which cannot now be exactly ascertained. It is likely, however, to be derived from *javel*, a jail, and synonymous with the English term, "jail-bird."

and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobilitie and me, or elles, I vow to God, I sall reforme you, not as the King of Denmarke doth, by imprisonment, neither yitt as the King of England doth, by hanging and heading, but by sharper punishments, if ever I hear suche a motioun made by you again!" The prelats, dashed and astonished with this answere, ceased at that seasoun to attempt anie thing by rigour against the nobilitie; yitt by craft they hindered the interview at Yorke. But now, being informed of all proceedings by their pensioners, Oliver Sinclare, Johne Rosse, Laird of Craigie, and others who were to them faithfull in all things, they venture to prefer their sute again, which was no sooner proponed but as soone it was accepted, with no small regret that he had so long despised their counsell: "For now," said he, "I plainlie see your words to be true; the nobilitie neither desire my honour nor countenance, for they would not ryde a mile for my pleasure, to follow my enemeis. Will yee, therefore, find the meanes how I may have a road in England without their knowledge and consent, that it may be knowne to be my owne road, and I sall bind me to your counsell for ever." There concurred together Achab and his false prophets! There were gratulatiouns and clapping of hands; there were promises of diligence, closenesse, and fidelitie; finallie, conclusioun was takin, that the west borders of England, which were most emptie of men and garisoun, sould be invaded. The king's owne banner sould be theirs; Oliver, the great minioun, sould be generall lieutenant; but no man sould be privie (except the counsell that was then present) to the interprise, till the verie day and executioun thereof. The bishops gladlie undertooke the charge. Letters were sent to suche as they would charge, to meet the king, the day and place appointed. The cardinall, with the Erle of Arran, was directed to goe to Hadingtoun, to mak a shew against the east border, when the rest were in readiness to invade the west. So the scroll was graciouslie receaved by the king, and putt into his owne pocket, where it remained to the day of his death. In it were conteaned the names of moe than an hundreth landed men, beside others of meaner degree, among whome was my

Lord Hammiltoun himself. Buchanan sayeth, that there were in this scroll conteaned the names of three hundreth of the cheefe of the nobilitie, and among the rest of the Erle of Arran himself; whereby we may gather what progresse the true religioun had made even in the dayes of King James the Fyft. It was bruited, that this road was devised by the Lord Maxwell, and so writeth Buchanan; indeed, that he promised, if the king would allow unto him ten thowsand men, he sould enter in into England by Solway, and had, indeed, achieved some great exploit, if the king, offended at the nobilitie, had not givin a privat warrant and power of lieutenantrie to his minioun, Oliver Sinclare, to be produced at the point of joyning battell, that if the warre succeeded, the glorie and honour of it might not redound to the nobilitie.

The night before the day appointed to the interprise, the king was come to Lochmaben. To him come companeis fromc all quarters, as they were appointed, none knowing of other, (for no generall proclamatiouns past, but privie letters;) neither yitt did the multitude know anie thing of the purpose till after midnight, that the trumpets beganne to blow. All men were commaunded to marche fordward, and follow the king, who was supposed to have beene in the host. Guides were appointed to conduct them towards England. Upon the appointed day they approached to the enemeis' ground, and so past by the water of Esk, without anie great resistance made unto them. The unprovided people were altogether amazed; for, bright day appearing, they saw an armie of ten thowsand men. It was to them a wonder that such a multitude could have beene assembled, and come so neere, no knowledge therof comming to anie of their Wardans. Yitt beganne they to assemble, tenne in one companie, twentie in another; and so, as the fray increassed, their troopes increassed. Yitt the greatest number that ever appeared before the discomfiture past not foure or five hundreth men; for Carlill, fearing to have beene assaulted, suffered no man to issue out of their gates. The Scotish lords, perceaving the English assembled together, and shewing themselves upon a little hill in sight of the armie, it was inquired who was Lieutenant-Gene-

rall, by the king's appointment, and incontinent Oliver Sinclare was holdin up on two men's shoulders, and there, with sound of trumpet, after the king's commissioun read, was proclamed lieutenant, and all men commaunded to obey him as the king's owne persoun, under all highest paine. The erles and lords, there present, thought it a great indignitie that suche a meane gentleman sould be advanced above them. In this meane time, shouts were heard on everie side. Some Scotish men were stricken doun; some, not knowing the ground, were myred, and lost their horses. Some English horse, of purpose, were lett loose to provoke greedie and imprudent men to preasse at them, as manie did. But whill suche disorder riseth more and more in the armie, men cried in everie eare, "My Lord Lieutenant, what will yee do?" Charge was givin that all men sould light and goe to array, for they would fight: others cried, "Against whome will yee fight? Yonder men will fight no otherwise than yee see them doe, if yee would stand heere till the morne!" New purpose was takin, that the footmen sould safelie retire towards Scotland, and the horsemen sould take their horse againe, and so follow in order. Great was the noise and confusioun that was heard, whill that everie man called his owne slughorne. The day was neere spent, and that was the caus of the greatest feare. The Lord Maxwell, perceaving what would be the end of suche beginnings, stood upon his feete with his freinds, who, being admonished to take horse, answered, "Nay, I will rather abide heere the chance which it sall please God to send me, than to goe home, and there to be hanged!" So he remained upon his foote, and was taken when the multitude fled, and tooke the greater shame. The enemeis, perceaving the disorder, increassed in courage; before they shouted, but then they strooke. They shott speares and arrowes where the companeis were thickest. Some rancounter was made, but nothing availed. The souldiours cast frome them their pikes, culverings, and other weapons; the horsemen left their speares; and so, without judgement, all men fled. The sea was filled, and so the water made great stoppe; but the feare was suche, as happie was he that might gett a taker. Suche

as passed the water, and escaped that danger, not weill acquainted with the ground, fell into the slymmie mosse, the entrie wherof was pleasaunt enough; but, as they proceeded, all that tooke that way either lost their horse, or elles themselves and horse both. Where men were not sufficient to tak bands of prisoners, some ranne to housses, and raundered themselves to weomen. Stout Oliver was without stroke takin, fleing full manfullie; so was his stinking and foolish pride suddanlie turned to shame. In that discomfiture were takin, the Erles of Cassils and Glencarne, the Lord Maxwell, Wardane of the West Marches, the Lords Fleeming, Somervell, Oliphant, and Gray, Oliver Sinclar, the king's minioun, John Rosse, Laird of Craigie, Robert Areskine, sonne to the Lord Areskine, and manie other gentlemen, to the number of two hundreth and above; and more than eight hundreth meaner persouns, if Holinshed write truthe, so that some one English man, yea, some weomen, had three or foure prisoners. They tooke also twentie-foure peeces of ordinance, foure carts loadened with speeres, and tenne pavilliouns, as he reporteth. Whosoever hath the least sparke of the knowledge of God, may evidentlie see the worke of his hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seene in anie of the battells left to us in register by the Holie Ghost. What more evident declaratioun have we, that God fought against Benhadad, King of Aram, when he was discomfited at Samaria, than that He fought with his owne arme against Scotland, at this time? Suche as in that suddane dejectioun beholdeth not the hand of God fighting against pride, for freedome of his owne little flocke unjustlie persecuted, doth willinglie and maliciouslie obscure the glorie of God.

But the end is yitt more notable. The certane knowledge of the discomfiture comming to the king's eares, who waited upon newes at Lochmabane, he was stricken with a suddane feare and astonishment, so that skarslie could he speeke, or hold purpose with anie man. The night constrained him to remaine where he was, and so went to bed; but rose without rest, or quiett sleepe. His continuall regrate was, "Oh! oh! fled Oliver?—is Oliver takin?—oh! fled Oliver?" These words, in his melancholie, and as it

were miscareid in a transe, repeated he fromc time to time, to the verie houre of his death. His minde was distracted diverselie. Sometimes he would be avenged upon the traterous dealing of his owne, as he alledged; sometimes he was advising upon new preparatioun for the warres, for which he saw now it was necessar to call home the Erle of Angus, upon whatsoever conditiouns he could. "I sall bring him home," sayeth he, "that sall take order with them all." Upon the morne, which was Sanct Katherin's day, he returned to Edinburgh, and so did the cardinall fromc Haddintoun; but the one being ashamed of the other, the purpose of their conference came not to men's knowledge. The king made inventorie of his pose, all his jewells, and other substance. Therafter, ashamed to looke anie man in the face, he departed secreetlie to Fife, and, comming to Halyards, was courteouslie receaved of the Lady Grange, an ancient and godlie matrone. The Laird himself was absent. William Kirkaldie, afterward Laird of Grange, and some other that waited upon his chamber, were in his companie. The ladie, at supper, perceaving him pensive, beganne to comfort him, and willed him to tak the worke of God in good part. "My portioun," said he, "of this world is short, for I will not be with you fyfteen dayes." His servaunts asked where he would have provisioun for Christmasse, which then approached. He answered with a disdainful countenance, "I cannot tell; choose you the place. But this I can tell you; before Christmasse day yee will be masterlesse, and the realme without a king!" No man durst contradict him, becaus of his displeasure. Albeit there appeared into him no signes of death, yitt affirmed he constantlie, "Before suche a day I sall be dead." After that, he visited the castell of Carnie, perteaning to the Erle of Crawfurd, where the said erle's daughter, one of his whores, was. He returned to Falkland, and tooke bed. In this meane time, the queene was brought to bed of a daughter, the 8th of December 1542. The newes comming to his eares, he turned fromc suche as spake with him, and said, "The divell goe with it! it will end as it beganne: it came from a woman, and it will end with a woman!" After this he spake not manie words which might

weill be understood, but ever harped upon his old song, "Fy! fled Oliver? is Oliver takin? All is lost!" In this meane time commeth the cardinall, and crieth in his eare, "Take order, sir, with your realme! Who sall rule during the minoritie of your daughter? Ye have knowne my service: what will ye have done? Sall there not be foure Regents chosin, and sall not I be principall?" Whatsoever the king answered, documents were takin, that so it sould be as my lord cardinall thought expedient. As manie affirme, a dead man's hand was made to subscribe a blanke, that they might write what pleased them best. So King James departed this world the 13th of December 1542.

The cardinall posted to the queene, latelie delivered of her birth. At the first sight, she said, "Welcome, my lord; is not the king dead?" What moved her so to conjecture, diverse men are of diverse judgement. Manie whisper, that of old his part was in the pott, and that the suspicioun therof caused him to be inhibited the queene's companie. It was reported that he was disquietted with some unkindlie medicine. Howsoever it was before, it is certane that, after the king's death, and during the cardinall's life, he, whosoever guided the court, gott his secreet bussinesse sped with that gracious ladie by day or by night. She mended with as great expeditioun of that daughter as ever she did before of anie sonne she boore. The noise of the king's death being divulgated, men's hearts beganne to be disclosed. All men lamented that the realme was left without a male to succeed, yitt some rejoiced that suche an enemie to God's truthe was taken away. He was called of some, a good poore man's king; of others, a murtherer of the nobilitie. Some praised him for repressing theft and oppressioun, others dispraised him for defyling men's wives and daughters. As his vertues could not be denyed, so could not his vices, by anie craft, be cloked.

In the meane time, the captives were conveyed to Londoun, and committed to the Towre, where they remained the space of two dayes; and upon Sanct Thomas' day, the 20th of December, they were conveyed to Westminster, the Constable of the Towre ryding before them. The chanceller upbraided them for breache of peace,

invading of the realme without defiance, and keeping the king's subjects prisoners without redemptioun, contrarie to the ancient lawes of the Marches, for which offenses God had scourged them. He commended the king's great clemencie toward them, for that he was content to committ them to the custodie of erles, knights, barons, and bishops, howbeit justlie he might have keeped them in strait prisoun. The Erle of Cassils was appointed to remaine with the Archbishop of Canterburie, the Erle of Glencarne with the Duke of Norfolke, the Lord Fleeming with the Lord Privie Seale, the Lord Maxwell with Sir Anthony Browne, the Lord Somervell with the Lord Chanceller, the Lord Oliphant with Sir Thomas Lee, Oliver Sinclar with the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord of Menteith with Sir Anthony Wingfeild, Robert Areskine with the Bishop of Winchester, and the rest with suche men of credite as would be answerable for them. But within three dayes, tydings comming of the King of Scots' death, the lords were brought to Greenewiche, to court. The king required their furtherance to a mariage betwixt his sonne, Prince Edward, and their young queene, which they promised, so farre as lay in them, without detriment of the commoun weale, or hurt to themselves. The king enlarged them without ransoums, and rewarded them with gifts upon the last of December, on which day they departed frome court.

M.D.XLIII.

After the death of King James the Fyft, David Beton, Cardinall and Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, intised a hireling preest, with bribes, to subscribe a forged testament of the king latelie deceassed, wherin he established himself cheefe governour, assuming other three colleagues, the Erle of Murrey, the king's base brother, the Erle of Huntlie, and the Erle of Argile. Buchanan numbereth the Erle of Arran among the associats. The cardinall caused publishe this testament and declaratioun of the king's latter will at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, soone after the king's death, to prevent the returning of the banished and captive lords frome England, whome he knew not to favour him, becaus they were favourers for

the most part, and professors of true religioun. They entered in their journey homeward upon the first of Januarie. But when they came to Newcastell, they stayed till their hostages were come frome Scotland, and delivered to the Duke of Yorke,[1] and then came home. The Erle of Angus, and his brother Sir George, returned with the captives, after fyfteene yeeres exile. The cardinall, forseing this storme, procured himself to be proclaimed principall governour, before their returne. But this honour endured not long. The Erle of Arran would have contented himself, if his freinds, and others professing religioun, had not stirred him up. Some hunted for his favour, for the great hopes he had of succession to the crowne; manie hated the cardinall, and disdained to be ruled by a preest. Upon the Moonday following after the declaratioun was published, the foure regents tooke remissioun for their usurpatioun; for, by the wise counsell and stout resolutioun of Sir James Kirkaldie, Laird of Grange, the Erle of Arran assembled the nobilitie, and craved the governement during the minoritie of her to whome he was to succeed, failing her and her lawfull successioun. The cardinall and his factioun opponned to the governement of one man, speciallie of an Hammiltoun. "Who knoweth not," said the cardinall, "that the Hammiltons are cruell murtherers, oppressors of innocents, proud, avaritious, double, false, and a pest in this commoun weale?" The erle answered, "Defraude me not of my right, and call me what yee please. Whatsoever my freinds have beene, yitt to this day no man hath caus to compleane upon me; neither yitt intend I to flatter anie of my freinds in their evill, but, by God's grace, sall be als readie to correct their enormiteis as anie in the realme can, with reasoun, crave of me. Therefore, yitt againe, my lords, in God's name I crave that yee doe me no wrong, nor defraude me of my just title, before yee have experience of my governement." All cried, as it were with one voice, that it cannot be denied. So, in despite of the cardinall and his factioun, was he declared governour, which, by pub-

[1] An error probably of the transcriber of Calderwood: it was the Duke of Suffolk to whom the hostages were delivered.

lick proclamatioun, was intimated to the people. The king's palace, treasure, jewells, plate, garments, horse, were delivered to him. It was bruited that he favoured God's Word, and it was weill knowne that he was one of those who were appointed to be persecuted, as the scroll found in the king's pocket after his death did witnesse. These two things, together with the opinioun that men had of his simplicitie, bowed the hearts of manie to him in the beginning, who after, with sorrow of hearts, were compelled to change their opiniouns. He was honoured, feared, and obeyed, more heartilie than anie king before, so long as he favoured the truthe.

The governour being established in governement, godlie men resorted to him, and exhorted him to remember for what end God had exalted him, out of what danger he had delivered him, and what expectatioun all honest men had of him. At their instant sute, more than of his owne motioun, was Thomas Gwilliame, a Blacke frier, called to be preacher to him. The man was of a sound judgement, reasonable good literature in respect of the time, of a prompt and good utterance: his doctrine was wholesome, but without vehemencie against superstitioun. Johne Rough, who after suffered for the truthe in England, howbeit not so learned, and more simple, and more vehement against all impietie, preached also some times. Their doctrine procured against themselves, and against the governour, the hatred of all suche as favoured darknesse. The Gray friers rouped[1] as they had beene ravens; yelled, and roared like devills, "Heresie! heresie! Gwilliame and Rough will carrie the governour to the devill!" None so vehement as Frier Scot, who before had givin himself furth for the greatest professor to the truthe within Scotland, and under that colour had discovered and endangered manie. N. Wilsone, servaunt to George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the New nor the Old Testament, made a despitefull ballat against the preachers and the governour, for which he narrowlie escaped hanging. This Thomas Gwilliam was a Blacke frier, borne beside Elstone-furde, in East Lothiane, and provinciall of the Blacke friers of Scotland. He

[1] Croaked.

was the first man frome whome Mr Knox receaved anie taste of the truthe. The cardinall moved both heaven and earth to trouble the governour and stay preaching; but the battell was stoutlie foughten for a seasoun. The governour, in the meane time, read bookes of controversie.

The toun of Edinburgh was at that time, for the most part, drowned in superstitioun. Edward Hope, and his two brothers, Henrie and Alexander, young William Adamsone, Sibilla Lindsay, Patrik Lindsay, Francis Aikman; and in the Cannogate, Johne Makcaw and Niniane Browne, with few others, careid the name of professioun and knowledge in these dayes.

The parliament approached, and was holdin the thirteenthe day of Marche. Questioun was moved of certane tyrannical acts made before, at the devotioun of the prelats, for maintenance of their kingdome of darknesse; to witt, that, under paine of heresie, no man sould read anie part of the Scriptures in the English tongue, nor anie tractat, or expositioun upon anie place of Scripture. Men beganne to inquire if it was not lawfull to suche as understood no Latine, to use the Word of their salvatioun in the tongue they understood, as it was for Latins to have it in Latine, Grecians and Hebrewes to have it in the Greeke and Hebrew language. It was answered, that the Kirk had forbidden all tongues but three. It was demaunded, when that an inhibitioun was given, or what Councell had ordeaned it so, considering that in the dayes of Chrysostome he compleaned that the people used not the Psalmes and other holie bookes in their owne languages. "If yee will say, they were Grecians, and understood the Greeke tongue, we answere, that Christ commaunded his Word to be preached to all natioums. If it be lawfull to preache, and heare it preached in all tongues, what hindereth it to be lawfull to reade it, or to heare it read in all tongues, that the people may 'trie the spirits,' according to the commandement of the Apostles?" They being convinced by reasouns, denied not but that it may be read in the vulgar tongue, providing the translatioun be true. It was demanded, what fault could they find with it? When much searche was made, nothing

worthie reprehensioun could be found, but that *love*, say they, was putt in the place of charitie. When it was asked, what difference there was, and if they understood the nature of the Greeke word, *Agape*, they were dumbe. The Lord Ruthven, father to him that slew Seigneur Davie, and Mr Henrie Balnaves, an old professour, were reasouners for the seculars; N. Hay, Deane of Restalrig, and certan old bosses with him, for the cleargie. At lenth, the commissioners of burrowes and a part of the nobilitie required, that it might be permitted to everie man to use the benefite of the translatioune of the Old and New Testament, which then they had; together with the benefite of other treatises conteaning wholesome doctrine, till the prelats and kirkmen sett furth a translation more correct. The cleargie opponed a long time; but in end, convicted by reasouns, and the number of voices prevailing against them, they also condescended. So by act of Parliament it was made free to everie man or woman to read the Scriptures in their owne, or the English tongue, and all acts made in the contrare abolished.[1] This was no small victorie which Christ Jesus, fighting against his conjured enemeis, obteaned; no small comfort to those who were before holdin in such bondage, that they would have beene accused of heresie if they had read the Lord's Prayer, or the articles of their faith, in the English tongue. Then might the Bible be seene lying almost upon everie gentleman's table; the New Testament was careid about in manie men's hands. But some, who perhaps had not read tenne sentences in it, had it most commounlie in their hands; would tuche their familiars on the cheeke with it, and say, "This booke hath lyin under my bed-feete these tenne years!" Others in a gloreing maner would say, "O, how oft have I beene in danger for this booke! how secreetlie have I stollin frome my wife at midnight to reade upon it!" This was done to currie favour in court, for all men esteemed the governour to have beene the most fervent Protestant that was in Europ. Albeit manie abused that libertie givin of God miraculouslie, yitt did the knowledge of

[1] It appears, however, that the Bible was not printed in Scotland until the task was undertaken by Bassandyne, who printed the Geneva translation in 1576.

the truth wonderfullie increase thereby, and God gave the gifts of his Spirit to simple men in great measure. Then were sett furth workes in our language, beside those which were brought frome England, wherin the pride, craft, tyrannie, and abuses of the Roman Antichrist were disclosed.

William Lord Ruthven, one of the cheefe reasouners for the seculars, was a stout and discreet man in the caus of God. The other reasouner, Mr Henrie Balnaves, was borne in Kirkaldie. When he was a childe, he travelled through Flanders to Culen, understanding that poor childrein were putt to the schooles, and interteaned by the commoun purse of the toun. There he profited both in the lawes and in religioun. After his returne to the countrie, he was interteaned by Sir Johne Melvill, Laird of Raith, who had alreadie some taste of the true knowledge of God. Thereafter, he went to Sanct Andrewes, and became procurator before the commissar, but resorted often to the Raith. He was after made treasurer-clerk by Sir James Kirkaldie, Laird of Grange, who had to wife Jonet Melvill, daughter to the Laird of Raith. Thus was Mr Henrie advanced for his wisdome and learning, and after employed in ambassadge to King Henrie the Eight. He was in honour and estimatioun under the raigne of King James the Fyft, not without invy and malice of the cleargie for his religioun.

Sir Rawfe Sadler was sent ambassader from King Henrie the Eight. His commissioun and negotiation was, to contract perpetuall amitie betwixt England and Scotland, the occasioun wherof God had so manifestlie offered, that to manie men it appeared that frome heaven He had declared his good pleasure in that behalfe. For to King Henrie was givin a sonne, Edward the Sixt of blessed memorie, by Jane Sommer, after the death of Queene Katharine, and of all others that might have made his marriage suspect; and to us was left a queene different from Edward onlie by six yeeres. This wonderfull providence of God caused men of greatest judgement dispute with themselves whether, with good conscience, anie man might repugne to the desires of the King of England, considering that thereby all occasioun of warre might be cutt off, and

great commoditie might ensue to this realme. The queene, the cardinall, and the whole factioun of the cleargie, were so troublesome to the Parliament, that nothing could be concluded till, by commoun consent almost of the whole number, the cardinall was shutt up in a closse chamber. Then the votes were asked, and it was concluded that ambassaders sould be sent to treate of that mariage, and hostages promised to the English ambassader, for performance of the conditions which were to be agreed upon. At the queene's requeist, the cardinall is sett at greater freedome, and committed to the custodie of the Lord Seton, who, for bribes, soon after, suffered him to escape. Others write, that he was committed first to Dalkeith, and after to the Lord Seton. Sir James Lermonth of Balcomie, knight, and Mr Henrie Balnaves, remaining long in England, so travailled, that all things concerning the mariage were agreed upon, except the time of her deliverie to the English. William Erle of Glencarne, and Sir George Dowglas, were added to the former commissioners, to whome were given manie instructioums, and an ample commissioun to conclude finallie. Sir Rawfe Sadler remained for the most part of the somner in Edinburgh. Advertisements past frequentlie betwixt England and Scotland; yea, the hands of some of our lords were liberallie anointed, and other commoditeis beside promised. In end, so weill were all once content, (the cardinall, the queene, and the factioun of France, ever excepted,) that solemnlie, in the Abbey of Halyrudhous, was the contract of mariage made betwixt the persons forsaid, together with all the clausses and conditiouns requisite for the faithfull observation therof; read in publick audience, subscrived, sealed, approved, and allowed by the governour for his part, by the nobilitie and lords for their parts. That nothing sould be wanting which might confirme the purpose, Christ's sacred bodie, as the Papists call it, was broken betwixt the said governour and Sir Rawfe Sadler, and receaved of them both, as a signe and tokin of the unitie of their mindes to keepe that contract in all points, as they looke to be saved by Jesus Christ; and in case of breache, to be reputed men unworthie of credite before the world. The Papists raged

against the governour for this contract. After the returne of the ambassaders frome England, eight persons were chosin for either partie, to judge whether anie thing was done by the saids ambassaders, wherof they had not sufficient power frome the Counsell and Parliament. It was found that all things were done according to their commissioun, and that so they sould stand. So the seales of England and Scotland were interchanged. Mr James Fowlis, then Clerk of the Register, receaved the greate seale of England, and Sir Rawfe Sadler receaved the greate seale of Scotland. The queene's mariage being thus concluded and ratifeid, the merchants repaired to their traffique, which had beene hindered some yeeres by-past.

In this meane time arriveth frome France Johne Hammiltoun, Abbot of Paisley, bastard brother to the governour, but in the conceate of manie the sonne to George Crichton, old Bishop of Dunkelden; and Mr David Panter, who afterward was made Bishop of Rosse. Great hope there was that their presence sould be comfortable to the Kirk of God, for the report that was made of their learning, the honestie of their life, their fervencie, and uprightnesse in religioun. It was constantlie affirmed by some, that without delay the one or the other would occupy the pulpit, and preache Christ Jesus truelie. But their hypocrisie was disclosed within few dayes. What terrors, what promises, what inchanting boxes they brought from France, was unknowne to the commoun people, but soone after Frier Gwilliame was inhibited to preache. He departed to England, where he was chosin to be cheefe preacher at Birsto. Johne Rough went to Kyle, an old receptacle of the servants of God. This Johne Rough, becaus some of his kinsfolkes would have keeped him frome his right of inheritance which he had to certane lands, did, at the age of seventeene yeeres, to displease his freinds, professe himself into the order of the Blacke friers of Stirline, where he remained the space of sixteene yeeres, till the Erle of Arran, governour, requested the Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes to have him out of his professed order, that, as a secular preest, he might serve him for his chaplane. At his re-

queist the archbishop caused the provinciall of that hous to dispense with him for his habite and order. He remained in the governour's service a full yeere, during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of His truthe; and therupon was by the said governour sent to preache in the shirefdome of Air, where he continued till the death of the cardinall, that is, the space of foure yeeres. This muche out of Mr Foxe, and more afterward in the owne place.

Men of counsell and judgement, who had travailled to promote the governour, and gave him faithfull counsell in all doubtfull affaires, were either craftilie, by some convoy, removed frome him, or by threatenings compelled to leave him. Of the first number were the Laird of Grange, Mr Henrie Balnaves, and Sir David Lindsay of the Month, men by whose travaills he was advanced to so great honour, and by whose counsell he governed so weill in the beginning, that the obedience givin to him was nothing inferiour to that obedience which anie king of Scotland had before him. Yea, in this it was superiour, that it proceeded frome love of those vertues which were supposed to have beene in him. Of the other number were—Mr Michael Durhame, Mr David Borthwicke, David Forresse, and David Bothwell, who counselled him to have in his companie men fearing God, and not to nourishe men in their iniquitie, howbeit they were called his freinds, and were of his surname. This counsell comming to the knowledge of the forsaid abbot, and the Hammiltons, who then repaired to court as ravens to a carioun, in plaine termes it was said, "My Lord Governour nor his freinds will never be at rest till a dosson of these knaves that abuse his Grace be hanged." These words were uttered in his owne presence, and in the presence of some who deserved to have beene better used. The speaker was reproved for his plaine and bold speeches. Which, when honest and godlie men perceaved, they left the court and him in the hands of suche as, by their wicked counsell, ledde him so farre frome God, that he falsifeid his promise, dipped his hands in the blood of the sancts, and brought the commoun-wealth to the verie point of utter ruine.

Honest and godlie men having withdrawin themselves frome the court, the Abbot of Paisley and his counsell beginne to lay before the inconstant governour the danger that might ensue upon alteratioun of religioun; the power of France; the commoditie which might come to him and his hous by reteaning the ancient league with the Frenche; the danger he brought upon himself if in one jote he suffered the pope's authoritie to be violated, or called in doubt, considering that therupon onlie stoode the securitie of his right to the successioun of the crowne. For by God's word could not the divorcement of his father frome Elizabeth Hume, his first wife, be found lawfull; so sould the second mariage be judged unlawfull, and he be declared bastard. Caiaphas propheceid, and he knew not what he spoke; for at that time no man truelie fearing God minded anie suche thing, or would have called in questioun his title, but would have fortifeid it, becaus he seemed to favour the truthe.

The cardinall escaping out of Seton, as we have heard, or, as others relate, removed to his owne castell of Sanct Andrewes by the governour, and some appointed to keepe him, but soone after sett at libertie, ceased not to draw suche of the nobilitie as he might to his factioun, to corrupt them by whatsoever meanes, and to stirre up a partie against the governour and others, who stood fast by the contract of mariage and peace with England. With the queene's consent he convocated together the cleargie, and obteaned a great summe of money for maintenance, as was pretended, of the Catholick religioun, which now seemed to be in great danger; a part wherof was distributed among some noblemen. Manie noblemen he diswaded frome sending their pledges to the English king, seducing them with faire promises. He travailled so effectuallie with the late captives, that he made them carelesse of the pledges they had left in England; making them beleeve that the weele of their freinds and childrein sould be postponned to the publick weele of the countrie and safetie of religioun; and made them to apprehend the miserie of a perpetuall servitude under the English. The preests, at his instigatioun, procured contumelious speeches to be

belched out against the English ambassader, Sir Rawfe Sadler, by veric rascalls, which he susteaned with great patience, least he sould minister anie occasioun of discord, waiting patientlie upon the deliverie of the pledges. When he compleaned to the governour, he promised to tak order with those that had offended him. When he craved the hostages to be delivered, he answered, he could compell no man: his power was limited, and he was to be ruled by others as weill as he did rule. "The cardinall," sayeth he, "hath raised up seditioun, that I am forced to yeeld to the furie of men, and can resolve upon nothing that is firme and certane." In end, he craved, that at least the noblemen that were last inlarged, and had raundered pledges, might returne according to their promise to England; for they had promised to returne if peace were not concluded upon equall conditiouns. But that could not be obteaned; for the cardinall's factioun and the rest of the clergie, partlie by reasouns, and partlie by exemples, had perswaded them to postponne their childrein and kinsmen to the publick weele of the realme; and partlie threatened them by forces from France, and whole Europ, banded together in defense of the religioun of their forefathers; with guiltinesse of betraying their countrie, and the imminent ruine of their owne housses. Manie things they alledged against the English and their king, speciallie their hatred, and his crueltie; and among manie other reasons, the decree of the Councell of Constance, that no contract, faith, or promise made to hereticks sould be keeped. When the greater part thought they could easilie find an excuse for their breache, Gilbert Kennedie, Erle of Cassils, could not be moved, either by bribes, flatterie, or threats. He had two brethrein pledges for him in England. He protested, that for no feare would he redeeme his life with the blood of his two brothers, and went incontinent to England, manie repynning against his journey. The English king, Henrie, commending his constancie, rewarded him honourablie, and sett him and his two brethrein at libertie.

The English king being advertised of these proceedings, the merchant shippes were stayed in England, the sailes takin frome

their rigges, they and the mariners committed to sure custodie. New commissioun was sent to Sir Rawfe Sadler, to demaund the cause of so suddane alteratioun, and to travaill by all meanes possible to recall the governour to his former godlie purpose: to advise him not to deale so foolishlie and unhonestlie, yea, so cruellie and unmercifullie, with the realme of Scotland; that he would not lose the commoditeis offered; that he would not putt the countrie to the hazard of fire and sword, and other inconveniences which might follow upon the violation of his promise. But nothing availed with the facile and unconstant man.

The queene, the cardinall, and their factioun, sent to France to request the king to send Matthew Stewart, Erle of Lennox, to Scotland, becaus he was a deadlie enemie to the Hammiltons for the slaughter of his father at Linlithquho; and was nixt heyre to the crowne by the king's appointment, if he died without male childrein, which he would have confirmed by Parliament, as was thought, if he had lived. He was putt in hope of governing the countrie for the space of twentie yeeres; of mariage with the queene dowager; and if the young queene failled, that he sould be not onlie king, but also lawfull heyre to James Hamniltoun, Erle of Arran, seing the governour was a bastard, and could not by law claime so muche as to be acknowledged his father's lawfull heyre. The credulous young man, allured with these hopes, and encuraged with promises of assistance, addressed himself to come home.

The Erle of Arran, governour, not being ignorant of these proceedings, resolved to tak the young queene, supposing by that meane not onlie to strengthen himself with the shadow of her name, and that he might dispose of her mariage as he thought good, and either feede the English king with promises, or draw him to his partie. The cardinall getting knowledge of his purpose, convocat some of the nobilitie whome he had conciliat to himself by money; went with them to Linlithquho, where they remained as a guarde to the queene certane dayes. In the meane time, the Erle of Lennox arrived. After he had saluted the governour and the cardinall, he went home to his owne hous, assembled his freinds, opened

up to them his whole purpose, and returneth to the queene, accompaneid with foure thowsand men. The Erle of Arran finding himself inferiour in number, and disappointed, beganne to treate of conditions of peace. It was agreed and concluded by arbiters and commissioners sent frome both parteis to Kirkliston, mid-way betwixt Edinburgh and Linlithquo, that the queene sall be conveyed to Stirline; that foure indifferent noblemen, who have not embarked themselves with either of the factiouns, sall have the care of her educatioun. Williame Lord Grahame, Johne Lord Areskine, Johne Lord Lindsay, and Williame Lord Livingstone, were nominated. The queene was conveyed by these foure to Stirline, the Erle of Lennox and his companie standing in armes till they were out of danger frome the other factioun. And not long after she was crowned, about the 20th day of August.

The governour finding himself inferiour in power to the other factioun, and the hearts of the people alienated frome him by reasoun of his inconstancie, beganne to treate secretlie with them. The cardinall being of kinne to the governour by his mother, brought him to his factioun by terrors, not willing to oppresse him by violence and force of armes. The governour, perceaving a part of his freinds to be drawin frome him by brybes and rewards, and that he was now become vile in the accompt of the English, was easilie induced to come to Stirline, where, in the Gray-frier kirk, in presence of the queene and cheefe courteours, he recanted his religioun. They had threatned to depose him frome the governement as inobedient to the Holie Mother the Church. The unconstant man, not throughlie grounded upon God, left through his owne default destitute of all good counsell, and having the wicked ever blowing in his eare, "What will yee do? will yee destroy yourself and your hous both for ever?"—the unhappie man, I say, beaten with these tentatiouns, randered himself to the appetite of the wicked. He withdrew himself secretlie frome the lords that were with him in the palace of Halyrudhous, went to Stirline, subjected himself to the cardinall and his counsell, receaved absolutioun, renounced the professioun of Christ's holie Gospell, and violated his

oathe that he had made before for observatioun of the contract and league made with England. Fearing a forfeyture, he randered himself whollie to the cardinall, to be ruled and directed by him. The cardinall gott his eldest sonne in effect as a pledge, whome he keeped in the castell of Sanct Andrewes till the day that God's hand punished him for his pride. Now hath the cardinall atteaned to his intent, to that in effect which he sought by a forged testament, and the Erle of Arran had onlie the bare name or title of a governour.

M.D.XLIV.

After that the cardinall had winne the Erle of Arran, his kinsman, to his factioun, knowing him to be a simple and flexible man, whome he might frame anie way to his pleasure, laboureth to mainteine him in his authoritie, and to hinder the Erle of Lennox, a man of a greater stomacke, to be advanced to the governement, as they purposed to have done if the Erle of Arran had not joyned with them. The queene and the cardinall, to be ridde of the Erle of Lennox, wrote to the King of France to recall him, assuring him that the countrie could not be otherwise preserved in peace and unitie. In the meane time, till answere be returned, the time is spent at court in tilting by day, dancing and masking in the night, and the queene suspendeth the erle with hopes of mariage. James Hepburne, Erle of Bothwell, banished by King James the Fyft, but returning after his death, hanteth the court, striveth to overmatche the Erle of Lennox at games and pastymes; for he also aimed at the mariage with the queene. But the Erle of Lennox excelled him so farre, that he was constrained to leave the court. At lenth the Erle of Lennox craved performance of promises made unto him. When he saw himself deluded and circumveened, his enemie the Erle of Arran confirmed and established in the governement, he spaired not to utter his greefe, and to vow revenge. He retireth to Dumbartane, yitt uncertane what to tak in hand.

Whill the Erle of Lennox was at Dumbartane, threttie thowsand crownes were brought to him frome the King of France for

supplie to his factioun; for the queene and cardinall's letters were not yitt come to the King of France his hands, so was he ignorant of the estate of our countrie. The erle was directed to distribute the gold by advice of the queene-mother and the cardinall. He sent a part to the queene, but the rest he divided among his owne freinds. The cardinall, finding himself disappointed, and in a maner mocked, stirred up the governour to gather an armie to surprise the Erle of Lennox at Glasgow, and sease upon the gold. But the erle came to Leith, after Christmasse, with tenne thowsand men, sent to Edinburgh to the cardinall, to let him know he was there readie to joyne battell, and that he needed not to travell to Glasgow. The hatred of the governour and the cardinall moved manie of the nobilitie to assist the Erle of Lennox. The cardinall protracted time, knowing verie weill that his armie, consisting for the most part of voluntars, and wanting provisioun, would not continue long together. In the meane time, manie of the erle's armie had there secreit conferences in the night with his cheefe enemeis. The blame was layed upon some that had no will of the Stewart's regiment. Therefore he was forced to goe himself to Edinburgh and transact with the governour. Therafter they went to Linlithquo, frome whence the Erle of Lennox departed secreetlie, without bidding the governour fareweill, being informed of some secreet plott of his enemeis. He fortifieid the castell of Glasgow, and from thence went to Dumbartane.

Whill the Erle of Lennox was at Dumbartane, he was certanlie informed, that the Dowglasses and Hammiltons were reconciled; that Sir George Dowglas, brother to the Erle of Angus, and Alexander Cunninghame, Master of Glencarne, were delivered as pledges, to make a shew of obedience; but upon promise to be sett at libertie within few dayes, which was not performed. About the same time, the Erle of Lennox was certanelie informed, that the French king, Francis, was alienated frome him, by the calumneis of his enemeis. In the meane time, Archibald Erle of Angus, and Robert Lord Maxwell, went to Glasgow to treate of reconciliatioun betwixt the governour and the Erle of Lennox. But whill

their dependers were attending them at the fore gate, they were sent out by a posterne gate, by advice of the governour's cheefe counsellers, to Hamilton. The erle was sent soone after to Blackenesse, and keeped in strait waird. It was bruited, that both the brethrein, the erle and his brother Sir George, together with some others, had lost their heads, if, by the providence of God, the English armie had not arived the sooner.

After that the cardinall had gottin the governour whollie addicted to his devotioun, and had obteaned his intent over a part of his enemeis, he beganne to sett suche as he deadlie hated by the eares, thinking that therin stood his greatest securitie. The Lord Ruthven he hated for knowledge of the Word; the Lord Gray he feared, becaus at that time he used the companie of those that professed godlinesse, and careid small favour to the cardinall. Thus reasouned the worldlie wise man:—"If I can putt inimitie betwixt these two, I sall be ridd of two great unfreinds; for the most part of the countrie will either assist the one or the other, so will they be otherwise occupied, than to watche for my displeasure." He laboured with Johne Charters to accept the Provostrie of Sanct Johnston, which he had purchassed to him frome the governour, with a charge to the toun to obey. The Lord Ruthven and the toun alledged, that suche intrusioun of men into office was hurtfull to their priviledge and freedome of electioun, at a certane time of yeere: the said Johne threatned he would occupie the office by force, if they would not yeeld to him willinglie. He purchassed a warrant to beseige the toun, and to tak it by strong hand, if anie resistance were made. He perswadeth easilie the Lord Gray, Norman Leslie, and others of his freinds, to assist him. The Master of Ruthven tooke the maintenance of the toun, having in his companie the Laird of Muncreif and other freinds, and as he thought so doing did mainteane his owne right; for the Provostrie of the toun was in a maner hereditarie to his hous. So the said Johne, upon the Magdalene day, in the morning, approached with his forces, the Lord Gray taking upon him the principall charge. It was appointed that Norman Leslie sould come with his freinds by

sea, with munitioun and ordinance, to assault the toun on the one side; but the tide served not so soone as they wished. The Lord Gray thinking himself of sufficient force against all that were in the toun, entered on the other side by the bridge, where they found no resistance till a great part of them were entered a prettie space within the Fish-gate; then the Master of Ruthven encountered them stoutlie with his companie. The place was so strait, that men who durst not fight could not flee at their pleasure, for the most part of the Lord Gray's freinds were on the bridge. There fell by the edge of the sword sixtie men. The cardinall had rather the mishappe had fallin on the Master of Ruthven. Howsoever it was, he thought that suche trouble was his comfort and advantage, the knowledge wherof comming to the parteis eares that had receaved the discomfiture, was to them no small greefe; for as manie of them entered in that actioun for his pleasure, so thought they to have had his assistance, wherof finding themselves frustrated, they begaune to looke more narrowlie to themselves, and so a new jealousie was kindled amongst them. Whosoever would not play the part of a good servant to the cardinall was compted his enemie.

The cardinall drew the governour to Dundie, for he understood that the Erle of Rothesse and Mr Henrie Balnaves were with the Lord Gray, in the castell of Huntlie. The governour sent and charged them to come to Dundie at tenne of the clocke before noone, the day following. They assemble their freinds and followers to the number of three hundreth men, and above. The cardinall thought it not expedient they sould enter in, and joyne with the toun. He perswadeth him to passe off the toun before nine houres, and to ryde the straight way to Sanct Johnston; which, when the other lords perceaved, they suspected that they were come to persue them, putt themselves in array, and marched fordward, of purpose to susteane the uttermost. The foxe forseing, that in fighting stoode not his securitie, devised how their forces might be brokin. The Laird of Grange, and the Proveist of Sanct Andrewes, ignorant of their treasonable intentioun, were sent to aske why they molested my lord governour in his journey? It was answered,

they meant nothing lesse, for they came at his Grace's commandement to keepe the houre at Dundie, appointed by him; which, when they perceaved was prevented, knowing the cardinall to be their unfreind, could not but suspect their unprovided comming furth of the toun, and therefore they putt themselves in order, not to invade, but to defend. This answere being reported, the Abbot of Pasley, Mr David Panter, the Lairds of Balcleuche and Coldingknowes were sent to them, to crave conference with some of their companie. After long communicatioun, it was demaunded if the erle, the Lord Gray, and Mr Henrie, would not be content to talke with the governour, if the cardinall and his companie were on the ground. They answered, that the governour might command them in all things lawfull, but were no wise content to be in the cardinall's mercie. Manie faire promises were made for their securitie, and for shew of greater assurance the cardinall and his band were commanded to depart. So he did, but, according to the plott contrived, he and his companie rydeth before to Sanct Johnston. The erle, lord, and Mr Henrie, came without companie to the governour. After manie faire words givin to them, that he would have them agreed with the cardinall, that he would have Mr Henrie Balnaves the instrument of their reconciliatioun, draweth them fordward with him towards Sanct Johnston. They beganne to suspect, albeit too late, some treacherie, therefore they crave licence to returne to putt order to their companie. It was answered, they sould send backe fromc the toun, meaning Perth, but they must needes goe fordward with my lord governour. So, partlie by force, partlie by flatterie, were they compelled to obey; and, as soone as they were in the toun they were apprehended, and on the morrow sent all three to Blackenesse. There they remained, and were keeped at the pleasure of the cardinall's gracelesse Grace, that is, till their band of manreid[1] and of service sett some of them at libertie.

Whether it was at this progresse or another, that the bloodie

[1] A band of manreid, or manrent, was a pledge of personal service to a feudal superior, and was often extorted from the inferior barons and gentry by terror and violence, as well as obtained by favour and allegiance.

boutcher, the cardinall, executed his crueltie upon the innocent persons of Sanct Johnston, Mr Knox sayeth he cannot certanlie affirme. Buchanan referreth this progresse, and the cruell boutcherie of the innocent men, to the winter time of the yeere 1545. Yitt Mr Knoxe placeth them both in his Historie before the first burning of Edinburgh, which happened in the May following this yeere, 1544. So doth also Mr Foxe, in the Booke of Martyrs, referre this boutcherie to the end of the 1543d yeere, according to the old reckoning, that is, the begimning of this yeere, 1544; and both he and Mr Foxe relate, that this crueltie was executed about Sanct Paul's day. But not studeing to be too curious for the time, we come to the mater itself.

In the month of Januarie, 1544, or, according to the old reckoning, 1543, upon Sanct Paul's day, came to Sanct Johnston the governour, the cardinall, the Erle of Argile, Justice, Sir Johne Campbell, Lord Borthwicke, the Bishops of Dumblane and Orkney, with certane others of the nobilitie. And although there were manie accused of the crime of heresie, yitt these persons were onlie apprehended; Robert Lambe, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Ranoldsone, and his wife, Helene Stirk, and James Finlesone, and were cast that night in the Spey towre of the said toun, on the morrow to abide judgement. When they were brought furth to judgement, the violating of the act of parliament, their conference and assembleis in hearing and expouning the Scripture against the tenor of the said act, were layed in generall to all their charge. Robert Lamb was accused, in speciall, for interrupting the frier in the pulpit, which he not onlie confessed, but also affirmed constantlie, that it was the duetie of no man which understood and knew the truthe, to heare the same impugned without contradictioun; and, therefore, sundrie which were there present in judgement, who hated the knowledge of the truthe, sould beare their burthein in God's presence, for consenting to the same. The said Robert also, with William Andersone and James Ranoldsone, were accused for hanging up the image of Sanct Francis on a cord, nailing of ramme's hornes to his head, and a kowe's rumpe to his taile; and for eating of

a goose on Allhallow even. James Hunter being a simple man, and without learning, and a fleshour by occupatioun, could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine; yitt because he often used the suspect companie of the rest, he was accused. The woman, Helene Stirk, was accused, for that in her childe-bed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgine Marie, being exhorted thereto by her nighbours, but onlie upon God, for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said in like maner, that if she herself had beene in the time of the Virgine Marie, God might have looked to her humilitie and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ—thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgine Marie, which procured that honour to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other weomen, but God's onlie free mercie exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of the clergie and whole multitude. James Ranoldsone building a hous, sett upon the round of his fourth staire the three-crowned diademe of Peter, carved of tree, which the cardinall tooke as done in mockage of his cardinall's hatt; and this procured no favour to the said James. These forenamed persons, upon the morrow after Sanct Paul's day, were condemned and adjudged to death by an assise, for violating, as was alledged, the act of parliament; in reasouning and conferring upon the Scriptures; for eating flesh upon the dayes forbiddin; for interrupting the holie frier in the pulpit; for dishonouring of images, and blaspheming of the Virgine Marie. After sentence givin, their hands were bound, and the men cruellie intreated, which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the serjants, with her husband, for Christ's sake. There was great intercession made by the toun to the governour for their lives, who, of himself, was willing, but was so subject to the appetite of cruel preests, that he could not do that which he would; yea, they minassed to assist his enemeis, and to depose him, except he assisted their crueltie. There were certane preests in the toun, who did eate and drink before in these honest men's housses, to whome the preests were muche boundin. They were earnestlie de-

sired to intreate for their hostess, at the cardinal's hand, but they altogether refused; so cruell are these beasts, frome the lowest to the highest. Therafter they were careid by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellioun in the toun, except they had their men of warre) to the place of execution, which was commoun to all theeves; and that to make their caus appeare more odious to the people. Robert Lambe, at the gallows foote, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to feare God, and leave the leaven of papisticall abominatiouns; and manifestlie there propheeid of the ruine and plague which came upon the cardinall therafter. So everie one comforting another, and assuring themselves to suppe together in the kingdom of heaven that night, commended themselves to God, and died constantlie in the Lord. The woman desired earnestlie to dee with her husband, but she was not suffered. Yitt following him to the place of executioun, she gave him comfort, exhorted him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and parting frome him with a kisse, said on this maner, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together manie joyfull dayes; but this day in which we must dee ought to be most joyfull to us both, becaus we must have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bidde you good night, for we sall suddanlie meete with joy in the kingdome of heaven." The woman after was takin to a place to be drowned; and albeit she had a childe sucking on her breast, yitt this moved nothing the unmercifull hearts of the enemeis. So, after she had commended her childrein to the nighbours of the toun for God's sake, and the sucking bairne was givin to the nurse, she sealed up the truthe by her death. Thus farre Mr Foxe, in the Booke of Martyrs, saving that he calleth Helene Stirk, James Finlesone his wife, which is an error. Buchanan referreth this part of the Historie to the yeere 1545. But Mr Knox his Historie referreth it to Januarie, the yeere 1544, according to the new account, which is confirmed by the registers of the Justice Courts, where it is registred that Robert Lamb, merchant in Perth, James Ranoldsone, skinner, William Andersone, maltman, James Hunter, fleshour, were convicted of art and part in breaking the act of parliament,

by holding an assemblie and conventioun in Sanct Anne's chappell, in the Spey-yards, upon Sanct Andrewe's day last bypast, conferring and disputing there upon the holie Scripture. Item, the said Robert Lamb and James Ranoldsone, convicted of art and part in breaking the said act of parliament, by interrupting the devoute and religious man, Frier Spence, upon Allhallow day last bypast, when he was preaching in the pulpit, and alledging, in presence of the people there conveened, that his doctrine was false, and against the holie Scriptures; doing what in them lay to make the said religious frier to be pulled downe frome the pulpit, and to be slaine, if the people there present had not made resistance. Helene Stirk, spous to James Ranoldsone, convicted becaus of art and part in breaking the acts of parliament, in dishonouring the Virgin Marie. It is constantlie reported, that the men who were upon their assise manie of them were punished by God's hand one way or other. Andrew Robertsone was stricken with a palsey before his death. Johne Malcolme, grandfather to Mr Johne Malcolme, now minister at Sanct Johnston, was troubled with fearefull visions before his death; some died without heyres.

According to the relatioun which Mr Foxe receaved, when Frier Spence was affirming in sermon that prayer to sancts be so necessarie, that without it there could be no hope of salvatioun to man, Robert Lambe, burgesse, could not abyde, but accused him in open audience of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him in God's name to utter the truthe; the which the frier, stricken with feare, promised to doe. But the trouble, tumult, and stirre of the people increased, so that the frier could have no audience. And yitt, the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, namelie, of the weomen, who, contrarie to nature, addressed them to extreme crueltie against him. Mr Johne Davidsone, a diligent searcher in the last acts of our martyrs, receaved a relatioun somewhat different, to witt, that Robert Lambe hearing Frier Spence on Allhallow even, in the pulpit, saying, "To-morrow is the day in the which yee ought to offer for your forbeares' soules that are in Purgatorie, like as yee would have your posteritie to doe for

you when yee come there;" Robert Lambe hearing this, said twise or thrise, "Sir!" The frier gave audience. Then said Robert, "I charge you in the name of Christ Jesus, whose veritie is heere writtin, (pointing to his English Bible lying before him,) that yee teache nothing to his people except his onlie truthe. If yee otherwise doe, heere is the booke of his truthe, to beare witnesse against you at the great day of the Lord." The people raise up in a great rage. The frier said, "Pacifie yourselves, and I sall preache the truthe as is injoyned to me." But the tumult of the people suffered him not. James Rind, bailiffe, said, "Nay, Sir, come doun; it must be fire and faggot must dantoun these hereticks, and not words." The bailiffe convoyed the preest home. Robert Lambe had not escaped the hands of the multitude if his freinds had not quicklie rescued him. Johne Christeson's wife, called Rind, the bailiffe's sister, not being suffered to come by Robert Lambe, cast her keyes at his face, calling him, "False theefe, heretick!" As Robert was convoyed home, he was demaunded why he burst out so openlie? He answered, "Nay, the work of the Lord must needs be wrought openlie, for it will not lurke long." He used manie times in his life to say, "Happie were I if I sould suffer for the truthe!" When one of the bailiffes came for him to the cardinall, his servants said, "For Christ's sake, Sir, save yourself!" for he was then at the milne-leade beside his men. He would not, but went in to the toun, when as he might have escaped, and when he saw sundrie were fleing out of the toun by reason of a present searche. The courteours sent to searche said they came to punishe *Christers*—so they called good Christians. Helene Stirk, going to executioun, and seing the Gray-friers' place, said, "They sitt in that place quietlie, who are the caus of our death this day; but he who seeth this executioun upon us sall, by the grace of God, shortlie see their nest shakin." At the same time were banished, or rather fled, Sir Henrie Elder, Johne Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, and diverse others.

In Februare, the same yeere, were summouned to compear before the Justice Deputie, Sir Johne Campbell of Lundie, knight, some citicens of Dundie, for breaking the gates and doores of the

Black-friers, careing away chalices, vestments, and the Eucharist. Others also were summouned which were cautioners for their entrie.

That sworne enemie to Christ Jesus, and to all in whom anie sparke of knowledge appeared, had about that time imprisouned diverse, amongst whome was Johne Rodger, a Blacke-frier, godlie, learned, one that had fruictfullie preached Christ Jesus to the comfort of manie in Angus and Mernes; whome the bloodie man, the cardinall, caused murther in the ground of the sea-towre of Sanct Andrewes, and then caused cast him over the wall, and therafter a bruite to be spread, that the said Johne, seeking to flee, had brokin his owne necke. Thus ceassed not Satan by all meanes to mainteane his kingdome of darknesse, and to suppresse the light of Christ's Gospell. But mightie is He against whome they fight; for, when the wicked were in greatest securitie, then beganne God to shew his anger.

THE BURNING OF EDINBURGH.

Upon the thrid of May, the yeere 1544, was seene a great navie of shippes in the Frith. The word came to the governour and cardinall, who were then in Edinburgh. Some said, "No doubt they are Englishmen, and it is to be feared that they sall land." The cardinall skipped, and said, "It is the English fleete: they are come to mak a show, and putt us in feare; but I sall loodge all the men of warre in myne ey that sall land in Scotland." He sitteth doun to eate his dinner, as though there had beene no danger. The people flocked, some to the Castell-hill, some to the mountanes, and other eminent places, to gaze upon the shippes. But there was no care had of forces to resist, in cace of anie invasioun. Soone after six a clocke in the night, they cast anker in the raid of Leith, moe than two hundreth saile. Then the admirall, Sir Johne Dudley, Lord Lisle, shott a floate boate, which sounded the depth frome Granton hills till by east Leith, and so returned to her shippe. Men of judgement foresaw what it meant, but no credite was givin to anie that would say, they minded to land; so everie man went to his rest, as if the shippes had beene a guarde for their defense.

Upon the breake of day, the fourth of May, which was the Lord's day, they addressed themselves for landing, and ordered their shippes. The great shippes discharged their souldiours into smaller vessells; and these, by boats, sett upon the drie land, before tenne of the clocke, elleven thowsand men, or moe. The governour and cardinall, seing then the thing that they would not beleeve before, after they had bragged that they would fight, they fled als fast as horse could carie them, so that they approached not after within twentie myles of the danger. The Erle of Angus, his brother Sir George, the Master of Glencarne, and the Lord Maxwell, were sett that night at libertie, not for anie respect to the weele of the countrie, but least their freinds and dependers sould joyne with the English against them; or to conciliat the favour of the people, which they had lost. Sir George said, merrilie, "I thank King Henrie, and my gentle mastresse of England!" The English armie entered in Leith betwixt one and two of the clocke, found the tables covered, the dinners prepared, and abundance of wine and victuals, beside other substance. Upon Moonday came to them frome Berwick two thowsand horsemen, or, as others write, foure thowsand, under the conduct of Lord Williame Ivers, and his sonne, Sir Rawfe Ivers, to joyne with the armie at Leith. Upon Wednesday they marched towards Edinburgh; first spoiled, and then burnt the toun, and the palace of Halyrudhous. The horsemen tooke the castell of Cragmillar, where everie man sought to have saved his movables, it being the strongest hold neere the toun, except the castell of Edinburgh. But the laird raundered it without shott of hacquebutt, and, for his reward, was caused marche upon his feete to London. The English, seeing no resistance, haule their cannons up the High Street, by force of men, to the Butter-Trone, and above, and hazarded a shott against the fore entrie of the castell. But the wheele and axe-tree of one of the English cannons was brokin, and some of their men slaine, by a shott of ordinance out of the castell, so they left that rashe interprise. There were few housses, or villages, within seven myle of Edinburgh which were not spoiled or

burnt. Theraftter they spoiled and burnt Leith. When they had consumed both the touns, they loaded the shippes with the spoile, and both the armeis departed at one time, the one by sea, and the other by land. The sea armie tooke with them two faire shippes, the Salamander and the Unicorne. This was a part of the punishment which God had executed upon the realme for the infidelitie of the governour, and violation of his solemne oath.

THE ERLE OF LENNOX, FORSAKIN OF THE FRENCHE KING, OFFERETH HIS SERVICE TO THE ENGLISH KING.

The Erle of Lennox had sent Johne Campbell, one of his speciall freinds, to the Frenche king to make his apologie, and to informe him how, by his travells, both the queens, mother and daughter, were sett at libertie; and to assure him that nothing could be more acceptable to him than to be recalled to France, to injoy the sweete societie of his familiars, if his credite were not ingadged in that interprise to the which the king himself did incite him; and to putt him in hope that, if he will not withdraw his assistance in the middes of his course, he sall do such service as sall be answerable to his expectation. Among other instructions givin to the messinger, he layeth furth the straites he had brought his freinds into, whome he could not now desert, and leave as a prey to the governour, his cruell enemie. He painted out the governour a faithlesse man, neither keeping promise to God nor man; wavering and unconstant; interchanging freinds with foes upon everie light occasioun; a tratour, that would have betrayed both the queene and the realme to the English king. In the meane time, the governour beseigeth the castell of Glasgow. Upon promise of safetie of their lives who were defenders, it was raundered; but all were putt to death, except one or two. The Frenche king was pre-occupied by the Gwises, the father and uncle to the queene dowager, so that the erle's messinger gott not so muche as presence. He, finding him-

self forsakin of the queene, cardinall, and the King of France, and his freinds endangered, resolveth to turne to the English king, to whome he sent to offer his service, which was accepted.

HIS UNLUCKIE ATTEMPT, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE TO ENGLAND.

The Erle of Lennox, before his departure to England, attempted to forrage the lands of the Hammiltons in Cliddisdaill. He appointed his freinds to conveene at Glasgow. The governour purposed to prevent him, but the Erle of Glencarne had seased on the toun. When he heard the governour was comming, he went out of the toun a myle, to joyne battell before the Erle of Lennox was come. The governour's forewarde is driven backe, and their cannons takin. The Lord Boyd cometh in the verie meane time of the conflict. Both parteis take him for some freind, which bred confusion. There were slaine three hundreth men on both sides, Cunninghames for the most part, and, among the rest, the Erle of Glencarne's two sonnes, two valiaunt men, and sundrie citicens of Glasgow. On the governour's part were also some cheefe men slaine. The governour entered in the toun of Glasgow, which was spoiled, to the verie taking away of the doores and windows. After this overthrow, the Erle of Lennox placed George Stirline in the castell of Dumbartane, and went to England, contrare to the advice of his freinds, who counselled him to remaine in Dumbartane, and awate upon some alteration at court. He was honorablie receaved by the English king, who gave to him in mariage his neece, by his sister, Ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the Erle of Angus, on whome he begat Henrie, afterward mareid to Marie, Queene of Scots.

HIS FREINDS IN FRANCE AND SCOTLAND TROUBLED.

The Hammiltons were not satisfeid with his departure out of the

countrie, but procured him to be condemned of treasoun, in a convention holdin at Linlithquho, and himself and his freinds to be forfaulted, and therefore were forced to leave the countrie. The Frenche king, being advertised that the Erle of Lennox had forsakin his factioun, and committed himself to the English king, committed to prison his brother, Johne Stewart, Lord of Aubigney, and deprived him of his offices and honours; for he had beene captan of the Scotish guarde. After this, the Erle of Lennox atchieved some interprises in the Ile of Arrane, Boote, Kintyre, and at the castell of Dinnune.

THE SEIGE LAYED TO COLDINGHAME KIRK.

In the time of these civill dissensiouns, the English entered in Scotland, burnt and spoiled Jedburgh, Kelso, and the countrie adjacent. Before their departure, they placed a garisoun in the kirk of Coldinghame, which greatlie annoyed the countrie. The governour went with eight thowsand men in sharpe winter, and battered at the kirk the first day. But the nixt day, being certifeid of an armie comming frome Berwick, he fled to Dumbar with a few of his owne traine, without knowledge of the nobilitie. They resolve to returne the nixt way home, and leave the artillerie at randoum; or fill the peeces with dust and earth, or breake them, rather than they sould serve for anie use to the enemie. Archibald Erle of Angus, when he could not either by intreatie or authoritie stay them, cried aloud, that for his owne part he sould either bring away that artillerie, or not returne with life. He brought the artillerie to Dumbar, his companie following after, and the enemie hasting after them.

M.D.XLV.

THE BATTELL AT ANKROME MOORE.

Sir Rawfe Ivers and Sir Brian Laton made diverse incursions on Scotland, through Merce, Tiviotdaill, and Lauderdaill, without resistance, for the indwellers for the most part had yeelded, and takin on the English badge, the reid crosse, or conteaned themselves in strong holds, or fled out of the countrie. This prosperous successe moved the cheefe of them to goe to London, to crave of the English king so muche of the Scotish ground as they were able to conquere, not doubting to make a full conquest of all the lands lying on the south side of Forth, which was granted. About the middest of Februare, the yeere 1545, Sir Rawfe Ivers, Wardane of the Midde Marches, entered in Scotland with a power of foure thowsand men, English, Irish, and assured Scots. He came first to Jedburgh, frome whence he went earelie in the morning toward Melrose, of purpose to have surprised the governour and the Erle of Angus, waiting there upon the assemblie of their forces, but they fled to the hilles. The English spoile the toun and the abbey. Therafter, returning to Jedburgh, they were rancountered at Ankrome Moore by the governour, the Erle of Angus, the Master of Rothesse, Walter Scot of Balcleuche, accompanied onlie with fyfteene hundreth men, not staying upon the assemblie of the rest of their forces. The English armie consisted of five thowsand men. The Scots had the sunne on their backes, the English on their faces, and a vehement wind drove the smooke of the powder which was shott by the foreward upon the middle and rereward, so that they could not weill discerne one frome another, or keepe their rankes. Sir Rawfe Ivers, the Lord Ogill, Sir Brian Laton, and about two hundreth beside, were slaine, and two thowsand takin; upon the Scotish side were onlie slaine two. The governour was hardlie drawin to this encounter, for the Erle of Angus had said to him, "Thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitour! If thou

would purge thyself of suche slanders, lett not painted speeches, but deids, make now an apologie." It is said that the Erle of Angus was so secure and resolute, that at the verie point of joyning, perceaving a heron to flee over their heads, he cried, with a loude voice, wishing he had there his gose-hawke, and saying, "We sould all yoke at once." No benefite bestowed by the English king could bind him to ceasse frome anie ductie he owe to the countrie. When he heard that King Henrie avowed to be avenged, he said, "Is our good brother offended that I am a good Scotishman; that I revenged on Rawfe Ivers the abusing of the tombs of my forefathers at Melrose? They were more honorable men than he, and I ought to have done no lesse. Will he for that have my life? Little knows King Henrie the * * * * * * * *[1] and the skirts of Kernetable. I will keepe myself there frome his whole English armie."

DE LORGIS ARRIVED AT DUMBARTANE.

The governour sent an ambassader to the Frenche king, to informe him of his victorie, to traduce the Erle of Lennox for his departure out of the countrie, and to seeke some aide against the English king, who had threatned warres. The Erle of Lennox his innocencie beganne to breake furth. Becaus he had committed his brother to prison, to colour his owne iniquitie, he commanded James Montgomrie, Monsieur de Lorgis, whome he sent to Scotland with some bands of men, to inquire farther into the calumneis wherewith the Erle of Lennox was charged. The Gwises, great guiders of the Frenche court, perceaving that the cardinal's perfidie and their sister's cause could not weill be severed, procured De Lorgis, a bitter enemie to the Erle of Lennox, to be sent. The Frenche king sent with him three thowsand footemen, and five hundreth horsemen, not so muche for defence of the Scots, as to hinder King Henrie frome invading France with his whole forces. He sent with him also the Order of the Cockell, or Sanct Michael, to invest therewith the governour, the Erle of Angus,

[1] Blank in MS.

Huntlie, and Argile. De Lorgis arived at Dumbartane about the beginning of Julie, 1545.

THE GOVERNOUR, INVADING THE ENGLISH BORDERS, REFUSETH TO ENTER UPON ENGLISH GROUND.

Soone after, an armie was levied with great haste, to the number of fyfteene thowsand men. They pitched their campe over against Warke, entered in England everie other day, and spoiled the countrie within six myles neere to Warke. When De Lorgis and the Lord Hume desired the campe to be removed over Twede, to make farther invasioun within the countrie, the governour and his cheefe counsellers, pretending they were not sufficientlie furnished with artillerie and engynes of warre for siege of castells, refused, and so the armie was dissolved. The cardinal's banner was displayed there, and all his vassals were charged to be under it; but, with shame, it was putt up in the packe againe. They returned with more shame to the realme than hurt to their enemeis.

MAXWELL INVADETH THE WEST BORDERS.

The sixteenth of September, Robert Lord Maxwell, Lochinvar, and Johnston, aided with some Frenche men, entered in England to invade the west borders. But they were sett upon at a certane strait, and seven score of them takin prisoners.

DE LORGIS RETURNETH TO FRANCE.

In the beginning of winter De Lorgis returned to France. He informed the Frenche king how, through the unhonest dealing of the cardinall, the Erle of Lennox was constrained to joyne himself

with the English king. Wherupon, the erle's brother, Johne Stewart, was sett at libertie, which turned to De Lorgis' great commendatioun, seing he had before times beene his bitter enemie, as Thuanus reporteth.

THE GOVERNOUR KEEPETH CHRISTMASSE WITH THE CARDINALL.

After this, the cardinall leadeth the governour through some parts of the countrie, under pretence of reconciling parteis which were at variance, as Buchanan reporteth, to which time he referreth also the contentioun betweene the toun of Perth and Kinfawnes, about the Provestrie, wherof we have made mention before. After they had made their progresse through Angus, the cardinall bringeth the governour to Sanct Andrewes, to bind him, if it were possible, more firmelie unto him. Howbeit he had the governour's sonne with him as pledge, yitt he feared his inconstancie, the strenth of his enemeis, and the free spirits of the nobilitie. They past over the Christmasse dayes with games and feasting. Manie gifts he bestowed upon the governour, moe he promised. After they had confered of the affaires of the countrie, he returned to Edinburgh secure in his owne conceate.

M.D.XLVI.

THE LYFE AND MARTYRDOME OF MR GEORGE WISHART.

In a synod holdin the 13th of Januar, 1546, manie things were agitated touching the preservation of the libertie of the kirk, and correction of preests for notore offensses and scandals, but without anie effect. Mr George Wishart was delated as a notable heretick, and preacher of the new law. This Mr George was a gentleman of the hous of Pittarrow. His life and martyrdome I have heere sett doun as they are sett furth by Mr George Buchanan, Mr Knoxe,

and Mr Foxe. Mr Foxe setteth doun a testimoniall of his life and conversation, writtin by Emery Tilney, some time his scholar, as followeth:—

"About the yeere of our Lord 1543, there was in the Universitie of Cambridge one Mr George Wishart, commounlie called Mr George of Bennet's Colledge, who was a man of tall stature, poldeheaded, and on the same a round Frenche cappe of the best; judged of melancholick complexioun by his physiognomie; blackehaired, long bearded, comelie of personage, weill spokin after his countrie of Scotland; courteous, lowlie, lovelie, glade to teache, desirous to learne, and was weill travelled; having upon him for his habite or clothing, never but a mantle freese gowne to the shoes, a blacke Millan fustian doublet, and plaine blacke hosen, course new canvasse for his shirts, and white falling bands, and cuffes at the hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekelie, some monethlie, some quarterlie, as he liked, saving his Frenche cappe, which he keeped the whole yeere of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperat, fearing God, hating covetousnesse, for his charitie had never end, night, noone, nor day. He forbare one meale in three, one day in foure for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, course new canvasse sheetes, which when he changed he gave away. He had commounlie by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle putt out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being verie young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderlie, and I him for my age as effectuallie. He taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slaine him; but the Lord was his defense, and he, after due correctioun for their malice by good exhortatioun, amended them, and he went away. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poore boy, that he might have finished in me that he had begunne! for in his religioun he was, as you see heere in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with diverse of the nobilitie who came for a treatie to King Henrie the Eight;

his learning no lesse sufficient than his desire, alwise prest, and readie to doe good in that he was able, in the house privatlie, and in the schoole publiclie, professing and reading diverse authors. If I sould declare his love to me and all men; his charitie to the poore, in giving, releaving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitelie studeing how to doe good unto all and to hurt none, I sould sooner want words than just caus to commend him. All this I testifie with my whole heart and truthe of this godlie man: He that made all, governeth all, and sall judge all, knoweth I speeke the truth, that the simple may be satisfeid, the ignorant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

"EMERY TILNEY."

That blessed martyr, Mr George Wishart, came to Scotland in companie of the commissioners sent to England, to a treatie, in the yeere of God 1544. He was not onlie singularlie learned in divinitie and humane sciences, but also was so cleerlie illuminated with the spirit of prophecie, that he saw not onlie things perteaning to himself, but also suche things as some touns and the whole realme afterward felt. He beganne to teache first in Montrose; fromc thence he went to Dundie, where, with great admiratioun of all that heard him, he taught the Epistle to the Romans, till that by procurement of the cardinall, Robert Myle, then one of the principall men of Dundie, and a man that of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, inhibited the said Mr George in the governour's name, that he sould not trouble their toun no more, for they would not suffer it. This was said to him in publick, which, when he heard, he mused a prettie space, with his eyes bent to the heaven; and therafter, looking sorrowfullie to the people, and to the speaker, he said, "God is witnesse, that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous to me than it is to yourselves. But I am assured, that to refuse God's word, and chasse fromc you his messinger, sall not preserve you fromc trouble, but sall bring you to it; for God sall send unto you messingers, that will not be affrayed of burning, nor yitt of ba-

nishement. I have offered unto you the word of salvatioun, and with the hazard of my life have I remained among you: now, yee yourselves refuse me, and therefore must I leeve my innocencie to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not ledde with the Spirit of truthe. But if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the caus, and turne to God; for he is mercifull. But if yee turne not at the first, He sall visite you with fire and sword." These words pronounced, he came doun frome the preaching place. In the church were present the Lord Marshall and diverse other noblemen, who would have had the said Mr George to have remained, or elles to have gone with them; but for no requeist would he either stay in the toun, or on that side of Tay anie longer, but went with all possible diligence to the west countrie, where he beganne to offer God's word, which of manie was gladelie receaved.

The Bishop of Glasgow, Dumbar, by instigatioun of the cardinall, came to the toun of Aire, to make resistance to the said Mr George. The Erle of Glencarne being therof advertised, repaired with his freinds to the toun with diligence, and so did diverse gentlemen of Kyle, among whome was the Laird of Lefnoreise, a man farre different frome his heyre and successour, both in maners and religioun. When they were assembled, it was concluded that they would occupie the kirk. Mr George utterlie repugned, saying, "Lett him alone; his sermoun will not muche hurt; and lett us goe to the mercat croce." And so they did, where he made so notable a sermoun that the verie enemeis were confounded. The bishop preached to his jackemen, and to some old boisses of the toun. The summe of all his sermon was this, "They say we sould preache: why not? —better late thrive nor never thrive. Hold us still for your bishop, and we sall provide better the nixt time." This was the beginning and the end of the bishop's sermoun. He departed out of the toun with haste, but returned not to fulfill his promise.

Mr George remained with the gentlemen of Kile till he got sure knowledge of the estate of Dundie. He preached commounlie in the kirk of Gaston, and used muche in the Barr. He was required

to come to the church of Mauchline, as he did; but the Shireff of Aire caused mann the church, for preservatioun of a tabernacle that was there beautifull to the eye. The persons who held the church were George Campbell of Mongars-wood, Mungo Campbell of Burnside, George Reid in Daweilling. Some zealous men in the parish, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kingzeancleuch, offended that they sould be debarred frome their parish kirk, concluded to enter by force. But Mr George withdrew the said Hugh, and said to him, "Brother, Christ Jesus is as mightie upon the feilds as in the church; and I find, that he himself preached oftener in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane, than in the temple at Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sendeth by me: the blood of no man sall be shed this day for the preaching of it." So, withdrawing the people, he came to a dyke, in a myre edge, upon the south-west side of Mauchline, wheron he stood, the whole multitude standing and sitting about him. God gave the day pleasant and hote. He continued in preaching more than three houres. In that sermoun God wrought so wonderfullie with him, that Laurence Rankene, Laird of Schaw, one of the most wicked men in that countrie, was converted. The teares ranne frome his eyes in suche abundance that all men woundered.

Whill this faithfull servaunt of God was thus occupied in Kile, it was reported that the pestilence was verie greevous in Dundie. It brake up foure dayes after Mr George was inhibited to preache, and was so raging, that it was almost incredible to beleeve how manie departed everie twentie-foure houres. The certantie being understood, Mr George biddeth the professors of Kile fareweill. No request could make him to remaine. "They (meaning the people of Dundie) are now in trouble," said he, "and they have need of comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence that word which before, for the feare of men, they sett at light price." Comming to Dundie, the joy of the faithfull was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morrow gave signification that he would preache; and becaus the most part were either sicke, or elles in companie with the sicke, he choosed the

head of the east port of the toun for his preaching place. So the whole people stood or satt within the port; the sicke and suspected without. He made his sermoun upon that sentence of the cvii. Psalme, "He sent his word and healed them." He joyned these words, "It is neither herbe, nor plaister, O Lord, but thy word that healeth all." In his sermoun, he did treate most comfortablie of the dignitie and utilitie of God's word; the punishements that are inflicted for contempt of the same; the liberall offers of God's mercie to suche as did truelie turne to him; the great happinesse of those whome God taketh frome this vale of miserie, even in his owne gentle visitatioun, which the malice of man can neither mend nor paire. He so raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happie that sould depart than suche as sould remaine behind, considering they knew not if they sould have suche a comforte with them at all times. He spared not to visite these that were lying in verie extremitie; he comforted them as he might in suche a multitude; he caused minister all things necessarie to these that might eate or drinke, and in that point was the toun verie beneficiall: the poore were no more neglected than the riche.

Whill he was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the devill ceassed not to stirre up his owne sonne, the cardinall, against him. He corrupted, by money, a desperat preest named Sir Johne Weighton, to slay him. He looked not to himself in all things so circumspectlie as worldlie men would have done. Upon a certane day, the sermoun being ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, the preest stood, waiting at the foote of the steppes, with a drawin dager in his hand, under his gowne, which was loose. Mr George, as he was most sharpe of eye and judgement, espied him; and as he came neere, he said, "My freind, what would yee have?" and with that he gripped the preest's hand, wherin the dager was, which he tooke frome him. The preest abashed, fell doun at his feete, and openlie confessed the veritie as it was. The noise rysing and comming to the eares of the sicke, they cried, "Deliver the traitour to us, or elles we will take him

by force." And so they burst in at the gate. But Mr George tooke him in his armes, and said, "Whosoever troubleth him sall trouble me; for he hath not hurt me at all, but hath done great comfort to you and me, in that he hath lett us understand what wee may feare in times to come, and warned us to watche better." So he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his. When the plague had relented, and there were almost none sicke in the toun, he biddeth them fareweill, and said, God had almost putt an end to that battell; he found himself called to another place.

The gentlemen of the west had desired him to meete them at Edinburgh, becaus they would require disputatioun of the bishops, and that he might be publicklie heard, wherunto he willinglie agreed. But first he went to Montrose, to salute the church there, where he remained occupied, sometimes in preaching, but for the most part in secreit meditatioun, in which he was so earnest, that night and day he would continue in it. Whill he was thus occupied with his God, the cardinall caused write to him a letter, as if it had beene directed frome his most familiar freind, the Laird of Kinneir, wherin he was desired, with all possible diligence, to come to him, becaus a suddane sicknesse had seased on him. In the meane time had the traitour provided sixtie men, with jackes and speares, to ly in waite within a myle and a halfe to the toun of Montrose, to dispatche him. The letter comming to his hand, he made haste at the first, for the boy brought a horse with him. So, with some honest men, he went forth of the toun, but suddanlie stayed, and musing a prettie space, returned backe, wherat they woundered. He said, "I will not goe: I am forbidden of God: I am assured there is treasoun. Lett some of you," sayeth he, "goe to yonder place, and tell me what yee find." They found the treasoun as it was, which being shewed to Mr George, he said, "I know I sall end my life in that blood-thristie man's hands, but not after this maner."

The time approaching which he had appointed to meete the gentlemen of the west at Edinburgh, he tooke his leave at Mon-

trose, and contraire to the Laird of Dun his advice, entered in his journey, and returned to Dundie. After that he returned to Dundie he stayed not, but went to the hous of a faithfull brother, named James Watsone, dwelling in Inner Gowrie, distant two miles from Dundie. That night before day he went furth to the yard. Williame Spaldine and Johne Watson followed quietlie, and tooke heed what he did. When he had walked up and doun in an alley a reasonable space, with manie sobs and deepe groanes, he fell upon his knees, his groans increassing; and frome his knees he fell upon his face. The persons forenamed heard weeping, and an indigest sound, as it were of prayers, in which he continued almost an houre, and after beganne to be quiett, and so arose and came to his bed. They prevented him as if they had beene ignorant, till he came in. Then beganne they to demand where he had beene; but that night he would answere nothing. Upon the morrow, they urged him again; and whill he dissembled, they said, "Mr George, be plaine with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw you both upon your knees and upon your face." With dejected visage, he said, "I had rather yee had beene in your beds, and it had beene more profitable for you, for I was skarse weill occupied." They still urged him to lett them have some comfort. "I will tell you," said he, "that I am assured my travell is neere at an end. Therefore call to God for me, that I shrinke not now when the battell waxeth most hote." Whill they weeped, and said, that was small comfort to them, he answered, "God sall send you comfort after me. This realme sall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospell als cleerelie as ever was anie realme since the dayes of the Apostles. The hous of God sall be builded in it; yea, it sall not laike, whatsoever the enemie imagine in the contrarie, the verie kaipstone"—meaning, that it sould once come to the full perfectioun. "Neither," said he, "sall the time be long till that the glorie of God sall evidentlie appeare, and once triumphe in despite of Satan. There sall not manie suffer after me. But, alas! if the people sall be after unthankefull, then fearefull and terible sall the plagues be that after sall follow." And with these words he marched ford-

wards in his journey toward Sanct Johnston, and frome thence to Fife, and then to Leith.

When he came to Leith, hearing no word of those that appointed to meete him, to witt, the Erle of Cassils, and the gentlemen of Kile and Cunninghame, he keeped himself secreet a day or two, and then beganne to waxe sorrowfull in spirit. Being demanded by suche as were not in his companie before, why he was so pensive and sad, he answered, "What differ I frome a dead man, except that I eate and drinke? To this time, God hath used my labours to the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darknesse: now, I lurke as a man that was ashamed, and durst not show himself before men." By these, and the like words, they understood he was desirous to preache. They said, "It were most comfortable to us to heare you; but becaus we know under what danger yee stand, we darre not desire you." "Darre yee and others heare," said he, "then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him." At lenth it was concluded he sould preache the nixt Lord's day, the fifteenth day before Christmasse. He preached upon the Parable of the Sower. The sermon being ended, the gentlemen of Lothiane, who then were earnest professors of the truthe, thought it not expedient that he sould remaine in Leith, becaus the governour and cardinall were to come within short time to Edinburgh. He went with them, and was interteaned sometimes in Brunstone, sometimes in Langnidrie, and sometimes in Ormeston.

The Lord's day following, he preached in the kirk of Inneresk, beside Musselburgh, both before and after noone, where there was great confluence of people. Sir George Dowglas after sermon said publicklie, "I know that my lord governour and my lord cardinall will heare that I have beene at this sermon. Say unto them, I will avow it; and not only mainteane the doctrine that I have heard, but also the person that teacheth, to the uttermost of my power." The people, and the gentlemen there present, rejoiced greatlie at these words. In time of sermon, two Grey friars standing in the entrie of the kirk doore, whispered in the eares of those that came in. Mr George perceaving, said to the people standing neere to

them, "I heartilie pray you to make rowme to these two men, for it may be they be come to learne." He said to them, "Come neere, for I assure you yee sall heare the word of veritie, which sall either scale in you this same day your salvation or condemnation." He proceeded, supposing they would have beene quiet. When he perceaved them still to trouble the people that stoode neere them, (for vehement was he against false worship,) he turned to them the second time, and with an angrie countenance said, "O serjants of Satan, deceavers of the soules of men, will yee neither heare God's truthe, nor suffer others to heare it? Depart, and take this for your portioun: God sall shortlie confound and disclose your hypocrisie within this realme. Yee sall be abominable to men; your places and habitations sall be made desolate." This sentence he pronounced with great vehemencie in the middest of the sermoun, and turning to the people, he said, "These wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger." Therafter he came to Langnidrie, and the two nixt Lord's dayes preached in Tranent, with the like grace and like confluence of people. In all his sermons, after his departure from Angus, he foretold, that the time he had to travaill was short, and that the day of his death approached.

In the end of these dayes, which were called the holie dayes of Christmasse, he went, by advice of the gentlemen, to Hadinton, where it was supposed greatest confluence of people might be had. The first day, before noone, the number of our auditors was reasonable, yitt nothing in comparisoun of that which was usuall in that church. After noone, and the day following, the number was so small that manie wondered. It was deemed that the Erle of Bothwell, whose credite was great in these bounds, at the instigation of the cardinall, had inhibited as weill the toun as the countrie to heare him, under the paine of his displeasure. The first night he lay within the toun with David Forresse, an old professor of the truthe, upon whome manie depended at that time. The second night he lay in Lethington, the laird wherof was ever civill, albeit not perswaded in religioun. Before he went to sermoun the day

following, a messinger came to him frome the west countrie, with a letter, which, when he had read, he calleth for Johne Knox, who waited upon him carefullie since he came to Lothiane. He compleaned to him that he weareid of the world, for he perceaved that men beganne to wearie of God's Word. The gentlemen of the west had writtin to him that they could not keepe dyett at Edinburgh. Johne Knox, wondering that he desired to hold purpose before sermoun, said, "Sir, the time of sermon approacheth: I will leave you for the present to your meditation." Mr George walked up and doun behind the high altar more than half an houre. His weareid countenance and visage declared the greefe and alteratioun of his minde. He sould have begunne to have interpreted the Second Table of the Law; but therof in that sermoun he spake verie little, by reasoun of the raritie of the auditor. He beganne in this maner, "O Lord, how long sall it be that thy holie Word sall be despised, and men sall not regarde their owne salvation? I have heard that in thee, Hadinton, would have beene at anie vaine clerk play two or three thowsand people; and now, to heare the messinger of the Eternall God, there cannot be numbered an hundreth persons, out of all the toun and parish. Fearefull sall the plagues be that sall insue for this thy contempt. With fire and sword sall thou be plagued, even thou, Hadinton, in speciall. Strangers sall possesse thee; and yee inhabitants, for the present, sall either in bondage serve your enemeis, or elles be chassed frome your owne habitations, and that becaus yee have not knowne, nor will not know, the time of God's merciful visitation." The servant of God continued in vehemencie and threatning neere an houre and an halfe. He foretold all the plagues which followed als plainlie as men's eyes did see them after performed. In end, he said, "I have forgotten myself, and the mater which I sould have treated. But lett these my last words remaine in your minde, till God send you new comfort." Therafter he made a short paraphrase upon the Second Table, with an exhortation to patience, to the feare of God, to the workes of mercie, and so ended, as it were making his last

testament; for that same night was he apprehended before midnight in the hous of Ormeston, by the Erle of Bothwell, made boutcher to the cardinall for money.

Departing frome the toun of Hadinton, he tooke his good-night as it were for ever of all his acquaintance, speciallie of Hugh Dowglas of Langnidrie. Johne Knox preassing to have gone with him, he said, "Nay, returne to your childrein, and God blesse you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice." So he caused a two-handed sword, which commounlie was careid with him, to be takin frome Johne Knox. He obeyed, albeit unwillinglie, and returned with Hugh Dowglas to Langnidrie. Mr George, accompaneid with the Laird of Ormiston, Johne Sandelands of Calder, younger, the Laird of Brunstone, and others, with their servants, went on foote to Ormeston, for it was a vehement frost. After supper, he held comfortable purpose of God's chosin childrein. He said after, mirrilie, "Methinke I am verie desirous to sleepe: sall we sing a psalme?" He appointed the fyftie-first psalme, which was turned in Scotish meeter, to be sung. The psalme being ended, he went to chamber, and to his bed, sooner than was his custome, with these words, "God grant quiet rest!" The hous was besett about before midnight, so that none could escape, to advertise freinds. The Erle of Bothwell called for the laird, declared the purpose of his comming. He said it was but in vaine to preasse to hold his hous, for the governour, and the cardinall, with all their power, were comming, (and indeid the cardinall was at Elphingston, not a myle distant frome Ormeston;) but if he would deliver the man to him, he would promise upon his honour he sould be safe, and that it sould passe the power of the cardinall to doe him anie harme or hurt. Allured with these words, and taking counsell with Mr George, (who at the first word said, "Open the gates: the blessed will of my God be done!") they receaved in the Lord Bothwell himself, and some gentlemen with him. Mr George said, "I praise my God that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receaveth me this night, in the presence of these noble men; for now I am assured that, for your honour's sake, yee will suffer nothing to be done to me beside order

of law. I am not ignorant that all their law is nothing but corruption and a cloke, to shed the blood of the saincts; yitt I lesse feare to dee openlie than to be murthered secreetlie." The erle answered, "I sall not onlie preserve your bodie from all violence which sall be attempted against you without order of law, but also I promise heere, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governour nor the cardinall sall obteane their intent of you. I sall reteane you in my owne hands, in my owne hous, till that either I make you free, or restore you to the same place where I receave you." The lairds forenamed said, "My lord, if yee will doe as yee have spokin, and as we thinke your lordship will doe, then doe we heere promise unto your lordship, that not onlie wee ourselves sall serve you all the dayes of our life, but also that we sall procure all the professors within Lothiane to doe the same; and upon either the preservatioun of this our brother, or upon his deliverie again into our hands, we being reasonablie advertised to receave him, that wee, in the name and behalfe of our freinds, sall deliver to your lordship, or to anie sufficient man that sall deliver to us againe the servant of God, our band of manreid in maner forsaid." This promise being made, and hands stricken by both parteis for observation of the promise, Mr George was delivered to the Erle of Bothwell, who, immediatly departing with him, came to Elphingston, where the cardinall was. The cardinall, understanding that Calder, younger, and Brunstone, were with the Laird of Ormeston, sent backe with expeditioun to apprehend them. The servants hearing the noise of horsemen, gave advertisement that moe horsemen returned than went away. Whill they dispute what the mater meant, the cardinall's garisoun seased both upon the utter and the inner close. Being demanded what their commission was, they answered to the Laird of Ormeston and Calder, "It is to bring you two, and the Laird of Brunstone, to my Lord Governour." They made faire countenance, intreated the gentlemen to drinke, and to bait their horses, till they might putt themselves in readinesse to ryde with them. In the meane time, Brunstone conveyed himself secreetlie, and then by speed of foote to Ormeston

Wood, and so escaped danger; the other two were committed to waird in the castell of Edinburgh. Calder, younger, remained till the band of his manreid to the cardinall was the meane of his deliverance, which soone expired; Ormeston escaped by leaping the wall of the castell betwixt tenne and elleven of the clocke before noone.

Mr George was careid first to Edinburgh, and therafter brought backe again, for the fashion's sake, to the hous of Hales, the Erle of Bothwell his principall dwelling-hous in Lothiane. But the cardinall gave gold, and that largelie; and the queene, with whome the erle was then in the glonders, promised favour in all his lawfull sutes to weomen, if he would deliver the said Mr George, to be keeped in the castell of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise; but the effeminate man could not long withstand their assaults. So the servant of God was transported to Edinburgh castell, where he remained not manie dayes. That bloodie woolve, the cardinall, ever thristing after the blood of the servant of God, so travelled with the governour, that he was content he sould be delivered to the power of his tyranne, as Pilat obeyed the petition of Caiaphas and of his fellowes, and adjudged Christ to be crucifeid. The preest triumphed, the godlie lamented, and compleaned of the foolishenesse of the governour; for, as a worldlie wise man, by reteaning of Mr George, he might have caused Papists and Protestants serve his turne: Protestants, to the end the life of the preacher might be saved; Papists, for feare he sould have sett him at libertie againe, to the confusion of the bishops. But where God is left, what can counsell or judgement availl?

The servant of God was careid to Sanct Andrewes. What he did frome the day he entered within the sea-towre, in the end of Januarie 1546, untill the first of Marche, when he suffered, that is, the space of a moneth, we cannot certanlie tell, except we understand that he wrote somewhat in prisoun, but it was suppressed by the enemeis. The cardinall delayed not time, but caused all the bishops, and all the clergie that had anie pre-eminence, to be called

to Sanct Andrewes, against the 27th day of Februarie, that consultation might be had in a question, which in his minde was no lesse resolved than Christ's death was in the minde of Caiaphas. But that the rest sould beare the like burthein with him, he would that they sould, before the world, subscribe whatsoever he did. Pilat and Herod, brethrein under their father the devill in the state called temporall, were made freinds by consenting both to Christ's condemnation; the cardinall and the Bishop of Glasgow, brethrein under the same father in the state ecclesiasticall, who before were enemeis, are now made freinds, and consent to the condemnatioun of the faithfull servant of God.

The variance had beene this. The cardinall came in the end of harvest before to Glasgow. The cardinall was knowne proud, and Dumbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, was knowne a glorious foole, and yitt, becaus some time he was called the king's master, he was made Chanceller of Scotland. Whill they remaine, the one in the toun, the other in the castell, question ariseth for bearing of their crosses. The cardinall alledged, by reasoun of his cardinalship, that he was primat of all Scotland, and the Pope's legate; that his crosse sould not onlie goe before, but also sould onlie be borne whereso-ever he was. Good Gukestone, Glaikestone, Archbishop Dumbar, laiked no reasouns, as he thought, for maintenance of his glorie. He was an archbishop in his owne province, bishop in his owne diocie and cathedrall church, and there ought to give place to no man. The cardinall his power was begged frome Rome, and ap-perteaned onlie to his owne persoun, not to his successours in his bishoprick; but his dignitie was annexed with his office, and ap-perteaned to all his successors, bishops of Glasgow. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinitie, it was de-cided after this maner. Comming furth, or going in at the quire doore of Glasgow church, beginneth strife for state betwixt the crosse-bearers, so that frome glowming they came to brawlling, frome brawlling to buffets and dry blowes, by nivves and nevvel-ling. Then, for chariteis sake, they cried, "*Dispersit, dedit pau-peribus!*" and assay which of the crosses was fyrmest mettall, which

staffe was strongest, which bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminencie; and that there sould be no superioritie in that behalfe, to the ground goe both their crosses. Then beganne no little fray, yitt a mirrie game, for rockets were rent, tippets were torne, crownes were knapped, and side gownes might have beene seene wantonlie to wag frome the one wall to the other. Manie of them laiked beards, and that was the more pitie, therefore could not buckle other by the birses, as bold men would have done. But fy on the jacke-men that did not their duetie! for, had the one part of them encountered the other, then all had gone right. But the sanctuarie, we suppose, saved the lives of manie. How mirrilie soever this be writtin, it was bitter mirth to the cardinall and his court. It was more than irregularitie, yea, it might weill have beene judged lese-majestie against the sonne of perditioun, the Pope's owne persoun. The other, in his follie als proud as a peacoke, would lett the cardinall know that he was a bishop, when the other was but Beton befor he gott Aberbrothe. This inimitie was judged mortall, and without all hope of reconciliation. But the blood of the innocent servant of God buried in oblivion all that bragging and boast; for the Archbishop of Glasgow was the first to whome the cardinall wrote, signifeing to him what was done, and earnestlie craving of him that he would assist with his presence and counsell how suche an enemie to their estate might be suppressed. The other was not slow, but keeped the time appointed, satt nixt to the cardinall, voted and subscribed first, and lay over the east blocke hous with the cardinall till the martyr of God was consumed with fire.

The cardinall, becaus by the Pope's lawes he might not sitt in judgement upon losse of limme or life, sent to the governour, by advice and consent of the clergie convened, to designe a judge to pronounce sentence upon one condemned of heresie by the clergie. There had beene no delay upon the governour's part, if David Hammiltoun, Laird of Preston, had not admonished, requested, upbraided him, and layed terrors before him. It is said, that he spake to this sense. He mervelled greatlie upon what considera-

tioun the governour sould permitt so great libertie against the servants of God, against whome no crime can be objected but the preaching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ; and deliver innocent men, whose integritie was acknowledged by their very enemeis, and their doctrine not unknowne to himself, into the hands of flagitious men, and more cruell nor beasts: that not long since, he himself embraced that doctrine, and through that good report had atteaned unto this high degree of honour wherin he now standeth: that by edicts and proclamations he did professe, and openlie tooke in hand to defend, the doctrine which he had receaved, and which he desired everie man to read, learne, and imitat, in their life and conversation. "Remember," sayeth he, "what will be the speeches and thoughts of men of you. Consider the benefites bestowed upon you frome above; a king, an active man, your enemie, takin away, when he was insisting in the same course, the footsteps wherof yee now doe follow. Those who, by their counsell, brought him headlong to ruine, preasse now likewise to hurle you to destruction. They impugned you at the first with their whole force; now, they ensnare you with their perverse counsells. Call to minde the victorie granted to you over the rest of the subjects, without slaughter over your enemeis, confiding in their power, which was farre greater, to your great glorie, and their great shame. Remember for whose sake yee forsake God, and assault your freinds. Awake, at lenth, and scatter that darkenesse wherewith wicked men have compassed you. Sett before your eyes King Saul, lifted up frome the lowest degree to the highest; how indulgent the Lord was to him so long as he obeyed God's law; in what misereis he involved him when he neglected his precepts. Compare the successe of your affaires to this day, with the time of his prosperitie, and expect no happier, but rather a worse end, except yee amend and change your purpose. What did he meane to doe like to that which yee are now doing in favours of most wicked men that cannot cover their haynous offenses, nay, doth not so much as preasse to cloke them with anie coverture?" The governor, moved with this admonition of his freind, wrote to the cardi-

nall not to precipitat judgement, but to reserve the mater to his comming, for he would not consent to the destruction of anie man, till the caus was more diligentlie tried. If the cardinall would doe otherwise, the guilt sould ly upon him, for by these letters he protested, he sould be free of the blood of that man. The cardinall, astonished with suche an answere unlooked for, not doubting but if there was delay of time, the man, being so gratious to the people, would be rescued out of his hands, nor yitt willing to committ the mater to disputatioun, partlie because he durst not confide in a free disputatioun, partlie becaus he would not have points alreadie condemned by councels called in question againe; persevered in his former purpose with a mad rage, and answered to the governour, that he had not writtin to him for anie need he had to depend upon his authoritie, but onlie to borrow his name, that he might have the countenance of publick consent to his condemnation.

The maner of his accusation, processe, and answeres, followeth, as they are extant in the Booke of Martyrs, which we have heere inserted, becaus the booke is rare, by reason of the great price of it.

Mr George Wishart summoned out of prison to appeare.

Upon the last of Februarie was sent to the prisoun, where the servant of God lay, the deane of the toun, by command of the cardinall and his wicked counsell, and there summouned the said Mr George, that he sould, on the morning following, appeare before the judge, then and there to give accompt of his hereticall doctrine.

Mr George Wishart's answere to the Deane that summoned him.

To whome Mr George answered, "What needeth," said he, "my lord cardinall to summoun me to answere for my doctrine openlie before him, under whose power and dominioun I am thus straitlie bound in yrons? May not my lord compell me to answere of his extort power? Or beleeveth he that I am unprovided to rander accompt of my doctrine? To manifest what men yee are, it is weill done that yee keepe your old ceremoneis and constitutions made by men."

Upon the nixt morning, the lord cardinall caused his servants to addresse themselves in their most warlike array, with jacke, knapskull, splent, speare, and axe, more seeming to the warre than for the preaching of the true Word of God.

George Wishart brought againe before the Bishops.

And when these armed champions, marcheing in warrelike order, had conveyed the bishops into the Abbey church, incontinentlie they sent for Mr George, who was convoyed into the said church, by the captan of the castell, accompaneid with an hundreth men, addressed in maner forsaid. Like a lambe led they him to sacrifice. As he entered into the Abbey church doore, there was a poore man lying, vexed with great infirmiteis, asking of him his almesse, to whome he flang his purse; and when he came before the lord cardinall, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called Deane Johne Winrame, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregatioun there assembled, taking his mater out of the thirteenth chapter of Matthew, whose sermoun was divided into foure principall parts.

Johne Wyneram's Sermon.

The first part was a breefe and short declaratioun of the Evangelist; the secund, of the interpretation of the good seede. And becaus he called the Word of God the good seede, and heresie the evill seede, he declared what heresie was, and how it sould be knowne, which he defyned on this maner:—

Heresie defined.

"Heresie is a false opinion, defended with pertinacie, cleerelie oppugning the Word of God." The third part of his sermon was, the caus of heresie within that realme, and all other realmes.

The caus of heresie.

"The caus of heresie," quoth he, "is the ignorance of these who have the cure of men's soules, to whom it necessarilie belongeth to

have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to winne againe the false doctors of hereseis with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; and not onlie to winne againe but to overcome them, as sayeth Sanct Paul, 'A bishop must be faultlesse, as becometh the minister of God; not stubborne, nor angrie; no drunkard, nor fighter, nor givin to filthie lucre; but harborous, one that loveth goodenesse, sober-minded, righteous, holie, temperat, and suche as cleaveth to the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that which they say against him.'"

The maner to know an heretick.

The fourth part of his sermoun was, How hereseis sould be knowne. "Hereseis," quoth he, "be knowne on this maner, as the goldsmith knoweth the fyne gold frome the unperfect, by the tuichestone; so likewise may we know heresie by the undoubted tuichestone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God." At the last, he added that hereticks sould be putt doun in this present life, to which proposition the Gospell appeared to repugne, which he intreated, "Let them grow till the harvest." The harvest is the end of the world, neverthelesse he affirmed, that they sould be putt doun by the civill magistrat and law. And when he ended his sermoun, incontinentlie they caused Mr George ascend into the pulpit, there to heare his accusatioun and articles.

Johne Lawder, accuser.

And right against him stood by, one of the fed flocke, a monster, Johne Lawder, loadened full of cursings, writtin in paper, of which he tooke out a roll, both long, and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite; saying to the innocent Mr George so manie cruell and abominable words, and hitt him so spitefullie with his Pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded least the earth then would have swallowed him up quicke. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving, or changing his countenance.

When this fed sow had read throughout all his leing minassings, his face running doun with sweate, and froathing at his mouth like a boare, he spitt at Mr George's face, saying, "What answereth thou to these things, thou renegat, tratour, theefe, which we have duelie proved, by sufficient witnesse, against thee?" Mr George, hearing this, kneeled doun upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetlie and Christianlie, he answered to them all, in this maner:—

Master George his answeres.

"Manie and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man, manie words, abominable for to heare, ye have spokin heere, this day, which, not onlie to teache, but also once to thinke, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore, I pray your discretions quietlie to heare me, that yee may know what were my sayings, and the maner of my doctrine. This my petitioun I desire to be heard, my lord, for three causses.

Three causes why Mr George deserved to be heard.

"The first is, becaus through preaching of the Word of God, his glorie is made manifest. It is reasonable, therefore, for advancing of the glorie of God that yee heare me teaching truelie the pure Word of God, without anie dissimulation.

Second cause.

"The secund reasoun is, becaus that your health springeth of the Word of God, for he worketh all things by his word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing, if yee sould stoppe your eares frome me teaching truelie the Word of God.

Third cause.

"The third reasoun is, becaus your doctrine uttereth manie blasphemous and abominable words not comming of the inspiratioun of God, but of the devill, with no lesse perill than of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasounable, your discretiouns, to know what

my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught, in my time, in this realme, that I perishe not unjustlie, to the great perill of your soules. Wherefore, both for the glorie and honour of God, your owne healthe, and safegarde of my life, I beseeche your discretions to heare me, and, in the meane time, I sall recite my doctrine without anie colour.

Mr Wishart's doctrine.

"First, and cheefelie, since the time I came into this realme, I taught nothing but the Tenne Commandements of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the Prayer of the Lord, in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundie, I taught the Epistle of Sanct Paul to the Romans, and I sall show your discretions faithfullie, what fashioun and maner I used, when I taught without anie humane dread, so that, your discretions, give me your eares, benevolent and attent."

The crie of the Scribes and Pharisees.

Suddanelie, then, with an high voice, cried the accuser, the fed sow, "Thou heretick, renegate, tratour, and theefe, it was not lawfull for thee to preache. Thou hath takin the power at thyne owne hand, without anie authoritie of the church. We forethinke that thou hath beene a preacher so long." Then all the whole congregatioun of the prelats, with their complices, said these words, "If we give him licence to preache, he is so craftie, and in the Holie Scriptures so exercised, that he will perswade the people to his opinioun, and raise them against us."

Mr Wishart appealeth to the Governour.

Mr George seing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed frome the lord cardinall to the lord governour, as to an indifferent and equall judge. To whome the accuser, John Lawder foresaid, with hoggish voice, answered, "Is not my lord cardinall the secund person within the realme, Chanceller of Scotland, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, Bishop of Meropois, Commendatare of Aberbrothoke, *Legatus natus*, *Legatus a latere?*" And so, reciting as manie

titles of his unworthie honour as would have loadenned a shippe, muche sooner an asse, "Is not he," quoth John Lawder, "an equall judge apparantlie unto thee? Whom other desireth thou to be thy judge?" To whome this humble man answered, "I refuse not my lord cardinall, but I desire the Word of God to be my judge, and the temporall estate, with some of your lordships, myne auditors, becaus I am heare my lord governour's prisoner." Wherupon the pridefull and scornefull people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Suche man, suche judge!" speeking seditious and reprochefull words against the governour, and others the nobles, meaning them also to be hereticks. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have givin sentence against Mr George, and that without farther processe, had not certane men there counselled the cardinall to read again the articles, and to heare his answeres therupon, that the people might not compleane of his wrongfull condemnatioun. And shortlie to declare, these were the articles following, with his answeres, as farre as they would give him leave to speeke; for, when he intended to mitigate their leesings, and show the maner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

1st Article.

"Thou, false hereticke, renegat, tratour, and theefe, deceaver of the people, thou despiseth the holie church, and in like case contemneth my lord governour's authoritie. And this we know for suretie, that when thou preachedst in Dundie, and was charged by my lord governour's authoritie to desist, neverthelesse thou would not obey, but persevered in the same. And therefore the Bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devill's hands, and gave thee in commandement that thou sould preache no more. That, notwithstanding, thou did continue obstinatlie."

Answere.

"My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawfull to desist frome the preaching of the Gospell for the

threats and minasses of men. Therefore it is writtin, Acts v. 'We sall rather obey God than man.' Also, I have read in the prophet Malachie, 'I sall curse your blessings, and blesse your cursings;' (Malach. ii.) beleeving firmelie that the Lord will turne your cursings into blessings."

2d Article.

"Thou, false heretick, did say, that the preest standing at the altar saying masse, was like a foxe wagging his taile in Julie."

Answere.

"My lords, I said not so. These were my sayings: 'The moving of the bodie outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nocht elles but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God; for God is a secreit searcher of man's heart. Therefore, who will truelie adore and honour God, he must in spirit and veritie honour him.'" Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article:

Third Article.

"Thou, false heretick, preached the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven sacraments."

Answere.

"My lords, and if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or elleven. So manie as are instituted by Christ, and shewed to us by the Evangell, I professe openlie. Except it be the Word of God, I darre affirme nothing."

Fourth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, hath openlie taught, that auricular confessioun is not a blessed sacrament; and thou sayeth, that we sould confesse us to God onlie, and to no preest."

Answere.

"My lords, I say, that auricular confessioun, seing it hath no promise of the Evangell, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confessioun to be made to God, there are manie testimoneis in Scripture; as when David sayeth, 'I thought I would acknowledge myne iniquitie against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sinne,' Psalm xxxii. Heere, confession signifeith the secreit acknowledging of our sinnes before God. When I exhorted the people in this maner, I reproved no maner of confessioun. And farther, Sanct James sayeth, 'Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed,'" James iii. When that he had said these words, the bishops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teethe, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speeking, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinioun?"

Fifth Article.

"Thou, heretick, didst say openlie, that it was necessarie to everie man to know and understand his baptisme, and what it was, contrarie to generall councels, and the states of holie church."

Answere.

"My lords, I beleeve there be none so unwise heere that will make merchandice with a Frencheman, or anie other unknowne stranger, except he know and understand first the conditioun, and promise made by the Frencheman, or stranger. So, likewise, I would we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptisme: for this caus, I beleeve, we have confirmatioun."—Then said Mr Bleitter, chaplaine, that he had the devill within him, and the spirit of errour. Then answered him a childe, saying, "The devill cannot speeke suche words as yonder man doth speeke."

Sixth Article.

"Thou heretick, traitour, and theefe, thou said that the sacrament of the altar was but a peece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing elles; and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite, against the commandement of God."

Answere.

"Oh, Lord God! so manifest lees and blasphemeis the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught anie thing against the Scripture, the which I sall by God's grace make manifest this day, I being readie therefore to suffer death. The lawful use of this sacrament is most acceptable to God, but the great abuse of it is verie detestable to him. But what occasioun they have to say suche words of me I sall shortlie shew your lordships. I once chanced to meete with a Jew when I was sailing upon the water of Rhene. I did inquire of him what was the caus of his pertinacie, that he did not beleeve that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seene all the propheceis which were spokin of him to be fulfilled; moreover, the propheceis to be takin away, and the scepter of Judah; and, by manie other testimoneis of the Scripture, I witnessed unto him, and proved that the Messias was come, whome they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered againe unto me, 'When the Messias cometh, he sall restore all things; and he sall not abrogate the law which was givin to our forefathers, as yee doe: for why? we see the poore almost perish through hunger amongst you, yitt you are not moved with pitie toward them; but among us, Jewes, (though we be poore,) there are no beggers found. Secundarilie, it is forbiddin by the law to faine anie kinde of imagerie of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God onlie to honour. But your sanctuareis and churches are full of idols. Thridlie, a peece of bread, baken upon the ashes, yee adore and worship, and say that it is your God.' I

have rehearsed heere but the saying of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true." Then the bishops shooke their heads, and spitted on the earth, and what he meant in this mater further they would not heare.

Seventh Article.

"Thou, false heretick, did say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament."

Answere.

"My lords, forsooth, I never taught anie thing in my doctrine of extreme unction, whether it was a sacrament or not."

Eighth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, said, that holie water is not so good as weshe, and suche like. Thou condemned conjuring, and said that holie church cursings availl not."

Answere.

"My lords, as for holie water what strenth it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcismes, if they were conformable to the Word of God, I would commend them; but in so much as they are not conformable to the commandement and Word of God, I reprove them."

Ninth Article.

"Thou, false heretick and renegate, hath said, that everie lay man is a preest, and suche like. Thou sayeth that the Pope hath no more power than anie other man."

Answere.

"My lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St John and St Peter, of the which one sayeth, 'He made us kings and preests,' Apocal. i.

5: the other sayeth, 'He made us a kinglie preesthood,' 1 Peter ii. Wherefore, I have affirmed, that anie man being cunning in the Word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, hath this power givin him frome God; and not by the power and violence of men, but by the vertue of the Word of God; the which Word is called the Power of God, as witnesseth St Paul evidentlie eneugh, Rom. chap. i. And, again, I say, that anie unlearned man, not exercised in the Word of God, nor yitt constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seing he wanteth the instrument by which he bindeth and looseth, that is, the Word of God."

After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. Whill he beheld their laughing, "Laugh yee," sayeth he, "my lords? Though that these things appeare scornefull, and worthie of derisioun to your lordships, neverthelesse they are verie weightie to me, and of a great value, becaus they stand not orlie upon my life, but also the honour and glorie of God." In the meane time, manie godlie men, beholding the woodenesse (madness) and great crueltie of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Mr George, did greatlie mourne and lament.

Tenth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, said, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoickes, which say, that it is not in man's will to doe anie thing, but that concupiscence and desire cometh of God, whatsoever kinde it be of."

Answere.

"My lords, I said not so, truelie: I said, that als manie as beleeve in Christ firmelie, unto them is givin libertie, conformable to the saying of St Johne, 'If the Sonne make you free, then sall yee verilie be free,' Johne viii. Of the contrarie, as manie as beleeve not in Christ Jesus, they are bound servants of sinne. He that sinneth is bound to sinne."

Eleventh Article.

"Thou, false heretick, said, it is als lawfull to eate flesh upon the Fryday as upon the Sunday."

Answere.

"Pleaseth it your lordships, I have read in the Epistles of Sanct Paul, that 'who is cleane, unto him all things are cleane;' of the contrarie, 'to the filthie man all things are uncleane,' Timothy i. A faithfull man, cleane and holie, sanctifeith by the Word the creature of God, but the creature maketh no man acceptable to God; so that a creature may not sanctifie anie impure and unfaithfull man. But to the faithfull man all things are sanctifeid by the Word of God and prayer." After these sayings of Mr George, then said all the bishops with their complices, "What needeth us anie witnesse against him? Hath he not openlie heere spokin blasphemie?"

Twelfth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, doth say, that wee sould not pray to sancts, but to God onlie. Say whether thou said this or no: say shortlie!"

Answere.

For the weaknesse and infirmitie of the hearers, he said without doubt, plainlie, that sancts sould not be honoured. "My lords," said he, "there are two things worthie of note. The one is certaine, and the other uncertaine. It is said plainlie and certane in Scripture, that we sould worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandement, 'Thou sall onlie worship and honour thy Lord God with all thy heart.' But, as for praying to, and honouring of sancts, there is great doubt among manie, whether they heare or not invocation made unto them. Therefore, I exhorted all men equallie in my doctrine, that they sould leave the unsure way, and follow that which was taught us by our Master, Christ. He is our onlie Mediator, and maketh intercessioun for

us to God, his Father. He is the doore by the which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this doore, but clinmeth another way, is a theefe and a murtherer. He is the veritie, and the life. He that goeth out of this way, no doubt but he sall fall into the myre; yea, verilie, is fallin into it alreadie. This is the fashioun of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verilie, that which I have heard and read in the Word of God, I have taught openlie, and in no corners; and now yee sall witnesse the same, if your lordships will heare me. Except it stand by the Word of God, I darre not be so bold as to affirme anie thing." These sayings he rehearsed diverse times.

Thirteenth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, hath preached plainlie, saying, that there is no purgatorie; and that it is a fained thing, anie man after this life to be punished in purgatorie."

Answere.

"My lords, as I have often times said heretofore, without expresse witnesse and testimonie of the Scripture, I darre affirme nothing. I have oft and diverse times read over the Bible, and yitt suche a terme found I never, nor yitt anie place of Scripture applicable therunto; therefore, I was ashamed ever to teache of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture." Then said he to Mr Johne Lawder, his accuser, "If you have anie testimonie of the Scripture, by the which yee may prove anie suche place, shew it now before this auditorie." But this dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was als dumb as a beetle in that mater.

Fourteenth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, hath taught plainlie against the vowes of monkes, friers, nunnes, and preests, saying, that whosoever was bound to suche like vowes, they vowed themselves to the state of damnatioun: moreover, that it was lawfull to preests to marie wives, and not to live sole."

Answere.

"Of sooth, my lords, I have read in the Evangell, that there are three kinde of chaste men. Some are gelded from their mother's wombe, some are gelded by men, and some have gelded themselves for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Verilie, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as manie as have not the gift of chastitie, nor yitt for the Evangell have not overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastitie, yee have experience, although I sould hold my peace, to what inconveniencie they have vowed themselves." When he had said these words, they were all dumbe, thinking it better to have tenne concubines than one mareid wife.

Fifteenth Article.

"Thou, false heretick and renegat, sayeth, thou will not obey our generall and provinciall councels."

Answere.

"My lords, what your generall councels are, I know not: I was never exercised in them. But, to the pure Word of God I give my labours. Reade yee your generall councels, or elles give me a booke wherin they are conteaned, that I may read them. If they agree with the Word of God, I will not disagree." Then the ravening woolves turned into woodnesse, and said, "Wherefore lett we him speake, anie further? Reade furth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Amongst these cruell tigers, there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called Johne Scot, standing behind Johne Lawder's backe, hastening him to reade the rest of the articles, and not to tarie upon his wittie and godlie answeres: "For we may not abide him," quoth he, "more than the devill may abide the signe of the crosse, when it is named."

Sixteenth Article.

"Thou, heretick, sayeth, it is vaine to build, to the honour of God,

costlie churches, seing that God remaineth not in churches made with men's hands; nor yitt God can be in so little space as betwixt the preest's hands."

Answere.

"My lords, Salomon sayeth, 'If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how muche lesse this hous that I have builded,' 3 Reg. viii. And Job consenteth to the same sentence: 'Seing that he is higher nor the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than the hell, then how sall thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea," Job xi. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, becaus that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I said never that churches sould be destroyed; but of the contrarie, I affirmed ever that churches sould be susteaned and upholdin, that the people sould be congregated in them, there to heare of God. And, moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the Word of God, and lawfull use of the sacraments, undoubtedlie there is God himself. So that both these sayings are true together: 'God cannot be comprehended in anie place;' and, 'wheresoever are two or three gathered together in his name, there is he in the middest of them.'" Then said he to his accuser, "If you thinke anie other wise, then show furth your reasons before this auditorie." Then he, without all reason, being dumbe, and not answering one word, proceeded fordward in his articles.

Seventeenth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, contemneth fasting, and sayeth, thou sould not fast."

Answere.

"My lords, I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture, therefore I were a slaunderer of the Gospell, if I contemned fasting; and not so onlie, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is

good for the health of the bodie. But God knoweth who fasteth the true fast!"

Eighteenth Article.

"Thou, false heretick, hath preached openlie, saying, that the soule of man sall sleepe to the latter day of judgement, and so sall not obteane life immortall untill that day."

Answere.

"God, full of merceis and goodnesse, forgive them that say suche things of me! I wote, and know surelie by the Word of God, that he who hath begunne to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and beleeveth frimelie in him, I know surelie that the soule of that man sall never sleepe, but ever sall live in immortall life; the which life, frome day to day, is renewed in grace, and augmented, nor yitt sall ever perish or have an end, but ever immortall sall live with Christ: to the which life, all that beleeve in him sall come, and rest in eternall glorie. Amen!"

When the bishops, with their complices, had accused this innocent man, in maner and forme aforesaid, incontinentlie they condemned him to be burnt as an heretick, not having respect to his godlie answeres, and true reasons which he alledged, nor yitt to their owne consciences; thinking verily they sould doe to God good service, conformable to the saying of Sanct Johne, "They sall excommunicat you; and the time sall come, that he who killeth you sall thinke he hath done to God good service," John xvi.

The Prayer of Mr George Wishart.

"O immortall God! how long sall thou suffer the woodnesse, and great crudelitie of the ungodlie, to exercise their furie upon thy servants which doe further thy word in this world, seeing they desired to be contrarie, that is, to chocke and destroy thy true doctrine and veritie, by the which thou hath shewed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindnesse and misknow-

ledge of thy name? O Lord, we know surelie, that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecutioun, afflictioun, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hath shewed unto us by thy prophets and apostles. But yitt, we desire thee heartilie, that thou conserve, defend, and helpe thy congregatioun which thou hast chosin before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to heare thy word, and be thy true servants in this present life."

Then, by and by, they caused the commoun people to voide away, whose desire was alwayes to heare that innocent man speeke. Then the sonnes of darknesse pronounce their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgement of God. When all this was done and said, the cardinall caused his warders to passe again with the meeke lambe unto the castell, unto suche time as the fire was made readie. When he was come into the castell, then there came two Gray feinds, Frier Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, yee must make your confessioun to us." He answered, "I will make no confessioun to you: goe, fetche me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confessioun to him." Then they sent for the sub-pryour of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confessioun, I cannot show.

When the fire was made readie, and the gallowes, at the west part of the castell, neere to the pryorie, the lord cardinall, dreading that Mr George sould be takin away by his freinds, commanded to bend all the ordinance of the castell right against that part; and commanded all his gunners to be readie, and stand beside their gunnes, unto suche time as he was burnt. All this being done, they bound Mr George's hands behind his backe, and ledde him furth with their souldiours frome the castell to the place of their wicked execution. As he came furth of the castell gate, there mett him certane beggers, asking his almous for God's sake, to whome he answered, "I want my hands wherewith I sould give almous; but the mercifull Lord of his benignitie, and abundance of his grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessareis both to your bodeis and to your soules." Then afterward mett

him two false feinds, I sould say, friers, saying, "Mr George, pray to our Ladie, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Sonne;" to whome he answered meekelie, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethrein!" After this, he was ledde to the fire, with a rope about his necke, and a chaine of yron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire, he sat doun upon his knees, and rose again; and thrise he said these words, "O, thou Saviour of the world, have mercie on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holie hands!" When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words, "I beseeche you, Christiane brethrein, that yee be not offended in the Word of God, for the afflictions and torments which yee see alreadie prepared for me. But I exhort you that yee love the Word of God, and suffer patientlie, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvatioun, and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, shew my brethrein and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they ceasse not, nor leave off the Word of God, which I taught unto them after the grace givin unto me, for no persecution or troubles in this world, which lasteth not. And shew unto them that my doctrine was no old wives' fables after the constitutions made by men; and if I had taught men's doctrine I had gottin great thanks by men. But, for the Word's sake, and true Evangell which was givin to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfullie, but with a glade heart and minde. For this caus I was sent, that I sould suffer the fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage: yee sall not see me change my colour. This grimme fire I feare not. And so I pray you for to doe, if that anie persecution come to you for the Word's sake; and not to feare them that slay the bodie, and afterward have no power to slay the soule. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soule of man sould sleepe until the last day. But I know surelie, and my faith is suche, that my soule sall suppe with my Saviour, Jesus Christ, this night, ere it be six houres, for whom I suffer this."

Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, "I beseech the Father of heaven to forgive them that have of anie ignor-

ance, or elles of anie evill minde, forged anie lees upon me! I forgive them with all my whole heart. I beseeche Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day, ignorantlie."

And last of all, he said to the people on this maner: "I beseeche you, brethrein and sisters, to exhort your prelats to the learning of the Word of God, that they, at the least, may be ashamed to do evill, and learne to do good. And if they will not convert themselves frome their wicked errour, there sall hastilie come upon them the wrath of God, which they sall not eschew." Manie faithfull words said he in the meane time, taking no heed or care of the cruell torments which were then prepared for him. And last of all, the hangman, that was his tormenter, satt doun upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you, forgive me, for I am not guiltie of your death." To whome he answered, "Come hither to me." When that he was come to him, he kissed his cheeke, and said, "Loe, heere is a tokin that I forgive thee: my heart, doe thy office!" And, by and by, he was putt upon the gibbet, and hanged, and there burnt to powder. When that the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold frome piteous mourning and compleaning of this innocent lambe's slaughter.

After the death of this blessed martyr, the people beganne in plaine speeche to damne and detest the cardinall's crueltie. Yea, men of great birth and estimation avowed, at open tables, that the blood of Mr George sould be revenged, or elles it sould cost life for life. John Leslie, brother to the Erle of Rothesse, spaired not, in all companeis, to say, "That same dager, (shewing furth his dager,) and that same hand, sall be preest to the cardinall." These bruites came to the cardinall's eares, but he thought himself stout eneugh for all Scotland; for in Babylon, that is, in his new blocke-hous, he was sure, as he thought, and upon the feilds, able to matche all his enemeis. The most part of the nobilitie had either givin him their bands of manreid, or were in confederacie and amitie with him. He onlie feared them in whose hands God delivered him; but for them he layed his nett so secreetlie, that he made full accompt their feete could not escape.

CONSPIRACIE AGAINST THE CARDINAL.

The cardinall goeth to Angus, and mareith his eldest daughter upon the Erle of Crawfurd's sonne, by that meanes to strenthen himself. Understanding that the English were to invade the sea-coast, he returned to Sanct Andrewes, assembled the nobilitie and gentrie to provide for defense, and had determined to saile about the coasts of Fife, and to fortifie places most convenient. At the same time arose a contentioun betwixt the cardinall and Norman Leslie, Master of Rothesse, for some privat mater, which for a time did estrange their mindes from other; yitt the Master of Rothesse, induced with manie faire promises, did rest for a while. After some few moneths, he demanded performance of the promises made unto him; but the cardinall answered with shifts and delayes. After some brawllings and bitter taunts, they departed frome other with greeved mindes; the cardinall, becaus he thought he was not so reverentlie used as he wished; the other, threatening that he sould be avenged upon him for his deceate. The Master of Rothesse compleaned to his freinds of the deceate and arrogance of the cardinall. They were easilie perswaded to conspire his death. Mr Knox relateth this historie after this maner.

The cardinall came to Edinburgh after Easter, to hold an assemblie of Baal's shaven sort. It was bruited that some thing was intended against him at that time by the Erle of Angus and his freinds, whome he greatlie feared, and whose destructioun he sought. But it failed, and so he returned to his strenth, to his god and onlie comfort, as weill in heaven as in earth. He remained there without all feare of death, promising to himself no lesse pleasure than the riche man, of whome mentioun is made in the Gospell. He did not onlie rejoice, and say, "Eate, and be glade, my soule, for thou has great riches layed up in store for manie dayes;" but also said, "Tush! a feg for the fooles, a button for the bragging hereticks, and their assistants in Scotland! Is not

my lord governour myne? Witnesse his eldest sonne, pledge at my table. Have I not the queene at my devotion? Is not France my freind, and I a freind to France? What danger sould I feare?" Thus in vanitie did he delite himself, yitt devised he to cutt off suche as he thought might doe him anie injurie. He had appointed the gentlemen of Fife to meete him at Falkland upon Moonday after he was slaine. His treasonable interprise was not disclosed till after his slaughter, which was then understood by letters and memorialls found in his chamber, and plainlie affirmed by suche as were upon the counsell. The interprise was this; that Norman Leslie, Shireff of Fife, and apparant heyre to his father the Erle of Rothesse, Johne Leslie, his father's brother, the Laird of Grange, elder and younger, Sir James Lermonth of Dairsie, Provest of Sanct Andrewes, and the Laird of Raith, sould either have been killed, or takin, and after used at his pleasure. Both the relations may verie weill agree; for it is likelie that he pretended the invasioun of the sea-coasts, that he might have some colour to assemble the noblemen and gentlemen.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE CARDINALL.

Manie purposes were devised how to cutt off that wicked man, the cardinall, but all failed till Friday the 28th of May, 1546. Norman Leslie, Master of Rothesse, came at night to Sanct Andrewes. William Kirkaldie of Grange, younger, had beene waiting in the toun before. Johne Leslie, who was most suspected, came last. Upon Saturday, earelie in the morning, the 29th of May, they and their complices were in sundrie companeis in the Abbey church-yarde, not farre distant frome the castell. The gates being open, and the draw-bridge lett doun, for receaving lyme, stones, and other materialls necessar for building, (for Babylon was almost finished,) Williame Kirkaldie of Grange, younger, and other six with him, getting entrance, held purpose with the porter. He asked if my lord was awaking; he answered, "No." So it was,

indeed; for he had beene bussie that night at his compts with Mistresse Marion Ogilvie, who was espied to depart frome him by the privat posterne that morning; therefore quietnesse, after the rules of physick, and a morning sleepe, were requisite for my lord. Whill the said William is talking with the porter, and his servants seemed to looke attentivelie to the worke and workemen, the Master of Rothesse approached with his companie. They addresse themselves to the middest of the court. Johne Leslie cometh immediatlie after, somewhat rudelie, and other foure with him. The porter, fearing some evill, would have drawin the bridge, but the said Johne being entered theron, leaped in. Whill the porter made him for defense, his head was brokin, the keyes takin frome him, and he cast into the full sea. As soone as they had seased upon the castell, the shout ariseth. The worke men, to the number of moe than an hundreth, ranne to the walls, but were without hurt putt furth at the wicket of the gate. Williame Kirkaldie keeped the privie posterne, fearing least the foxe sould have escaped. The rest goe to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence putt furth more than fiftie persons, howbeit they past not the number of sixteene themselves. The cardinall, wakened with the shouts, asked frome his window, what meant the noise? It was answered, that Norman Leslie had takin the castell. He ranne to the posterne gate; but, perceaving the passage to be keeped, returned quicklie to his chamber, tooke his two-handed sword in his hand, and caused his chamberlane cast kists and other impediments to the doore. In the meane time cometh Johne Leslie, and biddeth open. The cardinall asked, "Who calleth?" He answered, "My name is Leslie." "Is that Norman?" said the cardinall "Nay," said the other, "my name is Johne." "I will have Norman," said the cardinall, "for he is my freind." "Content yourself with suche as are heere, for none other sall ye have," said Johne. He had with him James Melvill, a man familiarlie acquainted with Mr George Wisehart, and Peter Carmichaell, a stout gentleman. Whill they force at the doore, the cardinall hideth a boxe of gold under the coales, which were lying in a secreit corner. At lenth he asked, "Will yee

save my life?" "It may be we will," said Johne. "Nay," said the cardinall, "sweare to me by God's wounds, and I will open to you." Then said Johne, "That which was said is unsaid"—and so cried, "Fire, fire!" And so was brought a chimney full of burning coales, for the doore was verie strong; which being perceaved, the cardinall or his chamberlane opened the doore. The cardinall satt doun in a chaire, and cried, "I am a preest! I am a preest! yee will not slay me?" Johne Leslie, according to his former vowes, striketh him first once or twice, and so doth Peter Carmichael. James Melvill, a man of modest and gentle nature, perceaving them both in cholar, drew them aside, and said, "This worke and judgement of God ought to be done with greater gravitie." He presenteth the point of the sword to the cardinall, and sayeth, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but speciallie of the shedding of the blood of that notable servant of God, Mr George Wishart, which, albeit the flamme of fire hath consumed before men, yitt crieth it for a vengeance upon thee, and wee frome God are sent to revenge it. For heere, before my God I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the feare of anie trouble thou couldest have wrought to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike at thee, but onlie becaus thou hath beene, and remaineth, an obstinat enemie against Christ Jesus and his holie Gospell." Then he stroke him through twise or thrise with a stog sword,[1] and he fell. Never word was heard out of his mouth but, "I am a preest! fy, fy, all is gone!"

Whill they were thus occupied with the cardinall, the fray rose in the toun. The proveist assembled the commonaltie, came to the castell, and cried, "What have yee done with my lord cardinall? where is my lord cardinall? have yee slaine my lord cardinall?" Those within the castell answered, "Best it were for you to returne to your owne housses, for the man you call the cardinall hath receaved his rewaird, and in his owne person will trouble the world no more." Then, more enraged, they cry, "We sall never depart hence till wee see him!" He was brought to the east blocke-hous

[1] A sharp-pointed sword for thrusting only.

head, and his corps layed upon that part of the blocke-hous where he lay when the martyr and servant of God, Mr George Wishart, was consumed with fire. The faithlesse multitude, that would not beleeve till they did see, departed without *Requiem æternam*, or *Requiescant in pace* sung for his soule. Becaus the weather was hote, and his funerals could not suddanlie be prepared, to keep him frome stinking, it was thought best to bestow eneugh of great salt upon him, a cope[1] of leid, and a corner in the bottome of the sea towre, a place where manie of God's childrein had beene imprisouned before, to await what exequeis his brethrein, the bishops, would prepare for him. Manie were glade, namelie, the professors of true religion, because they were ever in danger, so long as he lived, that suche a tyranne was takin away: others were offended at his intolerable pride and filthie leacherie. Some went to the castell, and joyned themselves with them. God admonished men by this judgement, that he will in end be avenged upon tyranns for their crueltie, howsoever they strenthen themselves. But suche is the blindnesse of men, that the posteritie doth ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, speciallie in impietie; for the bastard bishop, his successor, was nothing inferior to him in crueltie. The death of this tyranne was dolorous to the preests, dolorous to the governour, dolorous to the queene dowager; for in him perished faithfulnesse to France, and comfort to all gentleweomen, speciallie to wantoun wedowes. His death must be revenged!

A CONCLUSION TO SEIGE THE CASTELL.

The Erle of Angus and his brother, Sir George, came to court soone after the death of the cardinall. They procured[2] for the abbacie of Arbrothe, and a graunt therof was made, in memorie wherof, George Dowglas, base sonne to the erle, was after called for a long time, George the Postulat. The Hammiltons thinke it

[1] Coffin.

[2] Made suit.

no lesse proper for the governour's owne kitchin; yitt, in hope therof, the erle and his brother, Sir George, were the first that voted, that the castell of Sanct Andrewes sould be beseiged. Those within the castell had beene summoned to compeere within six dayes, but refused, and for none-compeerance were denounced rebels, not onlie the first interprisers, but also others that did accompanie them. The bastard, the Abbot of Pasley, still bloweth the coales. He would not have had the cardinall alive againe, yitt fained he himself to be angrie at his slaughter. So it was concluded, that a seige sould be layed to the castell.

THE CASTELL OF SANCT ANDREWES BESEIGED.

The seiging of the castell begamne in the end of August, and contimued till neere the end of Januar. The defenders had made a plaine passage by an yron gate, through the east wall to the sea, which greatlie releeved them. When the beseigers perceaved they could not stoppe them frome victualls, unlesse they were masters of the sea, concluded to make some appointment with them, that under trust, they might either gett the castell betrayed, or some cheefe men of the companie surprised at unawares. The English shippes had beene once there, and had brought William Kirkaldie frome London, and raundered him againe to the castell, not without some losse of men, becaus the gate forsaid was not then prepared. They had takin with them to the court of England Johne Leslie and Mr Henrie Balnaves, for forming and perfyting all contracts betwixt them and King Henrie, who promised to take them in his protectioun, upon condition onlie that they would keepe the governour's sonne, my Lord Arran, and stand freinds to the contract of mariage, wherof before we have made mentioun. The governour and his counsell, the preests, and the shaven sort, despairing that the castell could be wonne, concluded an appointment, as hath beene alreadie said, to betray them under trust, in which device the Abbot of Dumfermline was the principall. For this purpose, the Laird of Monquhanie, who was most familiar with these within the

castell, proceeded in his traffique so farre, that frome entrie by day at his pleasure, he purchassed licence to come in by night, whensoever it pleased him. But God had not appointed so manie to be betrayed. The heads of the coloured appointment were, that they sould keepe the castell of Sanct Andrewes still, till the governour and the authoritie purchassed unto them a sufficient absolution frome the Pope, for the slaughter of the cardinall: that they sould deliver pledges for the raundering of that hous, as soone as the foresaid absolutioun sall be delivered unto them: that they, their freinds, familiars, servants, and others perteaning to them, sould never be persued by law for the slaughter foresaid; but that they sould injoy commoditeis, spirituall or temporall, whatsoever they possessed, before the said slaughter, even as if it had never beene committed: that these within the castell sould keepe the Erle of Arran so long as their pledges were keeped. These and the like articles were liberall eneugh, but they minded never to keepe one jote of them.

M.D.XLVII.

JOHNE ROUGH TEACHETH IN SANCT ANDREWES.

The appointment being made, the godlie were comforted, for some hope they had, that thereby God's word sould budde, as it did indeed; for Johne Rough, who, soone after the cardinall's slaughter, had entered in the castell, and continued there during the time of the siege, beganne now to preache in Sanct Andrewes. Howbeit he was not one of the most learned, yitt was his doctrine sound, and, therefore, weill liked of by the people.

JOHNE KNOX HIS FIRST EXERCISE IN SANCT ANDREWES.

At the Easter after, *anno* 1547, Johne Knox went to the castell of Sanct Andrewes. He had beene weareid with removing frome place to place, by reasoun of the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes his persecutioun, and had determined to goe to Germanie to the schooles; for, howbeit the Pope's supremacie was suppressed in England, his

laws and corruptions remained in full vigour. But becaus he had the care of some gentlemen's childrein, their fathers solicited him to goe to Sanct Andrewes, where he himself might have the benefite of the castell, and their childrein the benefite of his doctrine. Having in companie with him Francis Dowglas of Langnidrie, George, his brother, and Alexander Cockburne, eldest sonne to the Laird of Ormeston, he beganne to instruct them after his accustomed maner. Beside their grammar, and other humane authors, he read to them a catechisme, an accompt wherof he caused them give publiclie in the parish church of Sanct Andrewes. He read, moreover, to them the Gospell of Johne, proceeding where he left at his departure frome Langnidrie, where his residence was before, and that lecture he read in the chappell within the castell, at a certaine houre.

MR KNOX CALLED TO BE A PREACHER.

Mr Henrie Balnaves, Johne Rough, preacher, and others within the castell, approving the maner of Johne Knoxe's doctrine, travailled earnestlie with him, to tak upon him the preaching place. He utterlie refused, alledging he would not runne where God had not called him. Wherupon, advising among themselves, and with Sir David Lindsay of the Month, they concluded to give a charge to the said Johne, and that publicklie, by the mouth of the preacher. So, upon a certane day, a sermon being had of the calling of ministers; what power the congregation, how small so ever, had over anie man in whom they espied the gifts of God; how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hearken to the voice of those that desired to be instructed, Johne Rough directed his speeche to Johne Knox, saying, "Brother, yee sall not be offended, albeit I speake to you that which I have in charge givin frome all these that are heere present, which is this:—In the name of God, and of his Sonne, Christ Jesus, and in the name of those that doe presentlie call you by my mouth, I charge you, that yee refuse not this holie vocatioun; but as yee tender the glorie of God, the increasse of Christ's

kingdome, the edificatioun of your brethrein, and the comfort of me, whome yee understand weill eneugh to be overburthenned, that yee tak upon you the publick office, and charge of preaching, even as yee looke to avoide God's heavie displeasure, and desire him to multiplie his graces upon you." In end, he said to those that were present, "Was not this your charge givin to me, and doe yee not approve this vocatioun?" They answere, "It was, and we approve it." Johne Knox, abashed, burst furth in teares abundantlie, and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behaviour frome that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the publick place of preaching, did sufficientlie declare what was the greefe and trouble of his heart; for no man saw anie signe of mirth in him, neither yitt had he pleasure to beare companie with anie man for manie dayes together.

A CONTROVERSIE BETWEENE JOHNE KNOX AND DEANE JOHNE.

Beside the calling foresaid, there was another necessitie which moved Mr Knox. Deane Johne N., a rotten Papist, had troubled John Rough in his preaching. Johne Knox had mainteaned his doctrine by his penne, and had beaten doun Deane Johne frome all his defenses, so that he was forced to flee to his last refuge, that is, the authoritie of the church, which, said he, damned all Lutherans and hereticks, and therefore there needed no farther disputation. Johne Knox answered, "Before we hold ourselves sufficientlie convicted, we must define the church, by the right notes therof. We must discerne the spous of Christ frome spiritual Babylon, the mother of confusion, least we embrace imprudentlie a harlot, in stead of Christ's spouse; yea, least we submitt ourselves to Satan, supposing we submitt ourselves to Christ: for, as for your Romane church, as it is now corrupted, in the authoritie wherof standeth the hope of your victorie, I no more doubt but that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head therof, called the Pope, to be that Man of Sinne of whome the apostle speaketh, than that I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church

of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writting, to prove the Roman church to have degenerated farther this day frome the puritie which was in the dayes of the apostles, than the church of the Jewes frome the ordinances givin by Moses, when they consented to the death of Christ." These words were spokin in open audience, in the parish church of Sanct Andrewes, after Deane Johne had spokin what pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The people hearing the offer, cried with one consent, "We cannot all read your writts, but we may all heare you preache; therefore we require you, in the name of God, that yee will lett us heare a prooffe of that which you have affirmed; for, if it be true, wee have beene miserablie deceaved." So the nixt Lord's day was appointed to Johne Knox to expresse his minde publicklie.

MR KNOX HIS FIRST SERMON IN PUBLICK.

The nixt Lord's day Johne Knox had his first sermon in publick, in the parish kirk of Sanct Andrewes, upon the seventh of Daniel. When he had made a short discourse of the foure impyres, he proved that the Roman church was the last beast which was raised up in the destruction of the fourth, that is, the Roman impyre; for to no other power that ever yitt hath beene doe all the notes there sett doun by the prophets there apperteane, and to it they doe so properlie perteane, that they are more than blind that cannot clearlie see it. He shewed that the Spirit of God, in the New Testament, gave to this king spokin of in Daniel other new names, to witt, the Man of Sinne, the Antichrist, the Whoore of Babylon; that this Man of Sinne, the Antichrist, was not to be restrained to the person of one man onlie, no more than the fourth beast was to be understood of the person of one emperour; that by suche names, the Spirit of God would forewarne his chosin of a bodie and multitude having a wicked head, which sould not onlie be sinfull himself, but also the occasioun of sinne to all that sould be subject unto him; that he was called Antichrist, that is to say, one contrarie to Christ, becaus he is contrarie to him in life, doctrine, lawes, and subjects. He de-

ciphered the lives of diverse Popes, and of all the shavelings for the most part. He proved the doctrine and lawes to be repugnant to the doctrine and lawes of Christ. He proved the doctrine contrarie, by conferring justificatioun by faith alone, with justificatioun by workes of the law, or the workes of man's inventioun, as pilgrimages, pardons, and other suche baggage. He proved the Pope's lawes to be repugnant to the lawes of the Gospell, by the lawes made of observation of dayes, abstinence frome meates, and frome mariage. He proved that the mouth speeking great and blasphemous things was the Pope's mouth, for that he called himself the successour of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Church, Most Holie, Most Blessed; that he said he can not erre; that he may make right of wrong, and wrong of right; that of nothing he may make somewhat; that he had all veritie in the shrine of his breast; that he had power over all, and none over him, not so muche as to say to him that he did wrong, although he draw ten thowsand millions of soules with himself to hell. These words, said he, were extant in his owne canon law, and they were never ascrived to anie mortall man before. That he made merchandice of the soules of men, he proved, becaus he tooke upon him power to relaxe the paines of them that were in purgatorie, and that the preests affirme that they can doe the like daylie, by the merits of their masse, and other trifles. In the end, he said, "If anie heere (there were present Mr Johne Major, the universitie, the sub-pryour, and manie chanons, with some friers of both the orders) that will say, I have alledged Scripture, doctor, or historie, otherwise than it is writtin, lett them come to me with sufficient witnesses, and by conference I sall let them see not onlie the originall wherein the testimoneis are writtin, but that also the writters meant as I have spokin."

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF MR KNOXE'S FIRST SERMON.

Of this sermon, which was the first that ever Johne Knox made in publick, went diverse reports. Some said, "Others hewed at the branches of papistrie, but he striked at the roote, to destroy

the whole." Others said, "If the doctors and *magistri nostri* defend not now the Pope and his authoritie, which in their owne presence is so manifestlie impugned, the devill have my part of him and his lawes both!" Others said, "Mr George Wishart spake never so plainlie, yitt he was burnt, and so will he be." Others said, "The tyrannie of the cardinall made not his caus the better, nor yitt the suffering of God's servant His caus the worse;" therefore counselled them to provide better defenders than fire and sword, or elles they would be disappointed, for men now had other eyes than they had then.

THE DISPUTATION BETWEENE MR KNOX, THE SUB-PRIOUR, AND FRIER ARBUCKILL.

Johne Hammiltoun, the governour's bastard brother, was not yitt consecrated Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, yitt he wrote to the sub-priour, who, *sede vacante*, was vicar-generall, that he woundered that he suffered suche hereticall and schismaticall doctrine to be taught, and oppouned not to the same. Upon this rebooke, a conventioun of Gray and Blacke friers was appointed by the said sub-priour, Deane Johne Wynrame, in Sanct Leonard's yarde. Johne Rough was first called, and certan articles read to him. Therafter Johne Knox was called. The occasioun of appointing the conventioun, and wherefore they were called, is opened up. The articles which were read were these following:

1. No mortall man can be head of the church.

2. The Pope is Antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mysticall bodie.

3. Man may neither make nor devise a religion which is acceptable to God; but man is bound to observe and keepe the religion that fromc God is receaved, without chopping or changing therof.

4. The sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministred as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his

Apostles: nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminished frome them.

5. The masse is abominable idolatrie, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanatioun of the Lord's supper.

6. There is no purgatorie in which the soules of men can either be pynned or purged after this life; but heaven resteth to the faithfull, and hell to the reprobat and unfaithfull.

7. Praying for the dead is vaine, and to the dead is idolatrie.

8. There is no bishops except they preache even by themselves, without anie substitute.

9. The tithes by God's law doe not apperteane, of necessitie, to the churche men.

"The strangenesse," said the sub-priour, "of these articles, which are gathered furth of your doctrine, hath moved us to call for you to give your answere." Johne Knox said, "I, for my part, praise my God, that I see so honorable, and apparantlie so modest and quiet an auditorie. But becaus it is long since I have heard yee are not ignorant of the truthe, I crave of you, in the name of God, yea, I appeale your conscience before the Supreme Judge, that if yee thinke anie article there expressed contrarious to the truthe of God, that yee oppone yourself plainlie to it, and suffer not the people to be deceaved therewith. But if in your conscience yee know the doctrine to be true, then doe I crave your patrocinie[1] thereto, that by your authoritie the people may be moved the rather to beleeve the truth, wherof manie doubt, by reason of your thoughts." The sub-priour answered, "I come not heere as a judge, but onlie familiarlie to talke, and, therefore, I will neither allow nor condemne; but if yee list, I will reasoun."

Sub-priour.—"Why may not the church, for good causses, devise ceremoneis to decore the sacraments and other parts of God's service?"

Johne Knox.—"Becaus the church ought to do nothing but in

[1] Patronage.

faith; and ought not to goe before, but is bound to follow the voice of the true Pastor."

Sub-priour.—"It is in faith that the ceremoneis are commanded, and they have proper significations to helpe our faith; as the band in baptisme signifeith the roughnesse of the law, and the oyle, the softnesse of God's mercie. And, likewise, everie other ceremonie hath a godlie signification. Therefore, they both proceed frome faith, and are done in faith."

Johne Knox.—"It is not eneugh that man invent a ceremonie, and then give it a signification according to his pleasure, for so might the ceremoneis of the Gentiles, and this day the ceremoneis of the Mahomet be mainteaned. But if anie thing proceed frome faith, it must have the word of God for assurance; for yee are not ignorant, that faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Now, if yee will prove that your ceremoneis proceed frome faith, and do please God, yee must prove that God in expresse words hath commanded them, or elles sall you never prove that they proceed frome faith, or that they please God, but that they are sinne, and doe displease him, according to the words of the Apostle, 'Whatsoever is not of faith is sinne.'"

Sub-priour.—"Will yee bind us so strait, that we may doe nothing without the expresse word of God? What if I aske drinke: thinke yee that I sinne? Yitt have I not God's word for me."—This answere he gave, as might appeare, to shift over the argument upon the frier.

Johne Knox.—"I wishe yee would not jest in so grave a mater, neither would I that yee sould beginne to hide the truthe with sophistrie. If yee doe, I will defend me the best I can. First, to your drinking I say, that if yee either eate or drinke without assurance of God's word, that in so doing yee displease God, and sinne in your verie eating and drinking; for sayeth not the Apostle, speaking even of meate and drinke, that 'the creatures are sanctified to men, even by word and prayer?' The word is this, 'All things are cleane to the cleane.' Now, lett me heare this muche

for your ceremoneis, and I sall yeeld. But I wounder yee compare profane and holie things so indiscreitlie together. The question was not, nor is not, of meate or drinke, wherin the kingdome of heaven doth not consist, but of God's true worship, without which we can have no true societie with God. Heere is the questioun—If we may take the same freedome in using of Christ's sacraments that we may doe in eating and drinking. One meate I may eate, another I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. I may change one with another as oft as I please. May we doe the same in maters of religioun? May we cast away what we please, and reteane what we please? If I be weill remembered, Moses in the name of God sayeth to the people of Israel, 'All that the Lord thy God commandeth thee to doe, that doe thow to the Lord thy God; adde nothing to it, diminishe nothing from it.' By these rules thinke I that the church of Christ will measure true religioun, and not by that which seemeth good in their owne eyes."

Sub-priour.—"Forgive me: I spake but in mowes,[1] and I was dry. Now, father," said he to Frier Arbuckill, "follow the argument. Yee have heard what I have said, and what is answered to me againe."

Arbuckill, Gray frier.—"I sall prove plainlie that ceremoneis are ordeaned of God."

Johne Knox.—"Suche as God hath ordeaned we allow, and with reverence we use them. But the questioun is, of these that God hath not ordeaned, such as in baptisme, are spittle, salt, candle, (except it be to keepe the barne frome cold,) hurdes, oyle, and the rest of the Papisticall inventiouns."

Arbuckill.—"I will even prove these which yee damne to be ordeaned of God."

Johne Knox.—"The proofe I would gladlie heare."

Arbuckill.—"Sayeth not Sanct Paul, that 'Another foundation than Jesus Christ may no man lay? But upon this foundation some build gold, silver, precious stones; some hay, stubble, and wood.' The gold and the precious stones are the ceremoneis of

[1] Jest.

the church, which doe abide the fire, and consumeth not away, &c. This place of Scripture is most plaine. Flee, yee foolish feind!"

Johne Knox.—"I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, I find his promise sure, true, and stable. Christ Jesus biddeth us not feare when wee sall be called before men, to give confessioun of his truthe, for He promiseth it sall be givin to us in that houre what we sall speake. If I had sought the whole Scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpose, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your argument. The ceremoneis of the church, say yee, are gold, silver, and precious stones, becaus they are able to abide the fire. I would learne of you what fire it is which your ceremoneis doe abide. In the meane time, whill yee be advised upon an answere, I will show you my minde, and draw an argument against you out of the same text. First, I say, that I have heard this text alledged for a prooffe of purgatorie; but for defense of ceremoneis I never heard, nor yitt read it. But omitting whether yee understand the minde of the Apostles or not, I frame my argument thus: That which may abide the fire may abide the Word of God. But your ceremoneis may not abide the Word of God; *ergo*, they may not abide the fire. If they may not abide the fire, then are they not gold, silver, nor precious stones. Now, if yee find anie ambiguitie in this terme *fire*, which I interprete to be the Word, find me another fire by which things builded upon Christ Jesus sould be tryed than God and his Word, which both in Scripture are called fire, and I sall correct my argument."

Arbuckill.—"I stand not therupon, but I deny your minor, to witt, that our ceremoneis may not abide the triell of God's Word."

Johne Knox.—"I prove, that abideth not the triell of God's Word which God's Word condemneth. But God's Word condemneth your ceremoneis; therefore, they doe not abide the triell thereof. As a theefe abideth the triell of the quest, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, so may your ceremoneis abide the triell of God's Word, but not elles. Now, in few words, to make plaine that wherin yee may seeme to doubt, to witt, that God's Word damneth your ceremoneis, it is evident, for the plaine and strait commandment

is, Deuter. iv. 'Not that thing that appeareth good in thyne owne eyes sall thow doe to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that doe thow; adde nothing to it, diminishe nothing from it.' Now, unlesse yee be able to prove that God hath commanded your ceremoneis, this commandement will damne both you and them."

Frier Arbuckill, somewhat abashed what first to answere, whill he wandered about in the mist, fell into a foull myre; for alledging that wee may not be so bound to the Word, he affirmed that the Apostles had not receaved the Holie Ghost when they did write their Epistles, but after, and then they ordeaned ceremoneis. Few would have thought that so learned a man would have givin so foolish an answere, yitt it is even als true as that he bare a gray cowle. Johne Knox, hearing the answere, start, and said, "If that be true, I have beene long in errour, and I thinke I sall dee therin!" The sub-priour said to the frier, "Father, what say yee? God forbid that yee affirme that, for then fareweill the ground of our faith!" The frier, astonished, made the best shift he could to correct his fault, but it would not be for him. Johne Knox brought him oft againe to the ground of the argument. The frier would never answere directlie, but ever fled to the authoritie of the church; Johne Knox answered ofter than once, that the Spous of Christ had neither power nor authoritie against the Word of God. The frier said, "If so be, yee will leave us no church." Johne Knox said, "In the Psalmes of David I read that there is a church of the malignants, for he sayeth, *Odi ecclesiam malignantium.* That church yee may have without the Word, and doe manie things directlie fighting against the Word of God. Of that church, if yee will be, I cannot hinder you. But as for me, I will be of no other church except of that which hath Christ Jesus to be the Pastor; which heareth his voice, and will not heare a stranger."

In this disputatioun manie scoffes past over mirrilie, for the frier, after his fall, could speeke nothing to anie purpose. For purgatorie he had no better proofe than the authoritie of Virgill, in the Sixt of his Æneids, and the paines therof to him were, an evill wife.

How Johne Knox answered to that, and to manie other things, himself did witnesse in a treatise he wrote afterward in the galleyes, conteaning the summe of his doctrine, and confessioun of his faith. He sent it to his familiar freinds in Scotland, with an exhortation to continue in the truthe which they had professed, notwithstanding of anie afflictioun which might ensue therupon.

THE LEARNED IN THE ABBEY AND UNIVERSITIE PREACHE BUSSILIE, BUT FOR AN ILL INTENT.

The Papists after this had no great heart to further disputation or reasouning, but invented another shift, which appeared to proceed frome godlinesse. Everie learned man in the Abbey and Universitie was to preache in the parish church upon the Lord's day, in his course. The sub-priour beganne; Spittell, the officiall, followed; the rest followed in their rankes. Sermons were printed to offend no man. Johne Knox smelled out their craft, and in his sermons upon the weeke dayes, prayed to God that they would be als bussie in preaching when there sould be more want of it than there was then. "Alwise," said he, "I praise God that Christ is preached, and nothing is spokin publicklie against the doctrine which yee have heard. If in my absence they sall speake anie thing which in my presence they doe not, I protest that yee suspend your judgement till it please God yee heare me again."

THE LORD'S SUPPER CELEBRATED IN SANCT ANDREWES.

God so assisted his weake souldiour, and so blessed his labours, that not onlie these of the castell, but also a great number of the toun, openlie professed the truthe by participation of the Lord's Supper, which was ministred in the same puritie, as after in the yeere 1566, and with the same doctrine. Mr James Balfour was then the cheefe and principall professour that was to be found in the realme; howbeit, after when he was a guider of the court in Queene Marie's time, he alledged that he was never of our religion,

but that he was brought up in Martin's opinion of the Sacrament, and therefore could not communicat with our church. His owne conscience, and two thowsand witnesses beside, did know that he lied; and that he was one of the cheefe (if he had not beene after cops) that would have givin his life for defence of the doctrine that Johne Knox taught, if men might have givin credite to his words. Mr Knox, penning his historie, giveth his judgement of the hous of Monquhanie in this place, after this maner: "Albeit that these who were never of us (as none of Monquhanie's hous have shewed themselves to be) depart from us, it is no great wonder; for it is proper and naturall that the childrein follow the father. Let the godlie beware of that race and progenie, for if in them be either feare of God, or love of vertue, farther than the present commoditie perswadeth, then men of judgement are deceaved."

THE PREESTS AND PRELATS CRIE FOR REMEED.

The preests and bishops, enraged at these proceedings at Sanct Andrewes, ranne now upon the governour, then upon the queene, sometime on the counsell. There might have beene heard complaints and cryes, "What are we doing? Sall we suffer this whole realme to be infected with pernicious doctrine? Fy upon you; fy upon us!" The queene and Monsieur D'Osell (who was then *a secretis mulierum* in the court) comforted them, and willed them to be quiett, for they sould see a remeed ere it was long. And so it proved indeed.

LANGHOLME RAUNDERED TO THE GOVERNOUR.

The English invade the West Borders, and tooke some strenths, wherin they placed garisouns, and layed almost the whole countrie waste. The governour went with an armie to beseige the castell of Langholme. When he had pitched at the water of Megget, the cardinall's freinds required that George Leslie, Erle of Rothesse, who was there present, might be tryed of art and part of the mur-

ther of the cardinall, which was granted, howbeit the time and place were not convenient. But he was acquitt by an assise of erles and lords. From thence they went to Langholme, which was raundered by the English garisoun.

THE FRENCHE NAVIE ARRIVED.

Whill the governour was going to assault other holds, he was advertised, that Leon Stroze, Prior of Capua, was arived with the Frenche navie. The Frenche galeyes appeared in the sight of the castell of Sanct Andrewes upon the 29th of June, twentie-one in number. The governour, the queene, Monsieur D'Osell, and the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, to colour their treasoun which they had plotted before, under the cloke of appointment, presented to these in the castell eight dayes before, an absolutioun, as sent frome Rome, conteaning, after the aggravatioun of the crime, this clause, "*Remittimus irremissibile*;" that is, we remitt the crime that cannot be remitted. It was answered, that the governour and counsell of the realme had promised to them a sure and sufficient absolutioun, which that appeared not to be; that therefore they could not deliver the hous, considering promises were not keeped to them.

THE CASTELL OF SANCT ANDREWES BESEIGED AND RAUNDERED.

The nixt day after that the galeyes arived, the castell was summouned. The defenders refused to raunder, becaus they acknowledged them not for lawfull magistrats in Scotland. They shott two dayes at the castell, threw doun the sklaites of housses, but did no further harme. But they lost manie of their rowers, men chained in the galeyes, and some souldiours both by sea and by land. A galley, which approached neerer than the rest, was so beaten with ordinance, that it was stricken under the water, and had almost drowned, if the rest had not succoured in time, and drawin her to the west sands, without the shott of the castell, and afterwards to Dundie, where they remained till the governour, who was then at

the siege of Langholme, came. The siege by land beganne the 24th of Julie. The trenches were cast, and the ordinance planted upon the Abbey church, and Salvator's Colledge, which so annoyed those within the castell, that neither could they keepe their blockehous, the sea-towre head, nor the west wall, for slaughter of men in these places. They mounted the ordinance so high upon the Abbey church, that they might discover the ground of the court in diverse places. The plague within the castell was more fearefull to the besieged than the force without; but Mr Knox, frome the time that he was called to preache, forewarned them continuallie, that their vitious life could not escape punishment. When they triumphed for anie prosperous chances, which befell the first twentie dayes, he ever said, they saw not what he saw. When they bragged of the strenth and thicknesse of their walls, he said, they sould be but egg shells. When they said, "England will rescue us," he said, "Yee sall not see them, but sall be delivered unto your enemeis hands, and sall be careid to a strange countrie." After some dayes batterie, appointment was made, and the castell raundered upon Saturday, the last of Julie. The heads of the appointment were these: That the lives of all that were within the castell, as weill of the English as of Scots, sould be saved; that they sould be safelie transported to France; that upon the King of France his expenses they sould be safelie conveyed to what countrie they would desire, other than Scotland, in case that upon conditions which sall be offered by the King of France unto them they could not be content to remaine in service, and freedome there. With the governour they would have nothing to doe, nor with anie Scotish man, for they had deserted them—"Which I am assured," said the Laird of Grange, elder, "God sall revenge ere it be long."

THE CAPTIVES HARDLIE INTREATED AGAINST PROMISE.

The galeyes, weill furnished with the spoile of the castell, returned to France, and lay before Rowan, where the principall gentlemen who looked for freedome were dispersed, and committed to

sundrie prisons. The rest were left in the galeyes, and there miserablie intreated, among whome were Mr James Balfour, with his two brethrein, David and Gilbert, men without God. The Papists triumphed. The song of the triumphe was this ryme following:

"Preests, content you now, preests, content you now,
For Norman and his companie hath filled the galeyes fow."

The Pope gave thanks to the King of France and our governour, for the revenge of the slaughter of his kinde creature the cardinall, and desired them to continue in their severitie, least the like thing sould be attempted after. A famous clerk, Mr Johne Hammilton of Milburne, who had neither Frenche, nor Latine, nor good Scotish language, was sent to the King of France and the Cardinall of Lorraine, to desire that the captives sould be sharpelie handled. He was heard with favour, and was dispatched home againe with letters, and great credite; but before the letters were delivered, he brake his necke as he was passing up to Dumbartane, and so God tooke away a proud ignorant enemie.

The galeyes departed frome Rowan to Nance, in Britainie, where they lay all the winter upon the river of Loire. Great paines were takin upon these that were committed to prisons, to have a good opinioun of the masse, but cheefelie upon Norman Leslie, the Laird of Pitmillie, the Laird of Grange, who were in the castell of Scherisburgh, that they would come to the masse with the captane. They answered, the captane had warrant to keepe their bodeis, but no power to command their conscience. The captane replyed, he had power to command and to compell them to goe whether so ever he went. They answered, they would not refuse to goe to anie lawfull place with him; but they would not doe anie thing against their conscience, either for him or the king himself. The captane said, "Will yee not goe to the masse?" They answered, "No; and if yee will compell us, we will displease you farther; for we will so use ourselves, that all that are present sall know we despise it." The same answere, and somewhat sharper, gave Wil-

liam Kirkaldie of Grange, younger, Peter Carmichaell, and others with them who were in Mount Sanct Michael, to their captane. They said, they would not onlie heare masse everie day, but also helpe to say it, providing they might sticke the preests; otherwise, not. Learned men were appointed to travaill with Mr Henrie Balnaves, who was in the castell of Rowan, becaus he was esteemed learned, as he was indeid; but God ever so assisted him, that they departed confounded, and he remained constant. He wrote a comfortable treatise in prisoun, but it is unknowne how it was suppressed.

Those that were in the galeyes were threatned with torments if they would not give reverence to the masse; but the poorest of the companie could not be moved to give reverence to that idol. When they sang their *Salve Regina*, upon a Saturday, at night, the Scotish captives putt on their hoodes, or suche thing as they had wherewith to cover their heads. Soone after their arrivall at Nance, when their great *Salve* was sung, and a glorious painted Ladie was brought to be kissed, and among others was presented to one of the Scotish men then chained, he gentlie said, "Trouble me not: suche an idol is accursed, therefore I will not tuche it." When these who had the cheefe charge of suche maters said, "Thou sall handle it!" and violentlie thrust it on his face, and putt it betwixt his hands, he tooke the idol, and advisedlie looking about him, cast it into the river, and said, "Lett our Ladie now save herself: she is light eneugh; lett her learne to swimme!" After this time, when others were compelled to kisse a painted boord, which they called Nostredame, no Scotish man was urged. Mr James Balfour, who then remained constant, became an officiall after, and putt on the coppe for pleasure of the bishop. The said Mr James, being verie familiar with Mr Knox, would often times aske his judgement, if he thought that ever they sould be delivered. He answered ever frome the day that they first entered, that God would deliver them frome that boundage, yea, even in this life, to his owne glorie. When the galeyes returned to Scotland, and were lying betwixt Dundie and Sanct Andrewes, Johne Knox being

so sicke that few had anie hope of his recoverie, the said Mr James willed him to looke to the land, and asked if he knew it. He answered, "Yes, I know it verie weill, for I see the steeple of that place where God opened my mouth in publick, to his glorie; and am fullie perswaded, how weake so ever that I now appeare, that I sall not depart out of this life, till my tongue glorifie his godlie name in the same place." Mr James reported these words in the presence of manie witnesses, often before Johne Knox his last returne to Scotland.

William Kirkaldie of Grange, younger, Peter Carmichaell, Robert and William Lesleis, craved by letter Johne Knox his counsell, if they might with safe conscience breake their prisoun. He answered, if they might safelie without bloodshed, they might sett themselves at freedome. Further, he assured them, God would deliver them and the rest of their companie, not by the force of freinds, or suche meanes as they relyed upon, but that God would so worke their deliverance, that the praise therof may redound to his glorie. He willed them therefore to embrace the occasioun which God sould offer, providing they used no unlawfull meane for their deliverie. He was the more earnest in giving his counsell, becaus the old Laird of Grange feared, and others also, least that their escaping sould be occasioun of harder interteaning of themselves. He answered, their feare proceeded from a blind love to themselves; and added, that God had delivered the whole companie in the hands of unfaithfull men, at one instant, but so would He not releeve them, nor by the same meanes. His counsell in end was embraced. Upon the king's eve, when Frenche men commounlie use to drinke liberallie, the foresaid foure persons having the helpe of a boy in the hous, bound all that were in the castell, putt them in sindrie housses, locked the doores upon them, tooke the keyes frome the captane, without anie farther harme done to the person of anie man, or tuiching anie thing belonging to the king, the captane, or the hous. Great searche was made through the countrie for them, but they escaped, albeit with great paine and povertie, for the Frenche boy had left them, and takin with

him the little money they had. They wanting money in an unknowne countrie, and fearing the boy sould descrie them, they divided themselves, and changed their apparell. The two brethrein, William and Robert Lesleis, who after became enemeis to Christ and to all vertue, but speciallie Robert, came to Roan. Williame Kirkaldie and Peter Carmichaell came in begger's apparell to Conquet, and by the space of twelve or thirteene weekes travelled as poore mariners frome port to port, till at lenth they gott a Frenche shippe, and landed in the west. Frome thence they came to England, where they mett with Johne Knox, who was delivered that same winter, and Alexander Clerk in his companie.

Johne Knox was appointed first to be preacher to Bervicke, then to Newcastell. At last, he was called to London, and the south part of England, where he remained till the death of King Edward the Sixt. That winter that the galeyes remained in Scotland, Mr James Balfour, his two brothers, David and Gilbert, Johne Auchinfleck, Johne Sibbard, Johne Gray, and Stevin Bell, were delivered. The gentlemen that remained in prisons were, by the procurement of the queene dowager to the King of France and Cardinall of Loraine, sett at libertie in the moneth of Julie, anno 1550, and were soone after called home to Scotland, their peace proclaimed, and themselves restored to their lands, in despite of their enemeis. This was done in hatred of the duke, becaus then France had in a maner the regiment of Scotland in their owne hands. There rested a number of commoun servants yitt in the galeyes, who were all delivered upon the contract of peace concluded betwixt France and England, after the taking of Bulloigne. So the whole companie was sett at libertie, except James Melvill, who departed frome the misereis of this life, in the castell of Brest, in Britainie. Thus God wrought powerfullie in preserving and delivering these who had but slender knowledge of the truthe, and for love of the same hazarded all their estate. Johne Rough, preacher, went to England after the battell at Mussilburgh, or Pinkie, and was not one of the number that were careid away captives.

THE CASTELL OF SANCT ANDREWES RAZED.

After the randering of the castell of Sanct Andrewes all things went with the preests at their owne pleasure. The castell of Sanct Andrewes was razed to the ground, the block-hous cast doun, and the walls round about demolished. Whether this was to fulfill their law, which commandeth places where cardinalls are slaine so to be used, or for feare that England sould have takin it, as after they did Broughtie rocke, we are uncertaine.

PINKIE FEILD.

The same yeere, 1547, in the beginning of September, entered in Scotland an armie sent frome England by land, and some shippes with ordinance were sent by sea. Their armie consisted of seventeene or eighteene thowsand men, as their owne historeis doe beare. The governour, and Johne Hammilton, his bastard brother, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, being advertised, gathered together the forces of Scotland. It is said, that the governour sent out messingers through all the realme, who, careing a fierie crosse in their hands, sould declare as weill to the laitie as to the churche men, that all men above sixteene yeere of age, and under sixtie, sould incontinent repaire, with their armour, to Mussilburgh, which custome was not used but in extreme dangers. The Duke of Somerset, Protectour of England, the Erle of Warwicke, Lord Dacres, Lord Gray, remaining at Preston, and about Preston-panns, with the English armie, directed a letter to the governour, counsell, and nobilitie, wherin was offered, if they would stand to the promise of mariage, made before the death of King Henrie, that they would returne in peace. The commoditie and utilitie that would ensue of this mariage was made evident; yea, they offered to mitigate the former promises, the performance wherof they might justlie challenge, and to be content that the queene remaine in their power till she be able for mariage, and of judgement to choose her owne

husband, with advice of the nobilitie; providing in the meane time the queene be not conveyed to anie strange natioun, nor anie contract of mariage be concluded with the Frenche, or anie forrane prince, and that in the meane time both the nations absteane frome warre. The governour imparted these letters to verie few, but speciallie to the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes. They being puffed up with hope of the victorie, advised him to suppresse the letters, becaus they feared, if the equitie of the conditions was knowne, the most part would inclyne to peace. They procured a false rumour to be spread through the Scotish armie, that the English were come of intentioun to tak away the queene by force, and by force of armes to bring the whole kingdome under subjection. The governour had chosin to himself the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, George Durie, Abbot of Dumfermline, Archibald Beton, and Hugh Rig, a lawyer, to be his counsellers. They puffe up the unconstant governour with assurance of victorie. In the meane time, the governour's freinds having spread the fained tale, ranne to their armour. None were stouter than the preests and channons, with their shaven crownes and blacke jackes.

Upon Fryday, the 7th of September, the Lord Gray, who had the charge of the horsemen, sent furth certane troupes, to encounter with prickers which molested their armie. The Scotish prickers fled; manie were slaine and takin, about the number of eight hundreth, and among the rest the Lord Hume, which was the occasioun that the castell of Hume was after randered to the English. Neither the governour, nor his bastard brother, the bishop, was moved with this losse. Upon Saturday, the two armeis were sett in array, the English armie upon the middle part of Fawside hill; the Scotish armie upon the side of the water of Esk, which runneth by Mussilburgh. At lenth a charge was givin in the governour's name with sound of trumpet, that all men sould marche fordward over the water. Some report this was procured by the Abbot of Dumfermline, and Mr Hugh Rig, for safetie of his hous of Carbarrie. Men of judgement thought it no wisdome to leave their strenth; but being urged with charge after charge, obeyed, but unwillinglie.

The Erle of Angus had the conduct of the avant-guarde. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mernes, and the west countrie, resorted to him, speciallie those that were professors of the Gospell, supposing the English would not persue him hardlie.

The English being skant of victuals would have gladlie departed, but were forced, for feare of pursuite, to await upon the hill. The governour, impatient of delay, sent a charge to the Erle of Angus to sett fordward. The erle, understanding that the English could not stay long in that place for lacke of victuals, would have watched upon their departure, to invade them in their turning. The governour sent to him a new charge to quicken his pace, which he obeyed, and marched over the water of Esk, the middle and rere-ward following a farre. The English, seing the Erle of Angus comming up towards the hill with greater speed than ordinarie marching-pace, sent the Lord Gray with the whole horsemen to hinder them, till the footemen had takin a hill neere hand, or to disorder their rankes if he saw occasioun. But the Erle of Angus his oast standing like a wall, receaved the first assaulters upon the points of their speares, which were longer than the English, so rudelie, that fyftie horse and men of the first ranke were killed at once, without anie harme done to the Scotish armie, except that the speares of the two former rankes were brokin. The nixt ranke of horsemen retired backeward, and affirmed, that the Scotish rankes could no more be brokin through nor a stone wall. The English horsemen were upon the point of fleing, and deserting the footemen, till by the encuragement of their captans they were stayed. Some report that they fled, and some of them past beyond Fawside hill, and that the Lord Gray himself was hurt in the mouth. The ordinance frome the galeyes annoyed the Scotish armie. The Scots, to eschew Jambo the Spaniard, captane of two hundreth hacquebutters on horse backe, who was comming doun the side of the hill, least they sould be circumveened, or divided and disordered, changed the course of their marche, not marching up the hill directlie, but turned a little, partlie to eschew the shotts frome the galeyes, partlie that they sould not be circumveened. They looked long, that either

Huntlie, who had the rere-guarde, or the governour, with Argile and the rest of his companie, sould have encountered the next battell; but they decreed that the favourers of England, and hereticks, as the preests called them, sould part the staikes betwixt them and the English that day. The middle-warde, supposing that the avant-guarde, which was turning a little, was fleing, gave backe and fled. The English, beholding frome the hight of the hill, sent their horsemen to persue. The chase and slaughter lasted till neere Edinburgh upon the one part, and toward Dalkeith upon the other. The number of the slaine upon the Scotish side was judged neere ten thowsand men. Manie preests and monkes were slaine, who were the cheefe instruments of rejecting the honest offers of peace; and, as was supposed, if the Scots had gottin the victorie, had, with the assistance of their factioun, beene more cruell to their owne countriemen than were the English.

There were slaine at this battell the Master of Areskine, the Master of Grahame, the Master of Livingstone, the Master of Ogilvie, the Master of Rosse, the Lord Fleming, Lochinvar, Wedderburne, and manie others. The queene made great lamentatioun for the death of the Master of Areskine, and bare it in her minde manie dayes. The Erle of Huntlie and Lord Yester were takin in the feild. The Erle of Huntlie was caried to Londoun, but he releeved himself with policie, as the bruite went. The governour went with the residue of his armie to Stirline, to the two queens. Holinshed reporteth, that among other banners was found a banner of white sarcinet, wherupon was painted a woman with her haire about her shoulders, kneeling before a crucifixe, and on her right hand a church; after that, writtin, in great Romane letters, "*Afflictæ sponsæ ne obliviscaris.*" Whether it was the Abbot of Dumfermlin's, or the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes', it is uncertane; but she was fashiouned like a cursed queane, that would plucke her husband by the pate, except she had her will, rather than like a meeke spous, that went about by humble submissioun to crave her husband's helpe for redresse of things amisse. This battell was fought upon Saturday the eight, or, as Buchanan writteth, the tenth of

September, which day was after called Blacke Saturday, and the feild, Pinkie Feild.

THE SORROW AT COURT.

When the certanetie of the overthrow came to the queene, she posted with expedition out of Edinburgh, that same night, to Stirline, with Monsieur D'Osell, who was as feared as a foxe when his hole is smooking. The governour and his brother were greatlie dejected, becaus through their default the calamitie of that day had befallin. The queene, in utter[1] shew seemed to be sorrowfull; but by those who were familiar with her, she was perceaved to be weill content that the pride of the Hammiltons was abated, for ever since the death of the cardinall was she aspyring to the governement.

THE ENGLISH BUILD FORTS.

The English armie came to Leith, and there tooke order with the prisoners and spoile. They placed garisons in Inchecolme, Inchekeith, Hume castell, Lauder, and Broughtiecraig, which greatlie annoyed Dundie. They built a fort within the ruinous walls of the castell of old Roxburgh.

THE ERLE OF LENNOX INVADETH THE WEST BORDERS.

Whill the battell was fought at Pinkie, Matthew Erle of Lennox, and Thomas Lord Wharton, Warden of the West Marches of England, invaded the West Borders with a power of five thowsand foote men, and eight hundreth light horsemen, to deteane them frome the maine battell. Manie of the Scots submitted themselves to the English.

AMBASSADERS SENT TO FRANCE FOR AIDE.

The queene, and Monsieur D'Osell, lieger ambassader for the

[1] Outward.

Frenche king, desirous to have all things ordered by advice of the Frenche king, undertooke to procure an armie out of France, if there were anie hope that the queene might be sent to France, and be bestowed upon the Doulphine. It was concluded in a conventioun, that the queene sould be keeped in Dumbartane, till the estates advised throughlie anent the state of the countrie. The Lord Areskine and the Lord Livingstone were appointed to attend her. The first was of the queene dowager's factioun, the other a favourer of the Hammiltons. Ambassaders were sent to King Henrie, successour to King Francis, to crave aide against their commoun enemie. They putt him in hope that the queene was to be sent to France, to be bestowed in mariage upon the Doulphine. The Frenche king accepteth of the ambassadge, and prepareth a navie against the nixt sommer. In the meane time the English invadeth both the East and West Borders.

THE ERLE OF LENNOX PERSUETH DUMLANRIG.

The Erle of Lennox came to Dumfreis about the 12th of December. His father-in-law, the Erle of Angus, and the Erle of Glencarne, had promised to him assistance, two thowsand horsemen, beside companeis of foote men, if he would leave the English and come to them. But at the time appointed, he found skarse three hundreth, and these for the most part border theeves. The erle suspected that they meant to entrappe him, and to deliver him to the queene dowager and the governour, and the rather, becaus Johne, Master of Maxwell, had randered sundrie pledges to the English. He deteaneth the Erle of Glencarne, Maxwell, and others who were dealing for a transactioun, and sent six hundreth horsemen, part English, part Scots, about midnight, toward Dumlanrig. When they came neere, they forraged, killed, and burnt, that by this meanes they might provoke Dumlanrig to come furth. But he fearing a traine, keeped within till day, and encountered with them. When the other companie had fled over the water of Neth, to have gottin time and place to gather together themselves, they

returne, kill, and take at the foordes manie of his companie. The terrour of this overthrow moved manie of Galloway to raunder themselves to the English.

THE GOVERNOUR LAYETH SIEGE TO BROUGHTIE.

The governour, least he sould seeme to be altogether idle whill the countrie was thus disquietted, layed siege to the castell of Broughtie, and after three moneths was forced to raise the siege. At it was slaine Gawin, the best of the Hammiltons. James Halyburton was left with an hundreth horsemen, to defend the countrie frome the oppressioun of the English, and to withhold victuall frome them. Mr Knox writteth, that the governour left the ordinance; and that the English, encouraged with his departure, beganne to fortifie upon the hill above Broughtie House, which was called the Fort of Broughtie, and was verie noysome to Dundie, which they burnt, and layed waste. And so did they the most part of Angus, which was not assured and under freindship with them.

THE MARTYRDOME OF JOHNE ROUGH.

Johne Rough, after the death of the cardinall, was appointed to abide at Sanct Andrewes, and there had assigned unto him a yeerelie pensioun of twentie pund, by King Henrie the Eight. But at last, weighing with himself his owne danger, and hearing of the freedome of the Gospell within England, stayed not long there. Therefore soone after Pinkie feild, he came first to Carlill, and frome thence to the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protectour of England, and had appointed to him, out of the king's treasurie, twentie punds of yeerelie stipend, and was sent as preacher to serve at Carlill, Berwicke, and Newcastell, frome whence, after he had takin a countrie woman of his to wife, he was called by the Archbishop of Yorke that then was, unto a benefice nigh in the toun of Hull, where he continued till the death of King Edward the Sixt. In the

beginning of Queene Marie's reigne, perceaving that persecutioun would arise upon the alteratioun of religioun, and finding his owne weaknesse, he fled with his wife to Frizeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring for his living in knitting of capps, hose, and suche like things, till about the end of the moneth of October, in the yeere 1557. At which time, laiking yarne, and other such necesarie provisioun for the maintenance of his occupatioun, he came over againe to England, to provide for the same, and arrived at Londoun, the 10th of November, where, hearing of the secreet societie, and holie congregatioun of God's childrein there assembled, he joyned himself to them, and afterward being elected their minister and preacher, did continue teaching, and confirming them in the truthe. But in the end, upon the 12th of December, he, with Cuthbert Simsone and others, through the traiterous suggestioun of a dissembling brother, called Rodger Sergeant, a taylour, was apprehended by the vice-chamberlane of the queen's hous, at the Saraceen's Head, in Islington, where the congregatioun had then purposed to assemble themselves to their accustomable exercise of prayer, and hearing of the Word, which, for safeguarde of all the rest, they covered and excused at their examinatiouns, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place.[1]

The vice-chamberlane, after he had apprehended them, carieth Johne Rough and Cuthbert Simsone to the counsell, who charged them with assembling together, to celebrate the communioun, or Supper of the Lord. After sundrie examinatiouns and answeres, they sent Johne Rough to Newgate. They sent his examinations to Bonner, Bishop of London, with a letter signed with their hands, signifeing that the queen's highnesse had willed them to remitt him to his lordship, to the end that, being called before him out of prisoun, as oft as he sould thinke good, he might proceed to his further examinatioun, and otherwise ordering of him, according to the lawes, as the case sall require. Bloodie Bonner, now minded

[1] The yard of an inn was a usual place for the acting of plays. The drama at this time was of a religious character, consisting chiefly of the Miracle and Morality plays, but especially the latter, by which the Reformation was materially advanced among the common people.

to make quicke dispatche, did, within three dayes after the recept of the letter, that is, the 18th day of December 1557, send for him out of Newgate, and ministred unto him some articles, wherunto he answered. The articles and answeres are extant in the Book of Martyrs. Upon his answeres he was dismissed, and the next day brought againe before the said bishop and others, who, when they perceaved his constancie, determined to bring him the nixt day openlie to the consistorie, there to adjudge and condemne him as an heretick, which they accomplished; for, upon the 20th day, at after noone, in the presence of the Bishops of Londoun and Sanct David's, with Feecknam, Abbot of Westminster, and others, he was there produced. After muche and manie faire perswasions, Bonner read unto him the articles and his answeres, in which they charged him to have receaved the Orders of the church, and therefore might not marie, and that he refused to consent to the Latine service then used in the church. He answered, their Orders were nothing at all; that he, being a preest, might lawfullie marie; that his childrein, which he had by his wife, were lawfull; and tuiching the service then used, he utterlie deteasted it, saying, that if he sould leeve als long as did Methusalem, he would never come to the church to heare the abominable masse, and other service, as it was then. Upon which words the bishop proceeded to the actual degradatioun of Johne Rough, exempting him from all the benefites and priviledges of their church; and after condemning him as an heretick, committed his bodie to the secular power, who, taking him in their charge and custodie, careid him unto Newgate, and was after burnt.

Doctor Watsone, now Bishop of Lincolne, whose life he had saved, when he was in danger, for a sermon he had made in the north, in the dayes of King Edward the Sixt, being with Bonner, at his examinatioun, detected him there to be a pernicious heretick, who did more hurt in the north parts than a hundreth besides of his opinioun. To whome Mr Rough said, "Why, sir, is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the dayes of King Edward the Sixt?" Farther, he said,

he had lived threttie yeeres, and yitt never had bowed his knee to Baal. He affirmed before Bonner, that he had beene twise at Rome, and there had seene plainlie with his eyes, which he had manie times heard of before, namelie, that the Pope was the verie Antichrist; for there he saw him careid on men's shoulders, and the false-named Sacrament borne before him, yitt more reverence givin to him, than to that which they compted to be their God. When Bonner heard this, and making as though he would have torne his garments, "Hath thou," said he, "beene at Rome, and seene our holie Father, the Pope, and doth thou blaspheme him after this sort?"—and with that fleing upon him, he plucked off a peece of his beard; and after making speedie haste to his death, he burnt him halfe an houre before six of the clocke in the morning, becaus the day, belike, sould not be farre spent, before he had done a mischeevous deid. It is to be noted, that this Mr Rough being at the burning of Austoo, in Smithfeild, and returning homeward againe, mett with one Mr Farrar, a merchant of Halifaxe, who asked him where he had beene? He answered, "I have beene where I would not for one of myne eyes but I had beene." "Where have yee beene?" said Mr Farrar. "Forsooth," said he, "to learne the way;" and so he told him he had beene at the burning of Austoo, where shortlie after he was burnt himself. This muche out of Mr Foxe. Who is desirous to reade his answeres to the articles, and his letters full of comfort and curage, or farther of his acts, lett him reade his martyrdome, and the martyrdome of Margaret Mearing, who was burnt with him in Smithfeild, upon Wednesday, the 22d day of December.

M.D.XLVIII.

THE ERLE OF LENNOX INVADETH THE WEST BORDERS AGAIN.

About the end of Februar, the Erle of Lennox and the Lord Wharton entered by the West Borders, sett the touns of Morton, Disdeir, and others on fire, to draw the Erle of Angus to the feild, who was then come by Dumlanrig. But the assured Scots deserted

the Erle of Lennox, so that he hardlie escaped. Wherefore, after his returne to Carlill, some of the pledges, speciallie one of the Master of Maxwell's kinsmen, of the hous of Hareis, were executed by directioun frome the English counsell.

HADDINTON FORTIFEID BY THE ENGLISH.

The Lord Gray, Lieutenant of the north parts, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Thomas Holcroft, were appointed to fortifie Hadinton with trenches, rampeirs, and bulwarkes. The fortificatioun was begunne about the 18th of Aprile, and continued till June. In the meane time, the castell of Yester was wonne, Dalkeith and Mussilburgh burnt.

THE ARIVAL OF THE FRENCHE FLEET.

The Frenche navie arived in the raid of Leith, about the middest of June, others say about the middest of May, consisting of twentie-two galeyes, and sixtie shippes. The cheefe leaders of the fleete were Monsieur Desse, Lieutenant-Generall, Monsieur Dandelot, colonell of two thowsand Frenche foote men, the Count Raingrave, colonell of three thowsand Almaines, Monsieur Ætanges, captan of a thowsand horse men, Petro Strozze, colonell of the Italians, Sir Nicolas de Villegaignon, Knight of the Rhodes, captan of the galeyes. As soone as they rigged furth frome Brest, in Britainie, the Reid Lyon of Scotland was displayed, the captans and their souldiours holdin as rebels to the King of France; for peace was then standing betwixt France and England. The King of France would seeme to approve nothing that they did. Suche policie is no falsehood among princes! The King of France had sent Monsieur de la Chappell de Biron with some small forces before, till the greater armie was sent.

HADINTON BESEIGED.

The governour went with the Frenche power, and other assist-

ance of the countrie, to the number of eight thowsand horse, to besiege Hadinton. Sundrie breaches were made, so that it was easie for them to enter in, and the English within were greatlie distressed in the meane time. They pretended, they would not hazard the losse of so manie men as might be slaine by the assault; but it was another thing that was intended, as the event declared.

CONCLUDED THAT THE QUEENE BE TRANSPORTED TO FRANCE.

There was holdin a conventioun, or forme of a parliament, at this time in the abbey, within the toun of Hadinton, where the campe lay. The principall head of their consultatioun was tuiching the transporting of our queene to France, and her mariage to the Daulphine. Some alledged the mariage would draw on perpetuall warre with the English, and boundage under the Frenche; others, that the conditions offered by the English were reasonable, in that they neither urged a present contract of mariage, which had beene concluded before, nor would make anie invasions for the space of tenne yeere, at which time the queene, comming to ripe yeeres, sould be free to marie whome she pleased. A thrid sort inclyned to the English for religion's sake. But the Popish and Frenche factioun praileth, for manie of the nobilitie were corrupted with bribes, or seduced with promises. Some condescended for feare. To the governour was promised the Dutchie of Chattelerault, with twelve thowsand franks of yeerelie revenue, and the commandement of twelve hundreth men of armes. He, Huntlie, Argile, and Angus, were made Knights of the Cockill.[1] The Laird of Balcleuche, a bloodie man, swore by manie "God's wounds," that they who would not consent would doe worse. The Frenche souldiours were officers of armes at this parliament.

[1] The Order of St Michael. It was sometimes called the Order of the Cockle, on account of the cockle-shells with which the collar was adorned.

THE QUEENE TRANSPORTED TO FRANCE.

Villegaignon departing frome Leith, and making shew that he was to returne to France, when he had past the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course, and compassed the West Iles, till he came to Dumbartane, where the young queene was staying for his comming. The English had a strong navie keeping the narrow seas. She is delivered to Monsieur de Brizze, and receaved in the king's galey. The Lords Areskine, Livingston, with certane ladeis and gentleweomen, were sent with her. They arived at Brest, in Britainie, not without danger of storme and tempest. But she was preserved by Divine Providence for another end, to punishe the countrie for their ingratitude. The Cardinall of Lorane gott her in keeping—a morsell meete for his owne mouth!

THE SITTING DOUN OF THE SHIP CALLED THE CARDINALL.

Manie other things occurred at this time, which we omitt. But the sitting doun of the shippe called the Cardinall, the fairest shippe in France, betwixt Sanct Colme's Inche and Cramund, in a faire day, and calme weather, is remarkable. God would lett us see, that the countrie of Scotland can beare no cardinalls!

THE ENGLISH STOPPED FROME LANDING.

Whill the siege indured at Hadinton, the castells of Hume and Fascastell were recovered. The English fleets went about to land their souldiours at Sanct Minnans, in Fife, but the queen's brother, James Stewart, encountered them with speed, and compelled them to retire, after they had landed about twelve hundreth. Three hundreth were slaine, an hundreth takin, manie drowned. They thought to have surprised Monrose; but by the vigilance of Johne Areskine, Laird of Dun, Proveist of the toun, their interprise was

perceaved and prevented, and they driven backe to the shippes, with the losse of some men.

A NEW SUPPLIE SENT BY THE ENGLISH TO HADINTON.

The Lord Gray sent Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer to Hadinton, with a supplie of a thowsand foote men, and three hundreth horse men. But they were intercepted by the way, and almost all slaine by the Scotish and Frenche horse men. Yitt at another, by the craft of an English man, takin prisoner, who had deluded Monsieur Desse, three hundreth English came another way to Hadinton than he expected.

When Monsieur Desse heard that the Erle of Shrewsburie was to come, with a great armie, to raise the siege, he removed the campe somewhat farther frome the toun, and sent backe the great artillerie to Edinburgh, reserving onlie six feild peeces. When he was advertised that the English armie was comming fordward, he retired with the armie to Edinburgh.

THE PROVEIST OF EDINBURGH SLAINE BY THE FRENCHE.

When the Frenche returned frome Hadinton to Edinburgh, the Proveist of Edinburgh, his sonne, and some citicens, were slaine, becaus they preassed to stoppe them frome entrie with their whole forces, for they knew they could hardlie be restrained frome rapine. Others report after this maner. A certane Frenche man delivered a culvering to George Tod, to be stocked. When he was careing it through the streets, another French man claimed it, and would have takin it by force frome him. Parteis assembled. Two Frenche men were strickin doun, and the rest chassed frome the Croce to Niddreis Winde-head. The Proveist being in the streets, apprehended two of the Frenche men, and was leading them to the Tolbuith, but sixtie Frenche men issued furth of Desse's loodging, with drawin swords, to rescue them.

The citicens drave them to the Neather Bow. There, La Chappell de Biron, with the whole band of the Frenche, encountereth the Proveist, and drave them backe violentlie, for the toun was without weapons for the most part. In the strait of the Bow were slain, at the Proveist's backe, David Kirk and David Barber; and after the Laird of Stennoes, Proveist of the toun, and Captain of the castell, James Hammiltoun, his sonne, Williame Chapman, Mr Williame Stewart, William Purves, and a woman named Elizabeth Stewart. They stayed in the toun frome five of the clocke till seven at night, and then retired to the Cannogate.

A NEW ASSAULT UPON HADDINTON.

The governour, nobilitie, and toun of Edinburgh, being commoved at this bold attempt, craved justice to be ministered upon the malefactors, or elles threatened to execute justice upon the whole. The queene, craftie enough, Monsieur Desse, and Monsieur D'Osell, laboured for pacification, and promised, that unlesse the Frenche men by themselves alone did suche an act as might recompense the wrong they had done, they sould be content to underly the rigour of justice. These faire words pleased our fooles, and so the Frenche bands were directed the nixt night to Hadinton. Monsieur Desse, partlie to pacifie the people, partlie supposing to surprise the enemie unawares, went to Hadinton in the night with his bands, and approached about breake of day. They were never espied till the foremost were within the base court, and the whole companie in the churchyard, not two butt lenths distant frome the toun.[1] The English were all on sleep, except the watche. The shoutt riseth, "Bowes and bills! bowes and bills!" They arise, and tak everie man the first weapon that come to his hand. One fired a great cannon at the easter-gate. There were slaine moe than an hundreth Frenche at two shotts. The Frenche returned to Edinburgh with-

[1] A common butt's distance was eleven score yards, under which every Englishman, above the age of twenty-four, was prohibited to shoot at any standing mark, in the public trials of archery.

out anie farther harme done, except the drinking of the beare which lay in the chappell and church. This was satisfaction more than eneugh for the slaughter of the Proveist and citicens. Others say, that Tiberio, captan of the Italians, gave fire to the double cannon that lay readie bent against the gate, which made the Frenche to give place, so that those which were behind, not understanding what losse their fellowes before had susteaned, brake their array and fled. The English past through a privie posterne to the base court, and comming upon them with their halberts and blacke bills, slue a great number of them, and drove the rest that escaped over the wall. Happie was he that could tumble over first! The Frenche careid away with them sixteen carts and waggons loadened with hurt persons and dead carcases, beside three hundreth that were found in the base court, which they could not come to after they were beaten out, to tak away with them.

After this rashe assault, the Frenche were sent to Tiviotdaill, to prevent the English. At this time the hous of Phairnihirst was wonne by the Frenche men, and sundrie incursions made in England, sometimes by Desse, and sometimes by La Chappell de Biron.

M.D.XLIX.

DESSE RECOVERETH INCHEKEITH.

The Frenche king, being advertised by letters directed frome the queene dowager and the governour, that Monsieur Desse was more burthensome to the people by lacke of discipline among his souldiours, than hurtfull to the enemie, sent Monsieur de Therms, with an hundreth men of armes, two hundreth light horsemen, and a thowsand footemen. Before his arrivall, Desse determined to recover his credite, with some worthie exploit. The queene had drawin to Leithhaven all the boats that were upon the Forth, and came upon Thursday after Trinitie Sunday, 1549, to Leith, in the morning by breake of day, to see the men of warre embarked. Monsieur Desse choosed a companie of Frenche and Scots, and assaulted Inchekeith, fortifeid by the English, and possessed by them

sixteene dayes before, which he recovered, but not without losse. He returned soone after to France, and Monsieur de Therms succeeded Lieutenant-Generall of the Frenche companeis in Scotland.

HADINTON BURNT BY THE ENGLISH.

Monsieur Therms recovered the castell of Broughtie-craig, and another fort beside, frome the English. Therafter he returned to Lothiane, to withhold victualls and succour from Hadinton. Julianus Romerus, with a band of Spaniards, was surprised, and his whole companie almost slaine. The English garrison lying at Hadinton, considering what difficultie there was to gett victuall, and that their king was troubled with insurrections at home, and with Frenche warres abroad, (for the Frenche were assailing Bulloigneberg,) burnt the toun of Hadinton, and departed, the first of October 1549, leaving the toun to be occupied by those that first would tak possession; and those were the Frenche men, with some few ancient inhabitants. So did God performe the threatnings of Mr George Wishart, who said, that for contempt of God's messenger, they sould be visited with sword, fire, pestilence, strangers, and famine, all which they found in great measure.

M.D.L.

THE GOVERNOUR'S MISGOVERNEMENT.

The first of Aprile 1550, the peace concluded betweene the English and the Frenche was proclaimed in Scotland, and the Frenche returned to France in the May following. Yitt the countrie was no lesse vexed with the avarice and cruelty of the governour, and his bastard brother, the bishop, than if it had beene vexed with warre. The bastard, the bishop, a licentious man, spaired neither wives nor virgins. William Crichton, Lord Sanquhar, was slaine almost within the governour's owne sight, by Robert Sempill; but he escaped by meanes of his daughter, the Ladie Stennoes, commonlie called Ladie Gilton, the bishop's concubine, neither faire nor weill favoured.

THE LAIRD OF RAITH BEHEADED.

Johne Melvill, Laird of Raith, in Fife, an aged man, and of great accompt with King James the Fyft, was beheaded for writting a letter to an Englishman, in favour of a captive, his freind, with whome he was keeped as prisoner. Although there was not the least suspicioun of anie fault, yitt lost he his head, becaus he was knowne to be one that unfainedlie favoured the truthe, and was a great freind to these that were in the castell of Sanct Andrewes. The letter, as was alledged, was found in the hous of Ormiston. Manie suspected the prankes of Ninian Cockburne, after called Captane Niniane, to whome the said letter was delivered. Howsoever it was, the cruell beasts, the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes and the Abbot of Dumfermline, ceased not till his head was strickin frome him. They were not content of his death, till he was forfaulted also, and his patrimonie bestowed upon David Hammiltoun, the governour's youngest sonne.

THE MARTYRDOME OF ADAM WALLACE.

Scotland was at peace with all the world, yitt would the bishops make warre against God; for, as soone as they gott opportunitie and leasure, they apprehended a simple man, but zealous and upright, called Adam Wallace, alias Feane. He, with his wife, Beatrix Livingston, frequented the companie of the Ladie Ormiston, for instruction of her childrein, during the absence of her husband, who was then banished. The bastard Bishop of Sanct Andrewes tooke him out of the place of Winton. After certaine dayes, he was presented to judgement in the church of the Blacke Friars, in Edinburgh. The forme and maner of their proceeding against him we find in the Booke of Martyrs, as followes:—

"There was sett upon a scaffold, made hard to the chancellarie wall of the Black Friers' church, in Edinburgh, on seates made therupon, the lord governour; above him, at his backe, satt Mr

Gawin Hammiltoun, Deane of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor therof. Upon a seate on his right hand satt the Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes; at his backe, and aside somwhat, stood the officiall, Lowthiane.[1] Nixt to the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, the Bishop of Dumblane, the Bishop of Murrey, the Abbot of Dumfermline, the Abbot of Glenluce, with other churchemen of lower estimatioun, as the officiall of Sanct Andrewes, and other doctors of that nest and citie; and at the other end of the seate satt Mr Ochiltrie. On his left hand satt the Erle of Argile, Justice, with his deputie, Sir Johne Campbell of Lundie, under his feete. Nixt him, the Erle of Huntlie; then the Erle of Angus, the Bishop of Galloway, the Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, the Bishop of Orknay, the Lord Forbesse, Deane Johne Wynrame, Sub-priour of Sanct Andrewes; and behind the seates stood the whole Senate, the Clerk of the Register, &c. At the farther end of the chancellaric wall, in the pulpit, was placed Mr Johne Lawder, Parsoun of Marbottle, accuser, cled in a surplice, and a reid hood, and a great congregatioun of the whole people in the bodie of the church standing on the ground. After that, Sir Johne Ker, Prebendarie of Sanct Giles' church, was accused, convicted, and condemned for the false making, and giving furth of a sentence of divorce, and thereby falslie divorced and parted a man and his lawfull wife, in the name of the Deane of Restalrig, and certan other judges appointed by the Holie Father, the Pope. He granted the falshood, and that never anie suche thing was done indeid, nor yitt meant, nor moved by the forsaid judges, and was agreed to be banished the realmes of Scotland and England, for his lyftyme, and to lose his right hand if he were found and apprehended therin heerafter; and, in the meane time, to leave his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant. After that was brought in Adame Wallace, a simple, poore man in appearance, conveyed by Johne of Curnocke, servant to the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, and sett in the middest of the scaffold, who was commanded to looke to the accuser, who asked

[1] It is probable that this person was the "Official of Lothian." See p. 265.

him what was his name? He answered, Adam Wallace. The accuser said, he had another name, which he granted, and was commounlie called Feane. Then asked he where he was borne? 'Within two myle of Fayle,' said he, 'in Kyle.' Then said the accuser, 'I repent that suche a poore man as you sould putt these noble lords to so great incumbrance, this day, by your vaine speaking.' 'And I must speake,' said he, 'as God giveth me grace; and I beleeve I have said no evill, to hurt anie bodie.' 'Would God,' said the accuser, 'you had never spokin! But you are brought furth for so horrible crimes of heresie as never were imagined in this countrie before, and sall be sufficientlie proved, that yee cannot deny it; and I forethinke, that it sould be heard, for hurting of weak consciences. Now, I will yea thee no more, and thou sall heare the points that thou art accused of.'

First Article.

"'Adam Wallace, alias Feane, thou art openlie delated and accused, for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemeis and abominable hereseis underwrittin: In the first, thou hath said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecratioun, are not the bodie and blood of Jesus Christ.' He turned to the lord governour, and lords aforsaid, saying, 'I said never, and taught nothing but that I found in this booke and writt, (having there a Bible at his belt in Frenche, Dutche, and English,) which is the Word of God. And if you will be content, that the Lord God and his Word be judge to me, and this holie writt, heere it is; and where I have said wrong, I will take that punishment you will putt to me, for I never said nothing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writt.' 'What did thou say?' said the accuser. 'I said,' quoth he, 'that after our Lord Jesus had eate the Paschall lambe, in his latter supper, with his Apostles, and fulfilled the ceremoneis of the Old Law, he institute a new sacrament, in remembrance of his death then to come. He tooke bread; he blessed and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Take yee, eate yee; this is my bodie, which sall

be brokin, and givin for you :' and likewise the cuppe ; blessed, and baad them drinke all therof, for that was the cuppe of the New Testament, which sould be shed for the forgiving of manie : how oft yee doe this, doe it in my remembrance,' Matt. xxvi. Then said the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, with the officiall of Lothiane and the Deane of Glasgow, and manie other prelats, 'We know this weill eneugh.' The Erle of Huntlie said, 'Thou answereth not to that which is layed to thee : say either, Nay or Yea.' He answered, 'If yee will admit God, and his Word spokin by the mouth of his blessed Sonne, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, yee will admitt that I have said ; for I have said and taught nothing but that the Word, which is the tryer and tuichestone, sayeth, which ought to be the Judge to me, and to all the world.' 'Why,' quoth the Erle of Huntlie, 'hath thou not a judge good eneugh ; and trowest thou that wee know not God and his Word? Answere to that is spokin to thee :' and then they made the accuser speeke the same thing over againe. 'Thou said,' quoth the accuser, 'and hath taught, that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the bodie and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.' He answered, 'I said never more than the writt sayeth, nor yitt more than I have said before ; for I know weill by Sanct Paul, when he sayeth, 'Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh this cuppe, unworthilie, receaveth to himself damnation.' And, therefore, when I taught, (which was but seldome, and to them onlie which required and desired me,) I said, if the sacrament of the altar were truelie ministred and used, as the Sonne of the living God did institute it, where that was done there was God himself, by his divine power, by which he is over all.' The Bishop of Orknay asked him, 'Beleevest thou not,' said he, 'that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecratioun, is the verie bodie of God, flesh, blood, and bone?' He answered, 'I wote not what that word *consecratioun* meaneth ; I have not muche Latine : but I beleeve that the Sonne of God was conceaved of the Holie Ghost, and borne of the Virgin Marie, and hath a naturall bodie, with hands, feete, and

other members; and in the same bodie he walked up and doun in the world, preached, and taught; he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucifeid, deid, and bureid; and that by his godlie power he raised the same bodie the thrid day again, and the same bodie ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which sall come to judge both the quicke and the dead. And that this bodie is a naturall bodie, with hands and feete, and cannot be in two places, he sheweth weill himself; for the which, everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this mater cleare. When the woman brake that oyntment to him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged therat, he said, 'The poore yee sall have alwayes with you, but me yee sall not have alwayes,' Matt. xxvi., meaning of his naturall bodie. And likewise at his ascensioun, said he to the same disciples, that were fleshlie, and would ever had him remaining with them corporallie, 'It is needfull for you that I passe away; for if I passe not away, the Comforter, the Holie Ghost, sall not come unto you;' (meaning, that his naturall bodie behoved to be takin from them;) 'but be stout, and bee of good cheare, for I am with you, even unto the world's end,' Johne xvi. And that the eating of his flesh profiteth not, may be weill knowne by his words, which he spake in the 6th of Johne, where, after that he had said, 'Except yee eate my fleshe, and drinke my blood, ye sall not have life in you;' they, murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their grosse and fleshlie mistaking of his words, and said, 'What will ye thinke, when ye see the Sonne of Man descend to the place that he came frome?' It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the fleshe profiteth nothing to be eaten, as they tooke it, and even so take yee it.' 'It is an horrible heresie!' said the Bishop of Orknay, when he beganne to speeke again, and baad the lord governour judge if he had right by the writt. The accuser cried, '*Ad secundam*;' '*Nunc ad secundam*,' answered the Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes.

Second Article.

"Then was he biddin to heare the accuser, who proponned the secund article, and said, 'Thou said likewise, and openlie did

teache, that the masse is verie idolatrie, and abominable in the sight of God.'

Answere.

"He answered and said, 'I have read the Bible and Word of God in three tongues, and have understand them so farre as God gave me the grace, and yitt never read I that word *masse* in it all. But I found,' said he, 'that the thing that was highest, and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the Word of God, was idolatrie, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say, the masse is holdin great in estimation, and mightie amongst men, and is not founded in the Word. Therefore, I said it was idolatrie, and abominable in the sight of God. But if anie man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by the Word of God, I will graunt myne errour, and that I have failed; otherwise not. And, in that case, I will submitt myself to all lawfull correctioun and punishement.' '*Ad tertiam*,' said the archbishop.

Third Article.

"Then said the accuser, 'Thou hath said, and openlie taught, that the God which we worship is but bread, sowen of corne, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing elles.'

Answere.

"He answered, 'I worship the Father, Sonne, and Holie Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therin, of nought. But I know not which God you worship, and if yee will shew me whome yee worship, I sall shew you what he is, as I can, by my judgement.' 'Beleevest thou not,' said the accuser, 'that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecratioun, betwixt the preest's hands, is the verie bodie and blood of the Sonne of God, and God himself?' 'What the bodie of God is,' said he, 'and what kinde of bodie he hath, I shewed you, so farre as I have found in Scripture.' Then said the accuser, 'Thou hath preached, said, and

openlie taught diverse and sundrie other great errors, and abominable hereseis against the seven sacraments, which, for shortnesse of time, I pretermitt and overpasse. Whether doth thou graunt thy foresaid articles that thou art accused of, or no, and thou sall heare them shortlie?' And then reported the accuser the three articles aforesaid, shortlie over, and asked him whether he graunted or denied them? He answered, that before he had said of his answeres, and that he said nothing but agreing to the holie Word, as he understood, so God judge him, and his owne conscience accuse him; and thereby would he abide untill the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrarie proved, even to the deathe; and said to the lord governour and the other lords, 'If you condemne me for holding by God's Word, my innocent blood sall be required at your hands, when yee sall be brought before the judgement seate of Christ, who is mightie to defend my innocent cause, before whome yee sall not deny it, nor yitt be able to resist his wrathe; to whome I referre the vengeance, as it is writtin, 'Vengeance is myne, and I will reward,'" Heb. x.

Then gave they furth sentence, and condemned him by the lawes, and so left him to the seculare power, in the hands of Sir Johne Campbell, Justice-deputie, who delivered him to the Proveist of Edinburgh, to be burnt on the Castell-hill; who incontinent made him to be putt in the uppermost hous in the toun, with yrons about his legges and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keepe the key of the said hous; an ignorant minister, and impe of Satan and of the bishops, who, by directioun, sent to the poore man two Gray friers, to instruct him, with whome he would enter into no commouning. Soone after that were sent in two Blacke friers; an English frier, and another subtile sophister called Abercromy, with the which English frier he would have reasoned, and declared his faith by the Scriptures; who answered, he had no commission to enter in disputatioun with him; and so departed, and left him. Then was sent unto him a worldlie wise man, and not ungodlie in understanding of the truthe, the Deane of Restalrig, who gave him Christian consolatioun, among the which he exhorted

him to beleeve the realitie of the sacrament after the consecration But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the Scripture; and so past over that night in singing and lauding God, to the teares of diverse hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without booke, to his consolatioun; for before, they had spoiled him of his Bible, which alwayes, till after he was condemned, was with him where ever he went. After that Sir Hugh knew that he had certane bookes to reade and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and tooke the same frome him, leaving him desolate to his power of all consolation; and gave diverse ungodlie and injurious provocatioums, by his devilish venome to have perverted him, a poore innocent, frome the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainlie appeared to the hearers and seers for the time. So all the next morning abode this poore man in yrons, and provisioun was commanded to be made for his burning against the nixt day; which day, the lord governour, and all the principall, both spirituall and temporall lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other bussinesse. After they were departed, came the Deane of Restalrig to him again, and reasouned with him after his witt; who answered as before, he would say nothing concerning his faith but as the Scripture testifeith; yea, though an angell come frome heaven to perswade him to the same, saving that he confessed himself to have receaved good consolatioun of the said deane in other behalfes, as becometh a Christian. Then after come in the said Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar divells to come furth of him ere even. To whome he answered, "You sould be a godlie man, to give me rather consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your tentatiouns, which I thanke him he hath made me able to do. Therefore, I pray you, lett me alone in peace." Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, "Is your fire making readie?" who told him it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God: I am readie, soone or late, as it sall please him;" and then he spake to one faithfull in that companie, and baad him commend him to all the faith-

full, being sure to meete together with them in heaven. Frome that time, to his furth-comming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his furth-comming, the Proveist, with great minassing words, forbade him to speeke to anie man, or anie to him, as belyke he had commandement of his superiours. Comming from the toun to the Castell-hill, the commoun people said, "God have mercie upon him!" "And on you, too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to the heaven twise or thrise, and said to the people, "Lett it not offend you, that I suffer death this day for the truthe's sake; for the disciple is not above his Master." Then was the Proveist angrie that he spake. Then looked he up to heaven again, and said, "They will not lett me speeke!" The cord being about his necke, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God, constantlie, and with good countenance to our sights.

Mr Knox, in his Historie, setteth doun the maner of their proceeding as followeth: He was accused, first, for taking upon him to preache. He answered, that he never judged himself worthie of so excellent a vocatioun. Yitt he would not denie, but that sometimes at table, or some other privie place, he would read, and hath read, the Scriptures, and had givin suche exhortatioun as God pleased to give him, to suche as pleased to heare him. "Knave," said one, "what have yee to do with the Scriptures?" "I thinke," said he, "it is the duetie of everie Christiane to seeke the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvatioun where it is to be found. and that is within the Old and Newe Testament." "What, then," said another, "sall we leave to the bishops and churchemen to do, if everie man sall be a babler upon the Bible?" "It becometh you," said he, "to speeke more reverentlie of God, and of his blessed Word. If the judge was not corrupted, he would punish you for your blasphemie. But to your questioun I answere, that howbeit yee, and other five thowsand within this realme, sould reade the Bible, and speeke upon it what God sould give us to speeke, yitt left we more to the bishops to doe than either they will doe. or yitt can doe. For we leave to them publicklie to preache the Gospell. and to feede the flocke which Christ hath redeemed with

his owne blood, and hath givin charge theranent to all true pastors. When we leave this to them, we thinke we leave to them a heavie burthein, and that we doe to them no wrong, although we searche out our owne salvatioun where it is to be found, considering they are but dumbe dogges, and unsavourie salt, which hath altogether lost the seasoun." The bishops heerat offended, said, "What pratting is this? lett his accusatioun be read." Then was begunne "False tratour!" "Heretick!" "This and this thou said!" "What sayeth thou to these things?" He answered, "If I sould be bound to answere, I would require an upright and indifferent judge." The Erle of Huntlie disdainfullie said, "Foolish man! will thou desire another judge nor my lord governour, my lords the bishops, and cleargie here present?" He answered, "The bishops can be no judges to me, for they are open enemeis to the doctrine which I professe: as for my lord governour, I cannot tell if he hath the knowledge that sould judge and discern betwixt lees and truthe, the inventions of men, and the true worship of God. I desired God's Word (and with that he produced the Bible) to be judge betwixt the bishops and me, and I am content that yee all heare. If by this booke I sall be convicted to have taught, spokin, or done in maters of religioun anie thing repugnant to God's will, I refuse not to dee: if I cannot be convicted, as I am assured by God's Word I sall not, then, in God's name, I desire your assistance, that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyrannie." The Erle of Huntlie said, "What a babling foole is this! Thou sall gett no other judges than these that sitt heere." He answered, "The good will of God be done! But be yee assured, my lord, with suche measure as yee mett to others, it sall be measured to you again. I know I sall dee, but be yee assured my blood sall be required at your hands." Alexander Erle of Glencarne said to the Bishop of Orknay, and others that satt nigh to him, "I take you all, my lords of the cleargie heere present, to witnesse, that I heere protest for my part, that I consent not to his death."

QUEENE DOWAGER WENT TO FRANCE.

Queene Dowager sailed to France in September, accompaneid with the Erles of Huntlie, Cassils, Marshall, Sutherland, and others that she thought were favourable, or by faire promises might be drawin to be favourable to her designes. She went not so muche to visite her daughter and her freinds as she pretended, as to procure the governement of the realme to herself. To the end the governour might be content to resigne it, she perswaded the Frenche king to graut, or, as others write, to confirme the dukedome of Chatterault, in France, to the governour and his heyres, and to constitute his eldest sonne, the Erle of Arran, captan of all the bands of the Scots in France; the erledome of Murrey to the Erle of Huntlie, the erledome of Rothesse to his young sonne, allyed to the governour by his mother; and, as some writte, the full erledome of Angus to the Erle of Angus; the erledome of Morton to Sir George Dowglas' sonne. By her, and her brethrein's perswasiouns, the king called for Sir Robert Carnegie, who was sent to France to give the king thankes for his aide, David Panter, Bishop of Rosse, leiger ambassador at that time in France, and Gavin Hamiltoun, Commendatare of Kilwinning, all three of the Hammilton's factioun; and declared unto them how acceptable it would be to him if the governour would resigne the governement to the queene dowager, what benefites he had bestowed upon him and his sonne, and that he might looke for farther heerafter. These three were employed to deale with the governour. Sir Robert Carnegie was sent home soone after to that end; David Panter, Bishop of Rosse, followed.

M.D.LI.

QUEENE DOWAGER RETURNETH FROME FRANCE.

Queene Dowager, assuring herself of the successe of her affaires at home, she returned by England, after she had stayed almost a

whole yeere in France, and had gottin Monsieur D'Osell to be ambassader and cheefe counseller in all Frenche affaires. She landed at Portsmouth in October 1551, and after she had beene honorablie enterteamed at court, tooke journey homeward the 6th of November. She reported, that she found more wisdome and solide judgement in young King Edward, who was not yitt past the fyfteenthe yeere of his age, than she would have looked for in anie three princes that were in Europe.

THE SCHISME THAT AROSE IN SCOTLAND FOR THE PATER NOSTER, AS IT IS EXTANT IN THE BOOKE OF MARTYRS.

After that Richard Marshall, doctor of divinitie, and Pryour of the Blacke friers at the Newcastell in England, had declared in his preachings at Sanct Andrewes in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer, commounlie called the Pater Noster, sould be done onlie to God, and not to the sancts, neither to anie other creature; the doctors of the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, together with the Gray friers, who had long agoe taught the people to pray the Pater Noster to the sancts, had great indignatioun that their old doctrine sould be impugned, and stirred up a Gray frier, called Frier Toittis, to preache again to the people, that they sould, and might pray the Pater Noster to sancts. Who, finding no part of Scripture to found his purpose upon, yitt came to the pulpit the first of November, being the first of Allhallowes, *anno* 1551, and tooke the text of the Gospell that day read in their masse, writtin in the fyft of Matthew, conteaning these words, "Blessed are the poore in spirit, for to them apperteaneth the kingdome of heaven."

This feeble foundatioun being layed, the frier beganne to reasoun most impertinentlie, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to sancts, becaus everie petitioun therof apperteaneth to them. "For, if we meete an old man in the streete," said he, "we will say to him, 'Good day, father!' and, therefore, muche more may we call the sancts our fathers. And becaus we graunt also that they be in heaven, we may say to everie one of them, 'Our father which

art in heaven.' Our Father, God, hath made their names holie, and therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holie, and so wee may say to anie of the sancts, 'Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.' And for the same caus," said the frier, "as they are in the kingdome of heaven, so that kingdome is theirs by possessioun; and so praying for the kingdome of heaven, we may say to them, and everie one of them, 'Thy kingdome come.' And except their will had beene the verie will of God, they had never come to that kingdome; and, therefore, seing their will is God's will, we may say to everie one of them, 'Thy will be done.'" But when the frier come to the fourth petitioun, tuiching our daylie bread, he beganne to be astonished, and to be ashamed, so that he did sweate abundantlie, partlie becaus his sophistrie beganne to faile him, not finding suche a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partlie becaus he spake against his owne knowledge and conscience, and so was compelled to confesse, that it was not in the sancts' power to give us our daylie bread, "but that they sould pray for us," said he, "that we may obteane our daylie bread by their intercessioun." And so glosed he the rest to the end. Not standing yitt content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemouslie, that Sanct Paul's napkin and Sanct Peter's shadow did miracles, and that the vertue of Elisæus' cloke divided the waters, attributing nothing to the power of God: with manie other errors of the Papists horrible to be heard.

Upon this followed incontinent a dangerous schisme in the kirk of Scotland; for not onlie the cleargie, but the whole people, were divided among themselves, one defending the truthe, and another Papistrie, in suche sort that there arose a proverbe, "To whome say you your Pater Noster?" And although the Papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holdin for law, (so great was the blindnesse of that age,) yitt God so inspired the hearts of the commoun people, that so manie as could gett the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English (which was then said in Latine) utterlie detested that opinioun, holding that it sould in no wise be said to sancts: so that the

craftsmen and their servants in their boothes, when the frier came, exploded him with shame eneugh, crying, "Frier Pater-noster! Frier Pater-noster!" Who, at the last, being convicted in his owne conscience, and ashamed of his former sermoun, was compelled to leave the toun of Sanct Andrewes. In the meane time of this bruite, there were two pasquills sett upon the Abbey Church; the one in Latine, bearing these words:

Doctores nostri de collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod Sancti sunt similes Altissimo:
Et se tuentur gravatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad instantiam Fiscalis
Gow et Harvey non varii,
In præmissis commotarii.

The other in English, bearing these words:

Doctors of Theologie of forescore of yeeres,
And old jollie Lupoys, the bald Gray friers;
The would be called Rabbi, and *Magister noster*,
And wot not to whome to say their Pater Noster.

Shortlie, the Christians were so hotelie offended, and the Papists, on the other side, so proud and wilfull, that necessarie it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the cleargie at least sould be assembled to dispute, and conclude the whole mater, that the lay people might be putt out of doubt. Which being done, and the universitie agreed, whosoever had beene present might have heard muche subtile sophistrie; for some of the Popish doctors affirmed, that it sould be said to God *formaliter*, and to sanets *materialiter*; others, *ultimate, et non ultimate*. Others said, it sould be said to God *principaliter*, and to sanets *minus principaliter*; others, that it sould be said to God *primarie*, and to sanets *secundarie*; others, that it

sould be said to God *capiendo stricte*, and to sancts *capiendo large*. Which vaine distinctions being considered, and heard by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulnesse than they were before, so that a weill aged man, and a servant to the Sub-priour of Sanct Andrewes, called the Sub-priour's Thome, being demanded to whome he said his Pater Noster, he answered, "To God onlie." Then they asked, "What sould be said to the sancts?" He answered, "Give them *Aves* and *Creeds* enow, in the devill's name, for that may suffice them weill eneugh, albeit they doe spoile God of his right!" Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, that becaus Christ never came to the Ile of Britane, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it sould be said in Latine.

This perturbation and open slaunder yitt depending, it was thought good to call a provinciall councell to decide the mater: which, being assembled at Edinburgh, the Papists being destitute of reasoun, defended their parts with lees, alledging, that the universitie of Parise had concluded that the Lord's Prayer sould be said to sancts. But becaus that could not be proved, and that they could not prevaile by reasoun, they used their will in place of reasoun, and sometimes despitefull and injurious talke. As frier Scott, being asked of one to whome he sould say the Pater Noster, he answered, "Say it to the devill, knave!" So the councell perceaving they could profite nothing by reasouning, they were compelled to passe voting.

But then incontinent, they that were called churchemen were found divided and repugnant among themselves; for some bishops, with the doctors and friers, consented that the Pater Noster sould be said to sancts. But the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, Cathnesse, and Athens, with other more learned men, refused utterlie to subscribe to the same. Finallie, with consent of both the parteis, commission was givin by the holie church to Deane Johne Wynrame, then Sub-priour of Sanct Andrewes, to declare to the people how, and after what maner, they sould pray the Lord's Prayer; who accepting of the commissioun, declared, that it sould be said

to God, with some other restrictioums which are not necessarie to be putt in memorie. And so, by little and little, the bruite and tumult ceassed.

M.D.LII.

THE TRANSACTION BETWEENE THE GOVERNOUR AND QUEENE DOWAGER.

Queene Dowager went with the governour through the north parts, the west countrie, and other places, at what time he held Justice Aires. Justice was little better than boght and sold, wherwith the queene was weill content; for whatsoever favour of the people was withdrawin frome the governour, she thought it would accresce to herself. In the meane time, the queene did conciliat to herself the favours of manie of the nobilitie. Therafter, she travelled with the governour himself, by freinds, to quitt his authoritie. His freinds advised him so to doe, if by that meanes he might better his estate, and rid himself of these accompts that he must make, when the queene cometh to perfyte age, of intromission with King James the Fyft his treasure, jewells, and other movables. It was agreed that he sould have a discharge of the money, jewells, and other things which he had during the time of his governement seazed upon, and applied to his owne use, his oath being takin for randering what was remaining undispouned. Yitt, twelve yeeres after, manie things were found in the castell of Hammiltoun, takin after the feild of Langside, which bewrayed his perjurie. He got also a grant of the confirmation of the gift of the heritable right of the dukedome of Chattelerault, the title, and revenue of twelve thowsand frankes, the halfe wherof was payed some yeeres therafter. Farther, it was agreed, that if the queen died without issue, he sould be declared by the estats in parliament neerest heyre. This transaction was sent to France, to be ratified by the queene and her curators. The queene, by advice of her mother, choosed for curators Henrie the Secund, King of

France, Francis, Duke of Gwise, and Charles, Cardinall of Loraine, his brother, both her owne uncles.

M.D.LIII.

THE GOVERNOUR CONSTRAINED TO CONSENT OF NEW TO RESIGNATION OF HIS AUTHORITIE.

When the time approached that the governour sould resigne his office, according to the transactioun which was made, the unconstant governour beganne to pretend some letts and reasons of delay. He alledged, the queene was not yitt past the twelve yeere of her age. The queene alledged, they must reckon the yeere in which she was in her mother's wombe. The governour seemed to confesse as muche of a king, but not of a queene. Queene dowager perceaving that he was not willing to resigne his authoritie before the compleit time of tutorie, resolveth to rest contented for the short space of time which was resting. In the meane time, she had allured with faire promises almost all the nobilitie to be on her side. None almost did accompanie the governour, but onlie his owne bastard brother and the Lord Livingstone. All the rest resorted to the queene, where she was resjant at Stirline. The governour finding himself destitute, was constrained to stand to the former agreement, and craved onlie that the queene dowager would procure the conditioums to be confirmed by the estats in the next parliament, and by the queene's curators in France.

MR KNOX HIS TRAVELLS IN ENGLAND.

This yeere, that worthie prince, King Edward the Sixt, ended his life the 6th of Julie, and his sister Marie succeeded, whereupon followed great persecutioun in the kirk of England, so that manie were forced to flee out of the countrie, and among the rest Mr

Knox. Mr Knox had taught at Berwicke, Newcastell, London; at Winsore, before the king's majestie; at Hampton Court, at Westminster, and manie other places. In his admonitioun to the faithfull in London, Newcastell, Berwicke, printed anno 1554, we may perceave how painfullie and powerfullie he taught the Word in England, since he was delivered out of the galleyes. He foretold Newcastell and Berwicke of the sweate. He was free and plaine before the Duke of Northumberland at court, before the Duke of Somerset was last apprehended. And howbeit some compleanned of him that he, Mr Grindall, Mr Liver, Mr Bradford, Mr Haddon, and some others, were indiscreet persons, and raylers, becaus they spake against the manifest iniquitie of men, and speciallie of those that were then in place and authoritie, as weill in the court as in other offices, his conscience accused him that he spake not so plainlie as his dutie required: that he said not expresslie to the wicked man by his name, "Thou sall dee the death," but he held backe the salt where manifest corruptioun did appeare; that the blind love he did beare to his carcase was the cause that he was not fervent and faithfull eneugh in that behalfe, and asked God mercie. Yea, his conscience challenged him, that by counsell of carnall freinds he spaired his bodie, and spent some time in worldlie bussinesse of particular freinds, or in taking of recreatioun and pastime by exercise of bodie. He confesseth he was tempted to desire the estimatioun and praise of men. But the Spirit of God moved him to fight against it; to sobbe and lament for that, and the rest of his imperfectiouns. What the devill, and his instruments the Papists, intended, by the taking away of simple Somerset, his auditors at Newcastell and Sir Robert Brandling could not forgett a long time after; to witt, the subversioun of true religioun. And this was affirmed before the king himself and Northumberland ofter than once. In his last sermoun before King Edward the Sixt, and his counsell, at Westminster, treating this place of Scripture, "He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heele against me," he affirmed, that commounlie it was seene, that the most godlie princes had officers and cheefe counsellers most un-

godlie, conjured enemeis to the true religioun, and tratours to their princes; that by their coloured craft, and worldlie policie, they atteaned at lenth to high promotioums. And for exemples he brought in Achitophell and Sobnah, under David and Ezekias. "What wounder is it, then," said he, "that a young and innocent king be deceaved by craftie, covetous, and ungodlie counsellers? I am greatlie affrayed," said he, "that Achitophell be counseller; that Judas beare the purse; that Sobnah be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer." And this he spake before some of these who were worthie of rebooke, and after appeared in their owne colours. By Sobnah he meant the treasurer. Who was so readie to destroy Somerset, and sett up Northumberland, as Sobnah? Who was so bold to cry, "Bastard, bastard, incestuous bastard; Marie sall never raigne over us: lett never that obstinat woman come to authoritie: she is an errant Papist." And yitt, to her he crowched and kneeled after. He was called before the counsell the 14th of Aprile, 1553, and demanded three questioums: first, why he refused the benefice offered to him? nixt, whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ministrie of England, according to the rites and lawes of the realme? thirdlie, why he kneeled not at the Lord's Supper? To the first he answered, his conscience did witnesse to him, that he might profite more in some other place than in London; and farther, that Northumberland had given a contrare commaud. To the secund, that unlesse manie things were reformed, no minister could discharge his office before God in England, for no minister in England had authoritie to divide and separate the leppers from the whole, which was a cheefe point of his office. Yitt did he not refuse suche office as might appeare to promote God's glorie in utterance of Christ's Gospell, in a meane degree. To the third he answered, that Christ's actioun was most perfyte; that it was most sure to follow his exemple; that kneeling was man's additioun or imaginatioun. In this last questioum there was great contentioun betwixt the whole table and him. There were present there the Bishops of Canterburie and Elie, the Lord Treasurer, the Erle of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsburie, the Chamberlaine, both the

Secretars, and others. After long reasouning it was said to him, that he was not called of anie evill minde, and that they were sorie to know him of a contrarie minde to the commoun order. He answered, that he was more sorie that the commoun order sould be contrarie to Christ's institutioun. He was dismissed with some gentle speeches, and willed to advise with himself, if he would communicate according to that order. But he ever abhorred it, and in the admonitioun printed the yeere following, commending the parliament for taking away of the round clipped god, wherin standeth all the holinesse of Papists, and commanding commoun bread to be used at the Lord's Table, yitt sheweth a great defect in their reformatioun, in that, taking away a great part of superstitioums which before profanned Christ's true religioun, they had reteaned kneeling at the Lord's Supper. Whereby we may see that he thought kneeling profanned Christ's true religioun. After the death of godlie King Edward the Sixt, whill there was great tumult in England for establishing the authoritie of Queene Marie, whill he was teaching in Hammershame, a toun in Buckinhamshire, with weeping eyes and sorrowfull heart he fell out into this exclamatioun, "O England! now is God's wrathe kindled against thee: now hath he begunne to punishe, as he hath threatened a long time by his prophets and messingers. He hath takin frome thee the crowne of thy glorie, and hath left thee without honour, as a bodie without head. O England, England! doth thou not consider that thy commounwealthe is like a shippe sailing on the sea? If thy mariners and governours sall one consume another, sall thou not suffer shipwracke in short processe of time? O England, England! alas, these plagues are poured upon thee, for that thow wouldst not know the most happie time of thy gentle visitatioun. But will thou yitt obey the voice of thy God, and submitt thyself unto his holie word? Truelie if thou will, thou sall find mercie in his sight, and the estate of thy commounwealth sall be preserved. But, O England, England! if thou obstinatlie will return to Egypt, that is, if thou contract mariage, confederacie, and league with suche princes as doe mainteane and advance idolatrie, suche as the En-

perour, which is no lesse enemie to Christ than ever was Nero; if for pleasure and friendship of suche princes, I say, thou returne to thyne old abominations before used under Papistrie, then, assured-lie, O England, thou sall be plagued, and brought to desolatioun, by the meanes of these whose favour thou seeketh, and by whome thou art procured to fall fromc Christ, and to serve Antichrist." Thus we see how that faithfull servant of God, Mr Knox, was exercised in the time of his absence out of the countrie, and fitted for the great worke of reformatioun, wherof he was the cheefe instrument afterward.

M.D.LIV.

QUEENE DOWAGER ENSTALLED REGENT.

In the beginning of the spring 1554, a conventioun was holdin at Stirline. The transaction betwixt the governour and the queene was ratifeid; and it was further provided, that the castell of Dumbartane sould be committed to the custody of the governour, and therupon a parliament appointed to be holdin in Edinburgh the 10th of Aprile following. In the meane time, the governour delivered the castell of Edinburgh to the Lord Areskine, to keepe, for assurance that the covenant and articles agreed upon sould be accomplished for his part. At the parliament, all thearticles of agreement were read tuiching the dimissioun of the governour's authoritie, confirmed by the queene and her curators. The governour was convoyed with pompe, the sword, scepter, and crowne borne before him. Monsieur D'Osell receaved the ensignes of authoritie, in the name of the absent queene, and in her name randered them to the queene dowrier. The castell of Edinburgh was committed to the custodie of the Lord Areskine, with provisioun it be randered to none without consent of the estates; for howsoever other maters went in favours of the Frenche, yitt the estates would in no case denude themselves of this strenth, least the queene deing without issue, the Frenche sould reteane it, as a brydle to the countrie, or meane of usurpatioun. The

queene dowager came frome the Parliament Hous to the palace of Halyrudhous, with the honnours borne before her. Buchanan sayeth this was an uncouth and strange spectacle to beholders, to see a woman promoved to the governement, and convoyed with suche pompe. Mr Knox sayeth, that it was als seemelie a sight to see the crowne putt upon her head, as to see a saddle putt upon the backe of an unrulie kow.

HUNTLIE COMMITTED TO PRISOUN.

The queene regent sent George Erle of Huntlie to apprehend Mudiard, or Muderaicke, cheefe of the Reginalds, which service he did not discharge faithfullie. When he returned, he was committed to prisoun. It was bruited by his freinds, that he was hindered by the Chattans, becaus he had first intysed Williame, their cheefe, and then commanded his wife to execute him when he was absent, becaus he would not consent to be his depender and follower. This colour would not serve. Some of the counsell would have had him banished to France, others to suffer death. Gilbert Erle of Cassils judged neither of the two expedient. Not the first, becaus the present amitie betweene Scotland and France was not like to continue long, and the proud and subtile man would serve the Frenche, to perturbe the countrie: not the secund, becaus he wished that the Frenche were not accustomed to shed the blood of the Scotish nobilitie. A midde course was takin. He was forced to pay a fyne, to quitt the erledome of Murrey, the fermes of Marr, Orknay, and Zetland, the king's patrimonie in these parts, and the shirefships in some shires. Upon these conditions he was sett at libertie, and reconciled to the queene regent and her cheefe courteours.

OFFICES OF ESTATE BESTOWED.

Soone after that Huntlie was reconciled to the queene, he was admitted into the cabinet counsell. By his advice, the cheefe of-

fices of estate were bestowed upon the Frenche. His intentioun was, by this device, to stirre up the nobilitie against the queene. Villemort, a Frenche man, was made Comptroller; Monsieur Rubie, Keeper of the Great Seale. Others write, that he was Keeper of the Great Seale, as Vicegerent to Huntlie, when he was in waird. The Erle of Cassils was made Treasurer, the Abbot of Cowper, the Keeper of the Privie Seale, James Makgill, Clerk-Register.

THE CONTENTIOUNS IN THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFURD.

It is not impertinent to this historie to follow Mr Knox, in his peregrinations out of the countrie, till he returne againe; seing he was our countrie man, and hath deserved so weill of our church, that even the verie preparations, and the exercises he had, whereby he was trained up, like a souldiour in Christ's warefare, before his employment in this church, are worthie to be remembered. After the death of King Edward the Sixt, he fled to Geneve. Some exiled English came to Frankfurd upon the 27th of June 1554. Upon the 14th of Julie following, libertie was granted to them to have the Word preached, and the Sacraments ministred in the same church which was granted to the Frenche, their day by course, but with conditioun, that the English sould not disassent frome the Frenche in doctrine nor ceremoneis, least thereby they sould minister occasioun of offense; and that they approve and subscribe their Confessioun of Faith: to the which they yeelded, and subscribed to their Confessioun, so manie as were come together at this time. They consulted among themselves what order or ceremoneis they sould use, for they were not so straitlie bound, as was told them, to the order of the Frenche church, by the magistrats, but if the one allowed of the other, it was sufficient. When the English order was perused, it was concluded by generall consent, that the answering aloud after the minister sould not be used: that

the Litanie, surplice, and manie other things, sould be omitted, for that, in these reformed churches, such things would seeme more than strange. It was farther agreed, that in place of the English Confessioun, another sould be framed, according to the state of the time; and it being ended, that the people sing a psalme in meter, in a plaine toone, as was the custome of the Frenche, Dutche, Italian, and Spanish churches: that therafter the minister pray for assistance of God's Holie Spirit, and so proceed to the sermoun: that after sermon, a generall prayer be used for all estates, and in speciall for England. At the end of the prayer that the Lord's Prayer be joyned, and the articles of our beleefe rehearsed; which being ended, that the people sing another psalme, as before: that therafter, the minister pronounce the blessing, "The peace of God," etc. or some other, to the like effect. As tuiching the ministratioun of the Sacraments, sundrie things also were, by commoun consent, omitted as superstitious and superfluous.

After that they had thus agreed, and chosin their ministers and deacons to serve for the time, they entered in their church the 29th of this same moneth. Then it was thought good that they sould advertise their countrie men and dispersed brethren to repaire thither, to enjoy this singular benefite, the like wherof in their owne countrie could never have beene obteaned. Letters were directed, on the 2d of August, to Strazeburgh and Zurich. Becaus a church cannot continue in good order long without discipline, an order was devised, wherunto they, all that were present, subscryved. It was also decreed, that all that were to come after sould doe the like, before they were admitted as members of that church. The learned men of Strazeburgh answered to their letter in this manner: They perceave their meaning was to have one or two to take the cheefe charges of the congregatioun; and in case they might gett Doctor Poinct, Mr Scorie, Doctor Bale, or Doctor Coxe, or two of them, they might be weill furnished; if not, they will appoint one to come from Strazeburgh, another fromc Zurich, to serve their turne. Mr Grindall wrote to Mr Scorie, at Emden, perswading him to be superintendant of this church at Frankfurd who, in two severall let-

ters to his private freinds, offered his service to the congregatioun. But before the receate therof, they had writtin their letters to Mr Knox, remaining then at Geneve, to Mr Haddin at Strazeburgh, to Mr Liver at Zurick, whome they had elected for their ministers, and advertised Mr Scorie of the same. Now, when the answere came from Strazeburgh, it did not satisfie them; for they required no superintendant, but had determined to have the congregatioun governed by two or three godlie and learned ministers of like authoritie, as is the custome of the best reformed churches; and if they would, yitt would they not have referred his electioun to anie other, but would have reserved it to themselves. Farther, they wrote not for a certaine number, but generallie wished all men's presence. The students of Zurick sent their answere in October, wherin they declared, they were content to joyn with them, but that they were fullie determined to use no other order than was last used in the Church of England. Mr Whiteheid came to Frankfurd the 24th of October, and, at the request of the congregatioun, tooke the charge upon him for a time. About the 4th of November came Mr Chalmers to Frankefurd, with letters frome Zurick. When he conferred with them, and perceaved they would not assure him the full use of the English Booke, he prepared to returne frome whence he came. By this time came Mr Knox from Geneve, upon the recept of a letter sent to him frome them, wherin they declared they had chosin him to be their minister. Upon the 28th of November Mr Chalmers came again to Frankefurde, from Strausburgh, and with him Mr Grindall, with letters from the learned men there, subscribed with sixteene of their hands. The letter was read to the congregatioun. Mr Grindall declared the occasioun of their comming, which, among other things, was cheefelie for the establishing of the English Booke; not that they meant, as he said, to have it so strictlie observed, but that suche ceremoneis and orders as the countrie could not beare might be weill omitted, so that they might have the substance and effect therof. Mr Knox and Whittinghame asked, what they meant by the substance of the Booke? It was answered, they had no commissioun

to dispute these matters, but would requeist the congregatioun to answere certane interrogatories, which were these:—First, That they might know what parts of the booke they would omitt; the secund was, for a severall church; the third, what assurance they might have for their quiett habitatioun. It was answered to the first, what they could prove in that booke to stand with God's Word, and the countrie permitt, it sould be granted; to the secund, they understood by the magistrats, the time served not to move anie suche mater, till the counsell brake up at Ausburge; to the thrid, that a generall graunt was made, at their first comming, to their whole natioun, and the freedome of the citie offered to all that were desirous of it, in als large and ample maner as they could require; which was, to them, assurance sufficient. Mr Chalmers and Mr Grindall depart backe again with a letter frome the congregatioun, the tenor wherof followeth:—

"Grace, mercie, and peace.

"As it was ever most true, so at this present we feele most sensiblie, that wheresoever God layeth the foundatioun to build his glorie, there he continueth, till he bring the same to a perfyte worke. All thanks and praise be to Him, therefore, that hath moved your heart so as, in no point yee seeme for to forslow[1] your diligence, to the furtherance of the same. And as the work is of most excellencie, so the adversareis ceasse not most craftilie to undermyne it; or at the least, through false reports, and defacing of the work, beginne to stay the labourers which sould travell in the finishing therof. But truthe ever cleereth itself: and as the sunne consumeth the clouds, so misreports, by tryell, are confounded. Our brethrein sent frome you can certifie you at lenth, tuiching the particulars of your letter, to whome we have in all things agreed, which seemed expedient for the estate of this congregatioun. As for certane ceremoneis, which the order of the countrie will not beare, we neces-

[1] Waste in indolence.

sarilie omitt, with als little alteratioun as is possible, (which in your letters yee require;) so that no adversarie is so impudent, that darre either blame our doctrine of imperfectioun, or us of mutabilitie, except he be altogether wilfullie ignorant, rather seeking how to find faults than how to amend them. Neither do we dissent frome them which ly at the ransoum of their bloods for the doctrine wherof they have made a most worthie confessioun. And yitt, we think not that anie godlie man will stand to the death in the defense of ceremoneis which, (as the booke specifeith,) upon just causses may be altered and changed. And if the not full using of the booke caus the godlie to doubt in that truthe wherin before they were perswaded, and to stay their comming hither, according as they purposed, either it signifeith that they were verie slenderlie taught, which, for breache of a ceremonie, will refuse so singular a benefite; or elles, that you have heard them misreported by some false brethrein who, to hinder this worthie interprise, spaire not to sow, in everie place, store of suche poore reasons. Last of all, it remaineth, that yee write, that the first of Februarie nixt you will come to help to sett in order, and establishe this church accordinglie. Which thing, as we most wish for your companeis sake, and for that yee might see our godlie orders alreadie heere observed, so wee putt you out of doubt that, for to appoint a journey for the establishing of ceremoneis, sould be more to your charges than anie generall profite, except yee were determined to remaine with us longer than two moneths, as yee write to your countrie men at Densborow and Emden. Which letters notwithstanding are now stayed, and, as appeareth, we never the neerer. We refere the rest to our brethrein, Mr Chalmers and Mr Grindall, who, by their diligent inquisitioun, have learned so farre of our estate, as we wrote unto you in our former letters; that is, that we have a church freelie graunted to preache God's Word purelie, to minister the Sacraments sincerelie, and to execute discipline truelie. And, as tuiching our Booke, we will practise it so farre as God's Word doth assure it, and the estate of this countrie permitt. Fare

yee weill. At Frankefurde, this 3d of December. Your loving freinds,

George Whetnall.
Thomas Whetnall.
Johne Knox.
John Bale.
William Whittinghame.
Edward Sutton.
Thomas Wood.
William Williames.
Johne Stanton.
Johne Stamford.
Johne Foxe.
William Keith.
Johne Makebraie.
William Walton.
Mighell Gill.
Lawrence Kent.
Johne Hollinghame.

When the answere to this letter, sent frome Strausburgh, was read to the congregation, they requested, that, for so muche as the learned men could not condescend upon anie generall and certane time of meeting, as now appeared by their letters, they might accord upon some certane order which, by commoun consent, sall still continue, and that without farther delay, and also to have the holie communion ministred. At lenth it was agreed, that the order of Geneva, which then alreadie was printed in English, and some copies of it among them, sould take place as an order most godlie, and farthest frome superstitioun. Mr Knox advised them to make the learned men of Strausburgh, Zurick, Emden, &c., first acquainted with their purpose. As for the communioun, he refused to ministrat it by the Booke of England; that there were manie things in it placed, as he said, by warrant of man's authoritie, without ground in God's word; and had beene a long time abused in the masse, to wicked superstitioun. Whill these things were thus in handling, came Mr Liver, before elected, who, assembling the congregatioun, requested that he might with their consents appoint an order, and that he might have a tryell of them, and they of him, betweene and Easter; that then he might either take or refuse the charge of the ministrie. The time of tryell was willinglie graunted; but the order which he would have placed, was rejected as unfitt for a church weill reformed.

Mr Knox, Mr Whittinghame, and others, perceaving that these beginnings would grow to some heate, if it were not stayed in time, drew out a platt of the English Service-Booke in Latine, and sent it to Geneva to Mr Calvine. They craved his judgement; and withall shew unto him how some of their owne countrie went about to force them to the same, and would admitt no other, avowing, that if they came to their countrie, they would doe their best to establishe it again. The platt or descriptioun followeth:—

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LITURGIE, OR BOOKE OF SERVICE THAT IS USED IN ENGLAND.

"First of all, Morning Prayer offereth itself; the minister having putt on a white garment, (which they call a surplice,) beginning with some sentence of Holie Scripture, as, for example, 'If we sall say wee have no sinne, wee deceave ourselves,' &c. or some suche of like sort. Then he taketh in hand the exhortatioun, which stirreth up to a confessioun of sinnes, which the minister pronounceth with a loude voice, the people saying after him. To this is added an absolutioun. And when these things are done, he rehearses the Lord's Prayer; and afterward, 'Lord, open thou my lippes, and my mouth sall shew furth thy praise: O God, be readie to be my help,' &c. By and by, also, there follow three psalmes together, at the end of everie one. Then followeth the First Lesson, which conteaneth a whole chapter of the Old Testament. After this lessoun, they say or sing, 'Wee praise the Lord;' or, 'Blessed be the Lord,' &c. Then, another lessoun out of the New Testament, unlesse, peradventure, the solemnizatioun of some high feast have other sett and appointed lessouns. Now, in cathedrall churches, they utter their lessouns in plaine song, and then afterwards is '*Benedictus*' added. This booke warneth, that they keepe this order throughout the whole yeere. Afterwards, the Creed is pronounced by the minister, (all the people, in the meane time, standing up:) afterwards, falling doun upon their knees, the minister sayeth, 'The Lord be with you;' they answere,

'And with thy spirit:' then, 'Lord, have mercie upon us!' 'Christ, have mercie upon us!' &c. 'Our Father,' &c. pronounced out aloud, of all, with all boldnesse. Then the minister, when he standeth up, sayeth, 'O Lord, shew us thy mercie:' the answere, 'And give unto us thy saving health.' 'O Lord, save the king, in the day wherin we sall call upon thee: indew thy ministers, and make thy chosin people joyfull.' 'O Lord, save thy people, and blesse thine inheritance:' 'Give peace in our time,' &c. At lenth, three Collects are had, in place of a conclusioun: the first for the day, the secund for peace, the last is for the obteanning of grace. Now, the Evening Prayers are said in a maner as the other are, saving, that after the first lessoun followeth, 'My soule doth magnifie the Lord;' and after the secund lessoun, 'Now, Lord,' &c.; and, instead of that collect, 'God, which art the author of peace,' is used, 'O God, from whome all holie desires,' &c. Besides, there is caution added, that all ministers sall exercise themselves, als weill in morning prayers as evening prayers, except, perhap, by studie in divinitie, or some other businesse, they be greatlie and necessarilie lett or hindered. Besides, upon everie Sabbath day, Wednesday, and Fryday, there is yitt in use certane suffrages devised of Pope Gregorie, which begimne after this maner:—'O God, the Father of heaven, have mercie upon us, miserable sinners: O God, the Sonne, Redeemer of the world,' &c. onlie leaving out the invocatioun of sancts. Otherwise, we use a certane conjuring of God, 'By the mysterie of his incarnatioun; by his holie nativitie and circumcisioun; by his baptisme, fasting, and tentatioun; by his agonie and bloodie sweate,' &c.; yea, it comprehendeth, in plaine words, a prayer to be delivered frome suddane death, the people answering to the end of everie clause, either, 'Spare us, good Lord;' or, 'Good Lord deliver us;' or, 'We beseech thee to heare us, good Lord.' 'O Lambe of God, that taketh away the sinnes of the world' is thrise repeated: then, 'Lord have mercie upon us,' thrise; and then the Lord's Prayer, with this prayer, also, 'O Lord, deale not with us after our sinnes,' to the same ad-

joined—passing over some things, least we sould seeme to sift all these drosses which remaine still among us.

"Now, the maner of the Supper is thus:—The number of three, at the least, is compted a fitt number to communicat; and yitt it is permitted (the pestilence, or some other commoun sicknesse being among the people) that the minister alone may communicat with the sicke man in his hous. First, therefore, the minister must be prepared after this maner,—in a white linnen garment, (as in saying the other service he is appointed,) and must stand at the north side of the table. Then is had the Lord's Prayer, after the custome. Then he reciteth the Collect, and after follow in order the Tenne Commandements; but so, notwithstanding, that everie one of the people may answere, 'Lord, have mercie upon us, and inclyne our hearts to keepe this law.' After the rehearsall of the commandements, the Collect of the day, as it is called, and another for the king is had. By and by, the Epistle and Gospell followeth; to witt, suche as the Kalendar appointeth for that day. And there in this place there is a note, that everie Holie day hath his Collect, Epistle, and Gospell, which fill seventie-three great leaves of the booke, when the rest fill skarse fiftie; for all Holie dayes are now in like use as were among the Papists, onlie verie few excepted. Then he goeth fordwards to the Creed; and after that is the sermoun, if there be anie. Afterwards, the parish preest biddeth the holie dayes and fasts on their eves, if there be anie that weeke. And here the Booke warneth, that none defraude the parish preest of his due or right, speciallie on these feast dayes that are dedicated to offerings. Then followeth a prayer for the estate of the church militant, and that not without a long heape and mixture of maters, untill they come (after a certane confessioun of sinnes) to, 'Lift up your hearts;' the people answering, 'Wee give thanks to the Lord,' 'Lett us give thanks to our Lord God;' the answere, 'It is meete and right so to doe:' 'It is verie meete, right, and our boundin dutie,' etc., untill they come to that claus, 'O Lord, holie, faithfull,' etc., and so the preface, according to the feast, is added

Afterward he sayeth, 'Therefore, with angels and archangels,' and so endeth with, 'Holie, holie, Lord God,' till he come to 'Hosanna in the highest.' Now the preest boweth his knee, acknowledging our unworthinesse, in the name of all them that sall receave. And setting out God's mercie, he beseecheth God, that our bodeis may be made cleane by his bodie, and that our soules may be washed through his blood. And then, he again standeth up, and taketh afreshe another prayer, appointed for this purpose, in which are conteaned the words of the institutioun. All which being done, he first communicateth. Then, by and by, he sayeth to another kneeling, 'Take, and eate this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feede on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.' Now, about the end, the Lord's Prayer is used again, the minister saying it aloud, and all the people following. To conclude, they have a giving of thanks in the end, with 'Glorie to God in the highest,' as it was used among the Papists. If it happen that there be no sermon, onlie a few things are omitted, but all other things are done in order aforesaid.

"In Baptism, the godfathers are demanded in name of the childe, 'Whether they renounce the divell and all his workes; the lusts of the world,' etc., and they answere, 'I renounce them.' Then, whether they beleeve the articles of faith; which being confessed, 'Will thou,' sayeth he, (turning himself to both the witnesses,) 'be baptised into this faith?' and they say, 'Yea, I will.' After a few things rehearsed, he taketh the childe and dippeth it in, but warilie and discreetlie, as it is in the Booke; upon whose forehead also he sall mak a crosse, in tokin, forsooth, that when he is old, he sall not be ashamed to confesse the faith of Christ crucified. Afterward, sending away the godfathers and godmothers, he chargeth them, that they bring the childe to be confirmed of the bishop as soone as he can say the Articles of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Tenne Commandements. And seing there be manie causes, as the Booke sayeth, which sould move them to the confirmation of childrein, this, forsooth, of all others, is the weightiest, that by impositioun

of hands they may receave strenth, and defense against all tentatiouns of sinne, and the assaults of the world and the devill; because, that when childrein come to that age, partlie by the frailtie of their owne fleshe, partlie by the assaults of the world and the divell, they beginne to be in danger. And least anie sould thinke anie errour to be in this confirmatioun, therefore they tak a certane pamphlet of a catechisme, which consisteth of the Articles of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Tenne Commandements, and all this is dispatched in lesse than two leaves.

"To these is joyned, their maner of Mariage, of which, that we may passe over manie pittie ceremoneis, these folleis who can suffer? The husband layeth doun a ring upon the booke, which the minister taking, he giveth it in his hand, and biddeth him putt it upon the fourth finger of his wife's left hand. Then he useth this forme of words:—'With this ring,' sayeth he, 'I thee wedde, with my bodie I thee worship, with all my worldlie goods I thee endow, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost.' A little after, the minister sayeth to the newe mareid persons, kneeling before the Lord's Table, 'Lord have mercie upon us!' 'Christ have mercie upon us!' 'Lord have mercie upon us!' 'Our Father which art,' etc., 'Lord save thy servant and thy handmaid,' etc. And so, a few things being rehearsed, they must be brought to the Lord's Supper.

"The Visitatioun of the Sicke is after this maner: 'Peace be to this house:' the answere, 'And to all that dwell in the same.' 'Lord have mercie upon us!' etc. 'Our Father,' etc. 'Lord save thy servant!' Answere, 'Which trusteth in thee.' 'Send furth thy helpe fromc thy holie hill, and with speed save him,' etc., as in the other prefaces, with questions and answeres.

"Of the Buriall. The preest meeteth the corps at the entrance of the kirk-yard, either singing, or softlie pronouncing, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' etc. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' Job xix. Being come to the grave, it is said, 'Man borne of a woman,' etc., Job ix. When the earth is throwin in, 'We commit.'

sayeth he, 'earth to earth, dust to dust,' etc. 'The Lord hath given, the Lord hath takin.' 'I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Blessed are the dead which dee in the Lord.' 'Lord have mercie upon us!' etc.

"The Purification of Wemen in Childe-bed, which they call giving of thankes, is not onlie in all things with us almost commoun with the Papists, but also with the Jewes, becaus they are commanded, in stead of a lambe or doves, to offer money.

"Other things not so muche shame itself, as a certane kinde of pitie, compelleth us to keepe close in the meane season, nothing diminishing the honour due to these reverend men, who, partlie being hindered by these times, and by the obstinacie, and also multitude of adversareis, to whome nothing was ever delightfull besides their owne corruptiouns, being, as it were, overflowin, did alwise in their mindes continuallie, as muche as they could, strive to more perfyte things."

Note, that this descriptioun is verie favourablie putt doun; if yee conferre it with the Booke of Order, in all points, and the usage of the Booke in manie churches of this realme, you can confesse no lesse. And heerof yee may gather what Mr Calvine would have writtin, if they would have noted all the abuses of the same.

M.D.LV.

Mr Calvine, in a letter dated at Geneva, the 20th day of Januarie, anno 1555, regrated that contentioun sould arise among brethrein banished and driven out of their countrie for one and the same faith. He seeth not that puritie which was to be desired in the Liturgie of England. If religioun had floorished till this day, there ought to have beene a thing better corrected, and manie things cleane takin away. He wondereth what they meant, to delyte so muche in Popish dregs. If they feare, sayeth he, the rumor of England, as though they had fallen fromc that religioun which was the caus of their banishement, they were farre deceaved; for this true and sincere religioun will rather compell them that there re-

maine faithfullie to consider into what deepe gulfe they have fallin; for their dounfall sall more greevouslie wound them, when they perceave your going fordward beyond midde course, from which they are turned. When his letter was read by the congregatioun, it so wrought in the hearts of manie, that they were not so stout before to mainteane all the parts of the Booke, as after they were bent against it.

Whills these things were in doing, the congregatioun could not agree upon a certane order, till after long debating it was concluded, that Mr Knox, Mr Wittinghame, Mr Gilby, Mr Foxe, and Mr Cole, sould draw furth some order meete for their estate and time. This was accomplished by them, and offered to the congregatioun, being the same order of Geneva which was now in print. This order was weill liked of, of manie, but suche as were earnest for the Booke of England. Contention grew at lenth so hote, that the partie which sought sinceritie was charged with newfanglenesse and singularitie, contentioun, and unquietnesse. Mr Gilby kneeled doun before them, and besought them with teares to reforme their judgements, solemnlie protesting, that in this mater they sought not themselves, but God's glorie; and wishing that the hand which he then held up were stricken off, if so a godlie peace and unitie might ensue and follow. In the end, another way was takin by the congregatioun, to witt, that Mr Knox and Mr Wittinghame, Mr Parrey and Mr Liver, sould devise some order to end all strife and contentioun. An order was agreed upon; some part takin furth of the English booke, and other things added as the estate of that church required. This order was to continue, with all their consents, to the last of Aprile following; and if anie contentioun was to arise in the meane time, it was to be referred to the determinatioun of Calvine, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret. Thanks were givin to God, and the holie communioun was ministred. This agreement continued till the 13th of Marche, at which time Dr Coxe, and others with him, come to Frankefurd, out of England. They begame to breake that order which was agreed upon, first in answering aloud after the minister; and being ad-

monished therof by the elders of the congregatioun, he, with the rest that come with him, answered, they would doe as they had done in England, and they would have the face of an English church. The Sabbath day following, one of his companie, without consent and knowledge of the congregatioun, gott up suddanlie to the pulpitt, read the Litanie, and Dr Coxe with his companie answered aloud, whereby the determination of the congregatioun was brokin. The same day afternoone, Mr Knox preached. In his sermoun, he regrated the breache of the agreement which, said he, became not the proudest of them all to have attempted. He alledged, that as by the Word of God we must seeke our warrant for establishing of religioun, and without it ought to thrust nothing upon anie Christian congregatioun, so, forasmuche as in the English booke were things both superstitious, impure, and imperfyte, which he offerred to prove before all men, he would not consent that it sould be receaved by that congregation; and as oft as he had occasioun, he would not faile to speeke against it, the text offerring occasioun. Farther, he affirmed, that among manie things which provoked God's anger against England, slakenesse to reforme religioun, when time and place were granted, was one: that, therefore, it became them to be circumspect how they layed their foundatioun. He called to remembrance the troubles which Mr Hooper susteaned for the rochet, and suche like, commanded and allowed by the Booke; and how that it was permitted to one man to have three or foure benefices. As soone as he come doun frome pulpit, some, speciallie these that had manie livings in England, chided with him. The Tuesday following was appointed for farther conference of these maters. When all were assembled, earnest requeist was made that Dr Coxe with his companie might be admitted to have voices amongst them. It was answered, that the mater yitt standing in controversie ought first to be determined. Secundlie, that they sould subscribe the discipline, as others had done before them. Farther, it was greatlie suspected, that they had been some of them at masse in England, and others had subscribed wicked articles, as one of them soone after confessed with sorrow in

the pulpit. Mr Knox at last began to intreat that they might have their voices among the rest. When a certane number had yeelded to his requeist, they then became the greater partie, and so were by them admitted as members of the church. They being thus admitted by the most part, Dr Coxe furthwith forbade Mr Knox to meddle anie more in that congregatioun. Upon the day following, that is, Wednesday, Mr Whittinghame went to Mr Johne Glauburge, the cheefe instrument of their libertie, and shew unto him how they had forbidden their minister appointed to preache that day, and intended to sett up another, which would not be weill takin; wherupon, he sent immediatlie, and commanded there sould be no sermoun that day. Afterward, he sent for Valerane, the Frenche minister, commanding him that two learned men sould be appointed for either part, and that he and the rest sould appoint, and agree upon some good order, and to report to him accordinglie. Then were appointed Mr Coxe and Mr Liver on the one side, Mr Knox and Mr Whittinghame on the other side. Valeran was appointed to sett doun in writt what they sould agree upon. But when, in conference, they came to the order of matins, and that Dr Coxe said, "*Ego volo habere*," there could be no agreement among them, and so the conference brake off. Heerupon the congregation drew up a supplicatioun in Latine, and presented it to Mr Glauburge, requeisting him to move the senators to consider it. In it they sett doun a breefe summe of their proceedings, and crave that by their authoritie the whole mater might be refered to the judgements of Mr Calvine, Musculus, Bullinger, Martyr, Viret. Upon the 22d of Marche, Mr Glauburge came to the English church, and straitlie charged them, that frome thencefurth they sould not dissent frome the order of the Frenche church. If they did, he threatned, as he had opened the church doore to them, so he sould shoot it again, and that these that would not obey sould not be suffered to stay within that citie. He willed them to consult, and give in presentlie an answere, before he departed. Dr Coxe then spake to the congregatioun in this wise: "I have," said he, "read the Frenche order, and doe thinke it to be both good and

godlie in all points, and therefore wishe that yee obey the magistrats' commandement." Heerupon the whole congregatioun gave consent, and Dr Coxe, Mr Liver, and Mr Whittinghame, reported to Mr Glauburg accordinglie. At the nixt meeting of the congregatioun that order was putt in practise, to the comfort and rejoycing of the most part.

MR KNOX ACCUSED OF TREASON AT FRANKFURD.

Notwithstanding that the order of the Frenche church was receaved by the English church at Frankefurde, and putt in practise, to the comfort of the most part, suche as would faine have had the Booke of England, seing Mr Knox to be in great credite with manie of the congregatioun, assayed to have him removed out of the way by cruell meanes, that they might the more easilie atteane to the practise of their Service. They had among them a booke of his, intituled, "An Admonition to Christians," writtin in the English tongue, wherin by occasioun he spake of the Emperour, of Philip his sonne, and of Marie, then queene of England. Some of them presented his booke to the magistrats, who, upon recept of the same, sent for Mr Whittinghame, and asked him, what maner of man their minister, Mr Knox, was? He answered, to his knowledge, a learned, wise, grave, and godlie man. Then said one of the magistrats to him, "Certane of your countriemen have accused him unto us '*læsæ majestatis Imperatoriæ*,' that is, of high treasoun against the emperour, his sonne, and the queene of England. Heere is the booke, and the places which they have quotted, the true and perfyte sense wherof we command you, *sub pœna pacis*, to bring unto us in the Latine tongue, at one of the clocke in the afternoone; which he did accordinglie. At which time, after certane communicatioun among themselves, he commanded that Mr Knox sould preache no more till their pleasure was farther knowne. The words concerning the emperour were these, spokin in the pulpit, in a toun of Buckinghameshire, in the beginning of Queene Marie's raigne, as by the said booke appeared: "O England, England, if

thou wilt obstinatlie returne to Egypt, that is, if thou contract mariage, confederacie, and league with suche princes as doe maintaine and advance idolatrie, suche as the emperour, no lesse enemie to Christ than was Nero: if for the pleasure and freindship, I say, of suche princes, thou returne unto thyne old abominations before used under Papistrie, then assuredlie, O England, thou sall be plagued and brought to desolatioun by the meanes of these whose favour thou seeketh, and by whom thou art procured to fall frome Christ, and to serve Antichrist." There were other eight places, but this was most marked, in that it tuiched the emperour. But it seemed, the magistrats abhorred this bloodie, cruell, and outrageous attempt; for when certane of Mr Knox his enemeis followed hardlie the magistrats, to know what sould be done with him, they did not onlie shew most evident signes of dislyking their unnaturall sute, but also sent for Mr Williams and Mr Whittinghame, willing them to advise Mr Knox to depart, otherwise they would be forced to deliver him, if the emperour his counsell, which then lay at Ausburge, sould upon like informatioun send for him.

I have collected this preceeding historie out of the booke intituled, "A breefe Discourse of the Troubles begumne at Frankefurde." But becaus in this printed booke there is but one place extant of all the places quotted by his accusers, I have heere subjoyned the heads of his accusatioun, as he hath sett them doun himself in a breefe discourse of the former proceedings at Frankefurde. "The dayes following," sayeth he, (after he was discharged by Dr Coxe, and others who had no authoritie, to preache, and that with authoritie,) "the sermoun was delayed by commandement of the magistrats, and Dr Coxe, Mr Lever, Mr Whittinghame, and I, were appointed to consult of some godlie order, which we did, by the space of two dayes in the hous of Valeranus Polanus, in the which reasouning, what sobernesse was found in me, I referre to these notes which Mr Valeran did tak in writt of our argument. But the thrid day, when the order of matins, to beginne alwayes with, '*Domine labia*,' '*Deus in adjutorium*,' et '*Deum laudamus*,' and other prescript words, not read in the Scripture, were called an order borrowed

of the Papists, and Papisticall; then begunne the tragedie, and our consultatioun ended. Who was most blame-worthie, God sall judge; and if I spake ferventlie, to God was I fervent. During the time of these our controverseis, one Mr Isaac of Kent cometh to my hous, to move me to relent frome my earnestnesse against the booke, and promiseth me favour; if not, he threatneth somewhat to follow. My answere was, that I would wishe my name to perishe, so that God's booke and his gloric might onlie be sought amongst us. But afterward, this same Mr Isaac, by the counsell of some preests, who seemed to be sore offended with my sermoun, devised how to have me cast in prisoun; and he reported, he knew weill I sould not escape. So, seeking to their old shott-anker, they cryed out against me, "*Non est amicus Cæsaris*," he is not Cæsar's freind; the which dart the devill doth ever shoot, by the craft of the preests, against the true preachers. For when neither doctrine nor life can be reproved in Christ and his sanets, yitt this serves at all assayes; though they love not the emperour, no more than did the old Pharisees, for hatred of their brethrein they can find suche cautels.[1] O Lord God, open their hearts, that they may see their wickednesse, and forgive them for thy manifold merceis; and I forgive them, O Lord, frome the bottome of my heart. But that thy message sent by my mouth sould not be slaundered, I am compelled to declare the caus of my departing, and so to utter their folleis, to their amendement I trust, and the exemple of others who, in the same banishement, can have so cruell hearts to persecute their brethrein. To be short, the said Mr Isaack, and one Parrey, late Chanceller of Salisburie, by the counsell of Dr Coxe, Dr Bale, Turner of Wynsore, Jewell of Oxfoord, and others, accused me before the magistrats, in nyne articles, of high treasoun against the emperour, his sonne Philip, King of Spaine, and the Queene of England. My words are these that follow, in a booke named the "Admonition of Christians, concerning the present Troubles of England." First, speaking against idolaters, and how thy ought

[1] Stratagems.

by the expresse command of God to be putt to death, and yitt reserved by God's providence, I said:

1. "If Marie and her counsellers had beene sent to hell before these dayes, her cruelties sould not have so manifestlie appeared to the world."

2. "Jesabell never erected halfe so manie gallowes in all Israel, as mischeevous Marie hath done within London alone."

3. "Would anie of you have confessed, two yeeres ago, that Marie your mirrour had beene false, dissembling, unconstant, proud, and a breaker of promise, except suche promises as she made to your god the Pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father?"

4. "The love of her native countrie could not move that wicked woman's heart to pitie."

5. "She declareth herself an open trateresse to the realme of England, contrarie to the just lawes of the same, to bring in a stranger, and mak a proud Spaniard king, to the destruction of the nobilitie and subversioun of the realme."

6. "If God had suffered her (for our scourge) and her cruell counsell to come to authoritie," &c.

7. "Under an English name she hath a Spaniard's heart."

8. "Muche trouble in England for the establishing of this wicked woman's authoritie, I meane, of her that now raigneth in God's wrath," &c.

9. "Mariage ought not to be contracted with those that are mainteaners of idolatrie, suche as the emperour, who is no lesse enemie to Christ than was Nero."

MR KNOX'S DEPARTURE FROM FRANKFURD.

Upon the 25th of Marche, Mr Knox made a most confortable sermoun at his loodging, to fyftie persons or therabout, of the death and resurrectioun of Christ, and of the unspeekable joyes which are

prepared for God's elect, which in this life suffer trouble and persecutioun for the testimonie of his blessed name. The nixt day, he was convoyed three or foure myle in his way toward Geneva, by some of those to whome, the night before, he had made that exhortatioun, who, with great heavinesse of heart, and plentie of teares, committed him to the Lord. After his departure, Dr Coxe and the rest of his factioun obteaned the free use of the English booke, by the procurement of Adulphus Glauburg, a doctor of law, and nephew to Mr Johne Glauburg, the senator, whose consent he obteaned; wherupon Mr Gilby, Mr Whittinghame, and others, went, some to Basile, and some to Geneve.

WILLIAM HARLAW AND MR WILLOCKS COME TO SCOTLAND.

Marie of Lorane, Regent of Scotland, bound to the devotioun of her two brethrein, the Duke of Gwise and the Cardinall of Lorane, did onlie await the opportunitie to cutt the throats of all these in whom she suspected anie knowledge of God to be, within the realme of Scotland. Satan thought his kingdome of darknesse at peace. But the cruell persecution raised by Marie, Queene of England, scattered manie godlie men. Among the rest, it pleased God to send to us, for our comfort and instructioun, first, William Harlaw, who first was a taylour in Edinburgh, therafter went to England, and preached some times as a Deacoun, according to the corrupt custome of that kirk, under the raigne of King Edward. Howbeit he was not verie learned, yitt his doctrine was plaine and sound, and worthie of commendatioun. After him came Johne Willocke, a learned and grave man, as one that had commissioun to the queene regent frome the Duchesse of Emden. But his principall purpose was to assay what God would worke by him among us.

THE PRIVIE MEETINGS OF PROFESSORS IN EDINBURGH.

The professours of Edinburgh had their privat conventiouns this yeere, in the feilds in sommer, in housses in winter. William Har-

law and Johne Willocke were their teachers: sometimes Paul Methven, and Johne Dowglas, alias Grant. They had their owne elders and deacons, George Smaill, Michael Christesone, James Gray, Adame Craig, Johne Cairns, afterward reader, Alexander Hope. At the beginning, they had two sundrie meetings. till the Laird of Dun joyned them in one, who taught sometimes in the hous of Robert Watsone, sometimes in the Abbey, and sometimes into James Barron's hous. The small number increassed daylie, untill the time of publick reformatioun.

MR KNOX COME TO SCOTLAND.

Mr Knox came to Scotland in the end of harvest, 1555. He loodged first, in the hous of that notable man of God, James Sim, where he begaune to exhort privatlie the Laird of Dun, David Forresse, Elizabeth Adamsone, spous to James Baron, burgesse of Edinburgh, and some others repairing to him.

ELIZABETH ADAMSONE HER CONVERSION, AND HAPPIE END.

Elizabeth Adamsone heard Mr Knox with greedinesse, becaus she was troubled in conscience, and he opened more fullie the fountaine of God's merceis than did the friers, or commoun sort of teachers which she heard before. At her death, howbeit she suffered greevous torments in her bodie, yitt nothing was heard out of her mouth but praising of God. Being asked what she thought of that paine in the bodie, in respect of that wherwith sometime she was troubled in spirit, she answered, "A thowsand yeeres of this torment, and tenne times more joyned to it, are not to be compared to the quarter of an houre that I have suffered in my spirit. I thanke my God, through Jesus Christ, that has delivered me frome that feare-full paine; and welcome be this, even so long as it pleaseth his godlie Majestie to exercise me therwith." A little before her departure, she desired these that were beside her to sing a psalme. Among others she appointed the 103d Psalme. When it was

ended, she said, "At the teaching of this psalme beganne my troubled soule first to taste effectuallie the mercie of my God, which now to me is more sweete and pretious than if all the kingdomes of the earth were givin to me, to possesse them a thowsand yeeres." The preests obtruded upon her their ceremoneis and superstitiouns. She answered, "Depart frome me, yee serjants of Satan, for I have refused, and in your presence I doe refuse, all your abominatiouns. That which yee call your sacrament, and Christ's bodie, as yee have deceaved us, and made us beleeve in times past, was nothing but an idol, and hath nothing to doe with the right institutioun of Jesus Christ; and, therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me." They departed, alledging that she raved, and knew not what she said. She shortlie after sleeped in the Lord, after a blessed departure.

REASSONING ABOUT REPAIRING TO THE MASSE.

When Mr Knox came first, sundrie professours, otherwise godlie and zealous, made no scruple to goe to the masse, or to partake of the sacraments abused in papisticall maner. Therefore he beganne, as weill in privie conference as in doctrine, to discover the impietie of the masse, and to prove how dangerous it was to communicat in anie sort with idolatrie. The consciences of some being tuiched, the mater beganne to be agitated. He was called to supper by the Laird of Dun for that purpose, where were assembled David Forresse, Mr Robert Lokhart, Johne Willocke, and William Matlane of Lethington, younger. Mr Knox answered to all objectiouns, speciallie to that alledged from Paul's example, who fained himself to pay his vow with others; "for," said he, "Paul's fact had nothing to do with their going to the masse. To pay vowes was sometimes God's commandement, and was never idolatrie. Secundlie," said he, "I greatlie doubt, whether either James his advice, or Paul his obedience, proceeded of the Holie Ghost. Evill it was for Paul to confirme these obstinat Jewes in their su-

perstitioun by his exemple; worse it was to him to expone himself and the doctrine which before he had taught to slaunder and mockage. Whill obeying their counsell, he fell into the most desperat danger that ever he susteaned. God declared thereby, that evill sould not be done that good might come of it." All their objectioums were so fullie answered, that William Matlane concluded, saying, "I see perfytelie, that thir shifts will serve for nothing before God, seing they stand us in so small stead before men." After these and the like reasounings, the masse beganne to be abhorred of suche as before frequented to it for the fashioun, and eshewing of slaunder, as they termed it.

MR KNOX TEACHETH IN ANGUS AND LOTHIANE.

Mr Knox, at the requeist of the Laird of Dun, followed him to Dun, where he remained a moneth, daylie exercised in teaching. The cheefe men of that countrie resorted unto him. After his returne to Lothaine, he remained in Calder, whither repaired unto him the Master of Areskine, the Lord of Lorne, Lord James, then Pryor of Sanct Andrewes. They so approved his doctrine, that they wished it had beene publick. He taught often in Edinburgh this winter.

M.D.LVI.

MR KNOX CELEBRATETH THE LORD'S SUPPER IN SUNDRIE PARTS.

In the beginning of Januarie, Mr Knox was conveyed to Kyle by Robert Campbell of Kingzeancleuche, and taught in the Barr, Carnell, Kingzeancleuche, Aire, Ochiltrie, Gathgirth, and ministred the Lord's Table in some of these parts. The Erle of Glencarne sent for him to Finlaston, where he also ministred the Lord's Table, wherof the erle, his ladie, two of his sonnes, and certane of

his freinds, were partakers. From thence he returned to Calder, where diverse from Edinburgh and other parts of the countrie assembled, as weill for doctrine as for the right ministratioun of the Lord's Table, which before they had never seene. From thence he went again to Dun, where he taught with great libertie, and ministred the communioun at the requeist of the gentlemen of the countrie about, speciallie of the Mernes. They refused all societie with idolatrie, and sett themselves to the uttermost to mainteane the preaching of the Gospell, as God sould offer to them preachers and opportunitie.

MR KNOX SUMMONED TO COMPEERE BEFORE THE BISHOPS.

The friers, greeved with Mr Knox his travells in propagating the Gospell, they flocked from all quarters to the bishops. He was summouned to compeere in the church of the Black friers, in Edinburgh, the 15th of May, 1556. He resolved to keepe the day, and for that purpose Johne Areskine of Dun, with diverse others gentlemen, assembled in the toun of Edinburgh: but the dyett held not; for whether the bishops perceaved informalitie in their owne proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue upon their extremitie, it is unknowne. But on Saturday before the day appointed, they cast their owne summons. He taught, the same day of the summons, in Edinburgh, before a greater auditorie than ever he had before in that toun, in the Bishop of Dunkell's great loodging. He continued in teaching tenne dayes, before and afternoone. The Erle of Glencarne allured the Erle of Marshall, who, with his counseller, Harie Drummond, heard his exhortatioun in the night.

They were so weill content with his doctrine, that they moved him to write a letter to the regent, which was delivered into her owne hands by Alexander Erle of Glencarne, and was afterward imprinted, and is intituled, "The Letter to the Queene Dowager," the copie wherof followeth:

THE COPIE OF A LETTER DELIVERED TO THE LADIE MARIE, REGENT OF SCOTLAND, IN THE MONETH OF MAY, 1556, PENNED BY MASTER KNOXE.

"The eternall providence of the same God who hath appointed his chosin childrein to fight in this transitorie and wretched life a battell strong and difficill, hath also appointed their finall victorie by a mervellous fashioun, and the maner of their preservatioun in their battell more mervellous. The victorie standeth not in resisting, but in suffering, as our soverane Master pronounceth to his disciples, that in their patience sould they possesse their soules, (Matt. v., Johne xiv. xvi.) And the same foresaw the prophet Isay, when that he painteth furth all other battell to be with violence, tumult, and blood-shedding; but the victorie of God's people to be in quietnesse, silence, and hope, (Isaiah ix.;) meaning that all others that doe obteane victorie, doe enforce themselves to resist their adversareis, to shed blood, and to murther; but so doe not the elect of God. But all things they susteane at the commandement of Him who hath appointed them to suffer, being most assuredlie perswaded, that then onlie they triumphe when all men judge them oppressed. For in the crosse of Christ alwayes is included a secreit and hide victorie never weill knowne, till the sufferar appeare altogether to be (as it were) exterminat; for then onlie did the blood of Abel crie unto God, when proud Cain judged all memorie of his brother to be extinguished. And so, I say, their victorie is mervellous. And how that they can be preserved, and not brought to utter confusioun, the ey of man perceaveth not. But He whose power is infinite, by secreit and hide motioums tuicheth the hearts of suche as, to men's judgements, have power to destroy them, of verie pitie and compassioun to save his people, (Isaiah xl. xli. li.) As that he did the hearts of the Egyptian midwifes, to preserve the men childrein of the Israelites, when precept was given by Pharaoh of their destruction, (Exod. ii.) The heart of Pharaoh's daughter likewise to pitie Moses, in his young infancie exposed to

the dangers of the waters; the heart of Nebuchadnezar to preserve the captives alive, and liberallie to nourishe the childrein that were found apt to letters, (4 Reg. xxv.;) and, finallie, the heart of Cyrus to sett at libertie the people of God, after long boundage and thraldome, (Jerem. lii., Esdr. i.) And thus doth the invisible power and love of God manifest itself towards his elect frome time to time, for two causses especiallie. First, to comfort his weake warriours in their manifold tentatiouns, letting them understand that he is able to compell suche as sometimes were enemeis to his people to fight in their caus, and to promote their deliverance; and, secundarilie, to give a testimonie of his favour to them that, by all appearance, did live before (as Paul speeketh) wanting God in the world, as strangers frome the commoun wealth of Israel, and without the league of his mercifull promise and free grace made to his church, (Ephes. ii.) For who could have affirmed, that anie of these persons aforenamed had beene of that nature and clemencie, before occasiouns were offered to them? But the works of mercie showed to the afflicted have left to us assurance, that God used them as vessells of his honour, for pitie and mercie showed to Christ's afflicted flocke. As they never laiked reward temporall, so, if they be continued, and be not chainged into crueltie, are assured signes and seales of everlasting mercie to be receaved frome God, who, by his Holie Spirit, moveth their hearts to shew mercie to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.

"Your Grace perchance doth wounder to what purpose these things be recited. And I, in verie deed, cannot wounder eneugh that occasioun is offered to me (a worme most wretched) to recite the same at this present. For I have looked rather for the sentence of death, than to have writtin to your Grace in these last and most wicked dayes, in which Satan so blindeth the hearts of manie, that innocents are damned, their caus never tryed. I doubt not but the rumors which have come to your Grace's eares of me have been suche, that if all reports were true, I were unworthie to live on the earth; and wounder it is, that the voices of the multitude sould not so have inflammed your Grace's heart with just

hatred of suche a one as I am accused to be, that all accesse to pitie sould have beene shutt up. I am traduced as an heretick, accused as a false teacher, and seducer of the people, besides other oppro-bries, which (affirmed by men of worldlie honour and estimatioun) may easilie kindle the wrathe of magistrats where innocencie is not knowne. But blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by the dew of his grace, hath so quenched the fire of displeasure as yitt in your Grace's heart, (which of late dayes I understand,) that Satan is frustrat of his interprise and purpose, which is to my heart no small comfort; not so muche, God is my witnesse, for anie benefite that I can receave in this miserable life by protectioun of anie earthlie creature, (for the cuppe which it behoveth me to drinke is appointed by the wisdome of Him whose counsells are not changeable,) as that I am for that benefite which, I am assured, your Grace sall receave, if that yee continue in like moderatioun and clemencie towards others that most unjustlie are, and sall be accused, as that your Grace hath begunne towards me and my most desperat case. That is, if that by godlie wisdome yee sall studie to bridle the furie and rage of them who, for the maintenance of their worldlie pompe, regard nothing the cruell murthering of simple innocents, then sall He who doth pronounce mercie to apperteane to the mercifull, (Matt. v.) and promiseth that a cuppe of cold water givin for his name's sake sall not laike reward, (Matt. x.) first caus your happie governement to be praised in this present age, and in posteriteis to come, and last recompense your godlie paines and studie with that joy and glorie which the eye hath not seene, nor yitt can enter into the heart of mortall creature, (1 Corin. ii.) Superfluous and foolish it sall appeare to manie that I, a man of base estate and conditioun, darre interprise to admonishe a princesse so honourable, indewed with wisdome and graces singular. But when I consider the honour which God commandeth to be givin to magistrats, (Exod. xx., Romans xiii.) which, no doubt, if it be true honour, conteaneth in itself in lawfull things obedience, and in all things love and reverence, (1 Peter ii. ;) when, further, I consider the troublesome estate of Christ's true re-

ligioun, this day oppressed by blindnesse of men; and, last, the great multitude of flatterers, and rather number of them that boldlie and plainlie darre speake the naked veritie in presence of their princes, and speciallie in the caus of Christ Jesus—these things, I say, considered, whatsoever anie man sall judge of my interprise, I am compelled to say, that—

The First Proposition.

"Unlesse in your regiment and using of power, your Grace be found different frome the multitude of princes and head rulers, that this pre-eminence wherin yee are placed sall be your dejectioun to torment and paine everlasting. This propositioun is sore; but, alas, it is so true, that if I sould conceale and hide it frome your Grace, I committed no lesse treasoun against you, than if I did see you by imprudencie take a cuppe which I knew to be poysouned or invenomed, and yitt would not admonishe you to absteane frome drinking of the same.

The Secund Proposition.

"The religioun which this day men defend by fire and sword is a cuppe invenomed, of which whosoever drinketh, (except that by true repentance he after drinke of the water of life,) drinketh there-with damnatioun and death, (John iv., Apocal. xiv. xvii.) How, and by whom it hath beene invenomed, if it were not more tedious to your Grace to read or heare, than it is painfull to mee to write or rehearse, I would not spare the labour. But for this present, I have thought it some discharge of one part of my duetie, if I of verie love admonishe your Grace of the danger, which I doe, as God one day sall declare, preferring your Grace's salvatioun, and the salvatioun of the people now committed to your charge, to anie corporall benefite that can redound to myself.

Answere to an Objection.

"But yee thinke, peradventure, that the care of religioun is not committed to magistrats, but to the bishops and estate ecclesiasti-

call, as they terme it. But deceave not yourself, for the negligence of bishops sall no lesse be required of the hands of magistrats, than sall the oppression of false judges; for they unjustlie promote, foster, and mainteane the one and the other. The false and corrupt judge to spoile the goods, and oppresse the bodeis of the simple; but the proud prelats doe kings mainteane, to murther the soules for which the blood of Christ Jesus was shed: and that they doe, either by withholding frome them the true Word of Life, or elles by causing teache unto them a pestilent doctrine, such as now is taught in the Papisticall churches. I know, that yee wounder how that the religioun which is universallie receaved can be so damnable and corrupted. But if your Grace sall consider, that ever frome the beginning, the multitude hath declyned frome God, (Gen. vi.;) yea, even in the people, to whome he spake by his law and prophets, (Psalme xiv.;) if ye sall consider the complaint of the Holie Ghost, compleaning that nations, people, princes, and kings of the earth have raged, made conspiraceis, and holdin councells against the Lord, and against his anointed Christ Jesus, (Psalme ii.;) further, if yee sall consider the questioun which Jesus himself doth move, in these words, 'When the Sonne of man sall come, sall he find faith in the earth?' (Luc. xviii.)—And, last, if your Grace sall consider the manifest contempt of God, and of his holie precepts, which this day raigneth without punishement upon the face of the whole earth; for, as Hoseas compleaneth, there is no vertue, there is no mercie, there is no truthe, this day among men, but lees, perjurie, and oppressioun overflow all, and blood tuicheth blood; that is, everie iniquitie is joyned to another, (Hos. iv.;) if deepelie, I say, your Grace sall contemplate the universall corruptioun that this day raigneth in all estates, then sall your Grace ceasse to wounder that manie are called, and few are chosin, (Matt. xx.;) and yee sall beginne to tremble, and feare to follow the multitude to perditioun, (Matt. vii.) The universall defectioun wherof Sanct Paul propheceid is easilie to be espied, as weill in religioun as in maners, (2 Thessal. ii.) The corruptioun of life is evident, and religioun is not judged, nor measured by the plaine Word of God, but by custome, consuetude,

will, consent, and determinatioums of men. But sall He who hath pronounced all cogitatioums of man's heart to be vaine at all times, accept the counsels and consents of men, for a religioun acceptable and pleasing before him? Lett not your Grace be deceaved: God cannot lee; God cannot deny himself. He hath witnessed frome the beginning, that no religioun pleaseth him, except that which he, by his owne Word, hath commanded and established, (Deuter. iv.—xii.) The Veritie itself pronounceth this sentence, 'In vaine doe they worship me, teaching for doctrins the precepts of men,' (Matt. xv.;) and also, 'All plantation which my heavenlie Father hath not planted, sall be rooted out.' Before the comming of his well-beloved Sonne in the flesh, severelie he punished all suche as durst interprise to alter and change his ceremoneis and statutes, as in Saul, Uzziah, Nadab, and Abihu, is to be read, 1 Reg. xiii. and xv.; 2 Par. xxvi.; Levit. x. And will He now, after that He hath opened his counsell to the world, by his onelie Sonne, whome He commandeth to be heard, (Mat. xvii.;) and after that by his Holie Spirit, speaking in his apostles, He hath established the religioun in which He will his true worshippers to abide to the end, (Acts i. ii. and iii.;) will He now, I say, admitt men's inventioums in the mater of religioun, which He reputed for damnable idolatrie? 1 Corin. xi. If man and angels would affirme that He will, or may doe it, his owne veritie sall convict them of a lee, (Coloss. ii.;) for this sentence he pronounceth, 'Not that which seemeth good to thy eyes sall thou doe to the Lord thy God; but that which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that doe thou: adde nothing to it, diminishe nothing frome it,' Deut. iv. xii. Which, sealing up of his New Testament, he repeateth in these words: 'That which yee have, hold till I come againe,' &c. Apocal. ii. And, therefore, yitt again it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, which is cheefe and principall, your Grace must disassent frome the multitude of rulers, or elles yee can possesse no portioun with Christ Jesus in his kingdome and glorie. An orator, and God's messinger, also justlie might require of you now, (by God's hand promoted to high dignitie,) a motherlie pitie upon your

subjects, a justice inflexible to be used against murtherers and commoun oppressours, a heart voide of avarice and partialitie, a minde studious and carefull for maintenance of that realme and commoun wealth, (above whome God hath placed you,) and by it hath made you honourable; with the rest of vertues which, not onlie God's Scriptures, but also writters illuminated onlie with the light of nature, require in godlie rulers. But vaine it is to crave reformatioun of maners where religioun is corrupted; for like as a man cannot doe the office of a man, till first he have a being and life, so, to worke works pleasant in the sight of God the Father, can no man doe without the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which doth not abide in the hearts of idolaters. And, therefore, the most godlie princes, Josias, Ezekias, and Joshaphat, seeking God's favour to rest upon them, and upon their people, before all things beganne to reforme the religioun, (3 Reg. xv.; 2 Par. xvii.; 4 Reg. xxii.; 2 Par. xxxiv.; 4 Reg. xviii.; 2 Par. xxix. xxx. and xxxi.;) for it is as the stomacke within the bodie, which, if it be corrupted, of necessitie it infecteth the whole masse. And, therefore, (often I repeate that which to be done is most necessarie,) if your Grace pretend to raigne with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you to take care of his true religioun, which this day, within your realmes, is so deformed, that no part of Christ's ordinances remaines in their first strenth and orinal puritie; which, I praise God, to me is lesse difficill to prove than dangerous to speeke. And yitt, neither the one nor the other I feare, partlie, becaus the love of life eternall quencheth the terrour of temporall death; and partlie, becaus I would, with Sanct Paul, wishe myself accursed frome Christ, (as tuiching earthlie pleasure,) for the salvatioun of my brethrein, and illuminatioun of your Grace. Which thing, work and verie deid, and not bare word or writting sall witnesse and declare, if I may purchase the libertie of tongue but fourtie dayes onlie. I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the naturall man, to innovat anie thing in maters of religioun; and partlie I consider, that your Grace's power is not so free as a publick reformatioun, perchance, would require. But if your Grace sall consider the danger, and

damnatioun perpetuall, which inevitablie hangeth upon all mainteaners of a false religioun, then sall the greatest danger easilie devoure and swallow up the smaller. If your Grace sall consider, that either yee must serve God to life everlasting, or elles serve the world to death and damnatioun, then, albeit man and angell sould dissuade you, yee will choose life and refuse death, Matt. vi.; Rom. viii.; 3 Reg. xviii. And if, further, yee sall consider, that the verie life cousisteth in the knowledge of the onlie true God, and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, and that true knowledge hath annexed with it God's true worship and honour, which requireth a testimonie of his owne will expressed by his Word, that suche honour doth please him. If these things aforesaid your Grace doe earnestlie meditate, then, albeit yee may not doe suddenlie what yee would, yitt sall yee not ceasse to doe what yee may. Your Grace cannot suddanlie abolishe superstitioun, and remove frome offices unprofitable pastors, of whome speeketh Ezechiel the prophet, (Ezech. xxxiv.;) which to a publick reformatioun is requisite and necessarie. But if the zeale of God's glorie be fervent in your Grace's heart, that yee will not by wicked lawes mainteane idolatrie, neither will yee suffer the furie of bishops to murther and devour the poore members of Christ's bodie, as in times by past they have beene accustomed; which thing, if either by blind ignorance yee doe, or yitt for pleasure of others within this realme permitt to be done, then, except you speedilie repent, yee and your posteritie sall suddanlie feele the depressing hand of him that hath exalted you.

"*Note.*—Yee sall be compelled, will yee or not, to know that He is eternall against whome yee addresse the battell; and that it is He that moderateth the times, and disposeth kingdoms, ejecting frome authoritie suche as be inobedient, and placing others according to his good pleasure, (Dan. ii.;) that it is He that glorifeith them that doe glorifie him, and powreth furth contempt upon princes that rebell against his graces offered, 2 Reg. ii.; Job xii.; Psal. cvii.: Dan. ii. How dangerous that ever it sall appeare to the fleshe to obey God, and to make warre against the devill, the prince of darknesse, pride, and superstitioun, yitt, if your Grace looke to

have yourself and seede to continue in honour, worldlie and everlasting, subject yourselves, by times, under the hand of him that is Omnipotent: embrace his will, despise not his testament, refuse not his graces offered. When he calleth upon you, withdraw not your eare.

Exhortatioun.

"Be not ledde away with the vaine opinioun, that your church cannot erre. Be yee perswaded, that so farre as in life yee see them degenerated frome Christ's true apostles, so in religioun are they farther corrupted. Lay the Booke of God before your eyes, and lett it be judge to that which I say, Josh. i. Which, if ye with feare and reverence obey, (as did Josias the admonitioun of the prophetesse, 2 Par. xxxix.; 2 Par. i.,) then sall He (by whome kings doe raigne) crowne your battell with double benedictioun, and reward you with wisdome, riches, glorie, honour, and long life in this your regiment temporall, and with life everlasting, when the King of all kings, (whose members doe now crie for your helpe,) the Lord Jesus sall appeare to judgement, accompaneid with his angels, before whome yee sall mak accompt of your present regiment, when the proud and disobedient sall crie, 'Mountaines fall upon us, and hide us frome the face of the Lambe!' Apocal. vi. But then it sall be late, becaus they contemned his voice when he lovinglie called. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holie Spirit, move your heart so to consider and accept the things that be said, that they be not a testimonie of your just condemnatioun in that great day of the Lord Jesus, to whose omnipotent Spirit I unfeignedlie committ your Grace."

This letter, writtin by Mr Knox, to move her to heare the Word, was presented to her. After she had read it, she delivered it within a day or two to James Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, and said in mockage, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquill." These words provoked Mr Knox to explaine everie sectioun and passage of the letter. In the explanatioun, he is plaine with her, that her power

was but borrowed, and by permissioun of others: that seldome it is, that weomen doe raigne long with felicitie and joy; for, as nature hath denyed unto them a constant spirit of governement, so hath God pronounced, that they are givin in wrath to raigne over men. He putteth her in minde how, furst, her two sonnes were suddanlie takin frome her, within the space of six houres, and after her husband, reft, as it were by violence; and biddeth her beware that she provoke not the eyes of God's Majestie, "for it will not be the hautie lookes of the proud, the strenth of your freinds, nor the multitude of men, that can justifie your cause in his presence." And wheras she delivered his letter to one of her prelats, calling it a pasquill, he sayeth, "If yee doe no more esteeme the admonitioun of God's servant, than cardinalls doe the scoffing of pasquills, that then he sall shortlie send you messingers, with whom yee sall not be able to jest in that maner." The letter, together with the explanation, was printed in the yeere 1558.

MR KNOX RETURNETH TO GENEVA.

Whill Mr Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters were sent to him, from the English church assembled at Geneva, separated frome that superstitious and contentious companie which was at Frankefurd, as he called them, charging him in God's name, as he was their chosin pastor, to returne to them. Wherupon he tooke his leave almost in everie congregatioun where he had taught before, and exhorted them to prayers, reading of the Scriptures, and mutuall conference, till suche time that God sall give them greater libertie. He sent before him to Deepe his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife, Mariorie, but remained himself for a seasoun after, at the earnest perswasioun of Robert Campbell of Kingzeancleughe. He went to the Erle of Argile, who was then in the castell of Campbell, where he taught certaine dayes. The Laird of Glenurquhart, one of his auditors, willed the erle to reteane him. But he would stay for no requeist, yitt promised, if God blessed these small begimmings, that they continued in godlinesse, whenso-

ever it pleased them to command him, he sould obey. "But once," said he, "I must needs visit that little flocke which the wickednesse of men compelleth me to leave." So, in the moneth of Julie he left this realme, and went to Geneva, not in Julie 1555, as is in the printed booke, but 1556.

MR KNOX BURNT IN EFFIGIE.

Immediately after Mr Knox his departure, the bishops summoned him, and for non-compeerance burnt him in effigie at the Croce of Edinburgh. From this unjust sentence he appealled, and caused his appellatioun to be printed, and directed it to the nobilitie and commouns of Scotland, in the yeere 1558, together with a supplicatioun and exhortatioun to the nobilitie and commonaltie, which we sall insert in the owne place.

MUDERACKE COMMITTED TO PRISOUN.

This same yeere, in the moneth of Julie, the Erle of Atholl. Johne Stuart, was sent to the north, to breake the forces of Johne Muderacke, or Mudeard. He brought him in to the queene. He was committed to prisoun, but escaped, and returned to his old course, wherupon the queen was forced to goe to the north, to represse disorders.

QUEEN REGENT SEEKETH AN UNCOUTH TAXATION.

After that the queene returned frome the north, the Lairds of Brunston, Ormestoun, and Grange, Mr Henrie Balnaves, and others which were forfaulted in the governour's time, were restored. The queene was to seeke a taxatioun, and by this meanes would have conciliat the hearts of the professors; for, by the instigatioun of Monsieur d'Osell, Rubie, and other Freuche men, the queene craved that a yeerelie taxatioun might be levied for waging of men of warre: that no gentle men might be charged to come frome their

housses, but in case of a great armie sent out of England; and that an inventare be takin of everie man's wealthe, to that effect. Sundrie of the lords consented. But the barons assembled together in Edinburgh, about the number of three hundreth, sent James Sandilands, Laird of Calder, and Johne Wemes, Laird of Easter Wemes, to the queene and the lords, to lett them know that it was both ignominious to them, to putt their goods in an inventare, as if they were to mak their last will, and to wage souldiours, as if they were not able to defend the countrie themselves, as their ancesters; and that it was dangerous to committ the defense of the countrie to hired souldiours, men that commounlie for money darre doe anie thing; and if the English would follow the like exemple, they might susteane a greater armie to our greater hurt: that it was against King Robert Bruce his advice, who warned the nobilitie never to keepe long truce with England, least the subjects, through lazinesse, sould become unfit for the warres. Some asked, who sould gather the money; how muche sould be left in the hands of the treasurer; how much necessarie for a waged souldiour? The queene regent, fearing insurrectioun, insisted no farther, but layed the blame upon one of the nobilitie. Huntlie was suspected to have been the deviser, rather to irritat the subjects against her, than thinking it would tak effect; for he feared the increasse of her power, and that she would diminishe the authoritie of the nobilitie, and drawe the whole governement of the realme to the Frenche.

M.D.LVII.

THE LORDS WRITE FOR MR KNOX.

The Erle of Glencarne, Lord Areskine, Lord Lorn, James Stuart, Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, had sent letters to Geneva, wherin they craved his presence for their comfort, and the comfort of their preachers and professours, then standing courageouslie against their enemeis. They signifie to him, that the faithfull heere were readie to jeopard their lives and goods for the setting fordward of the glo-

rie of God, howbeit the magistrats remained still in the state he left them; and that the friers were daylie in lesse estimatioun, both with the queene regent and the rest of the nobilitie. This letter was directed with James Sim, accompaneid with James Baron. He advised with his owne church, with Mr Calvine, and other ministers, who all with one consent said, he could not refuse that calling, unlesse he would declare himself rebellious to God, and unmercifull to his countrie. So he returned answere, with promise to visite them, so soone as he might putt order to the flocke which was committed to his charge. When he came to Deepe, he receaved a contrare directioun, as by this letter following may be understood.

MR KNOX HIS LETTER TO THE LORDS.

"According to my promise, (Right Honorable,) I came to Deepe, the 24th day of October, 1557, of full minde, by the good will of God, with the first shippes to have visitted you. But becaus two letters, not verie pleasant to the fleshe, were there presented unto me, I was compelled to stay for a time. The one was directed to myself frome a faithfull brother, which made mentioun that new consultatioun was appointed for final conclusion of the mater before proposed, and willed me, therefore, to abide in these parts till the determinatioun of the same. The other letter was directed from a gentleman to a freind, with charge to advertise me, that he had commouned with all these that seemed most frank and fervent in the mater; and that in none did he find suche boldnesse and constancie as was requisite for such an interprise, but that some did (as he writteth) repent that ever anie suche thing was moved. Some were partlie ashamed, and others were readie to denie that ever they did consent to anie suche purpose, if anie triell or questioun sould be takin therof. Which letters, when I had considered, I partlie was confounded, and partlie was pierced with anguish and sorrow. Confounded I was that I had so farre travelled in the mater, moving the same to the most godlie and most learned that

this day we know to live in Europ, to the effect that I might have their judgement and grave counsell, for assurance as weill of your consciences as of myne in all interprises. And then, that nothing sould succeed of so long consultatioun, cannot but redound either to your shame or myne: for either it sall appeare that I was mervellous vaine, being so solicite, where no necessitie required; or elles, that suche as were my movers thereto laiked the rypenesse of judgement in their calling for me. To some, it may appeare a small and light mater, that I have cast off, and, as it were, abandouned my particular care, as weill as my publicke office and charge, leaving my hous and poore familie destitut of all head save God onlie, and committing that small, but to Christ deerelie beloved flocke, over the which I was appointed one of the ministers, to the charge of another. This, I say, to worldlie men may appeare a small mater; but to me it was, and is suche, that more worldlie substance than I will expresse could not have caused me behold the eyes of so manie grave men weeping at once for my caus, as I did in taking my last good night from them; to whome, if it please God that I returne, and questioun be demaunded what was the impediment of my purposed journey, judge you what I sall answere. The caus of my dolour and sorrow, God is my witnesse, is for nothing perteaning either to my corporall contentment, or worldlie displeasure; but it is for the greevous plagues and punishements of God, which assuredlie sall apprehend not onlie you, but everie inhabitant of that miserable realme and Ile, except that the power of God by the libertie of the Gospell deliver you from boundage. I meane, not onlie that perpetuall fire and torment prepared for the divell, and for suche as denying Christ Jesus and his knowne veritie doe follow the sonnes of wickednesse to perditioun, which most is to be feared; but also that thraldome and miserie which sall apprehend your owne bodeis, your childrein, subjects, and posteritie, whome yee have betrayed, (in conscience I can except none that beare the name of nobilitie,) and presentlie fight to betray them, and your realme, to the slaverie of strangers. The warre begunne (although I acknowledge it be the worke of God) sall be your

destructioun, unlesse betime remedie be provided. God open your eyes, that yee may espy and consider your owne miserable estate! My wordes sall appeare to some sharpe, and undiscreitlie spokin. But as charitie ought to interprete all things to the best, so ought wise men to understand, that a true freind cannot be a flatterer, speciallie when the questiouns of salvatioun, both of bodie and soule, are moved, and that not of one, nor of two, but, as it were, of a whole realme or natioun. What are the sobbes, and what is the affectioun of my troubled heart to God, sall one day declare. But this will I adde to my former rigour and severitie, to witt, if anie perswade you, for feare of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he esteemed never so wise and friendlie, lett him be judged foolish, and your mortall enemie: foolish, be-caus he understood nothing of God's approved wisdome; enemie to you, becaus he laboured to separate you frome God's favour; provoking his vengeance and greevous plagues against you, because he would that yee sould preferre your worldlie rest to God's praise and glorie, and the freindship of the wicked to the salvatioun of your brethrein. I am not ignorant that fearefull troubles sall ensue your interprise, as in my former letters I did signifie unto you. But O, joyfull and comfortable are these troubles and adversiteis which man susteaneth for accomplishement of God's will, reveeled by his Word: for how terrible soever they appeare to the judgement of the naturall man, yitt are they never able to devour, nor utterlie to consume the sufferers; for the invisible and invincible power of God susteaneth and preserveth, according to his promise, all suche as with simplicitie doe obey him. The subtile craft of Pharao manie yeeres, joyned with his bloodie crueltie, was not able to destroy the male childrein of Israel; neither were the waters of the Reid Sea, muche lesse the rage of Pharao, able to confound Moses, and the companie which he conducted; and that because the one had God's promise that they sould multiplie, and the other had his commandement to enter in suche dangers. I would your wisdomes sould consider, that our God remaineth One, and is immutable; and that the church of Christ Jesus hath the same pro-

mise of protectioun and defense that Israel had of multiplicatioun. And further, that no lesse caus have yee to enter into your former interprise, than Moses had to goe to the presence of Pharao; for your subjects, yea, your brethrein are oppressed, their bodeis and soules holdin in boundage, and God speeketh to your consciences, unlesse yee be deid with the blind world, that yee ought to hazard your owne lives, be it against kings or emperours, for their deliverance; for onlie for that caus are yee called princes of the people. And yee receave of your brethrein honour, tribute, and homage at God's commaundement, not by reasoun of your birth and progenie, as the most part of men doe falselie suppose, but by reasoun of your office and ductie, which is, to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethrein from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power. Advise diligentlie, I beseech you, with the points of that letter which I directed to the whole nobilitie, and lett everie man apply the mater and case to himself; for your conscience sall one day be compelled to acknowledge, that the reformatioun of religioun and of publick enormiteis doth apperteane to moe than to the cleargie, or cheefe rulers called kings. The mightie Spirit of the Lord Jesus rule and guide your counsells, to your eternall glorie and comfort, and to the consolatioun of your brethrein. Amen. Frome Deepe, the 27th of October, 1557."

Mr Knox wrote in December following a prolixe letter to the lords, the last part wherof I have heere subjoyned as followes :—

"But these historeis I may not apply, least that I be compelled to exceed the measure of a missive. These that choose to be taught of God, and by plaine and cleere sight of their infirmitie and wretched nature, are unfainedlie moved to rest upon the power of God, and upon his free and undeserved mercie, have frome time to time augmentatioun and increasse of his Holie Spirit, and wisdome in abundance, joyned with constancie, ministred unto them in the middest of all afflictiouns, to performe the goode worke which in God's name they beginne. And so potentlie does He

sometimes worke, even by suche as have sometimes appeared abject, and of no estimatioun, that by one he comforteth, mainteaneth, and delivereth manie thowsands. If yee have tasted of this spirit, (Right Honorable,) and by the motioun of the same putt your hands to the Lord's worke, then, whatsoever anie creature imagine in your contrarie, yitt sall yee so prosper, that in the end yee sall be called the blessed of the Lord: for as suche as labour to suppresse God's glorie sall leave their names in execratioun to the posteritie following, so sall these that unfainedlie seeke to promote the same have their names writtin, not onlie in the Booke of Life, but also sall have them heere keeped and registrated in speciall recommendatioun. But in all things I wish your eyes to be single, beholding onlie in your interprise the glorie of God, your ducteis, and the salvatioun of your brethrein. But now, no further to trouble you at this present, I will onlie advertise you of suche bruite as I heare in thir parts uncertanlie noysed; which is this, that contradictioun and rebellioun is made to the authoritie by some in that realme. In which point my conscience will not suffer me to keepe backe frome you my counsell, yea, my judgement and commandement, which I communicate with you in God's feare, and by the assurance of his truth; which is, that none of you that seeke to promote the glorie of Christ doe suddanlie disobey or displease the authoritie established in things lawfull; nather yitt, that yee assist or fortifie suche as, for their owne particular caus and worldlie promotioun, would trouble the same. But in the bowells of Christ Jesus I exhort you, that with all simplicitie and lawfull obedience, joyned with boldnesse in God, and with open confessioun of your faith, yee seeke the favours of the authoritie, that by it (if possible be) that caus in which yee labour may be promoted, or at the least not persecuted. Which thing, after all humble requcist if yee cannot obteane, then, with open and solemne protestatioun of your obedience to be givin to the authoritie in all things not plainlie repugning to God, yee lawfullie may attempt the extremitie, which is, to provide, whether the authoritie will consent or not, that Christ's Evangell may be truelie preached, and his holie sacra-

ments rightlie ministred to you, and to your brethrein, the subjects of that realme. And farther, yee lawfullie may, yea, and therto are bound to defend your brethrein from persecutioun and tyrannie, be it against princes or emperours, to the uttermost of your power, providing alwayes, as I have said, that neither yourself denie lawfull obedience, neither yet that yee assist nor promote these that seeke authoritie and pre-eminence of worldlie glorie, yea, of the suppressioun and destructioun of others; I meane, of him who in the beginning of his authoritie and governement beganne to professe Christ's truthe, but suddanlie slydding backe, became a cruell persecutor of Christ's members, a manifest and open oppressour of all true subjects, and a mainteaner of all mischeevous men, in which horrible vices, he, and his factioun and assisters, I meane his neerest kinsmen, and cheefest counsell, doe continue to this day, and maligne according to their power, which God of his just judgement sall shortlie suppresse. For not onlie the blood of these constant martyrs of Christ Jesus, Mr George Wishart, simple Adam Wallace, and of others which did suffer for Christ's caus onlie, but also the blood of these which under the title of civill crimes was most unjustlie shed, sall crie in the eares of the Lord of Hoasts, till a just and open vengeance be powred furth upon all these that sought the same; but cheefelie upon him that then was in authoritie, except that unfained and speedie repentance prevent God's judgements. I sall be judged sharpe. But be you admonished to flee all confederacie with that generatioun; for I speeke and writt in the presence of Him before whose eyes the blood of his sancts is so pretious, that no worldlie power was ever found able to mainteane long, or defend suche as delyted in the shedding of the same. And, therefore, untill suche time as yee see some signes of repentance in them, I say yitt againe, avoide over great familiaritie with them. That now I perswade you to give lawfull obedience to the authoritie, is nothing repugnant to that which I wrote before, tuiching the warre begunne; for a great difference there is betwixt lawfull obedience, and a fearefull flattering of princes; or an unjust accomplishement of their desires in things which be required or de-

vised for the destructioun of a commounwealthe. But this article I omitt for this present.

"The mightie Spirit of the Lord Jesus rule your hearts in the true feare of God, open your eyes to consider your dueteis, and give you strenth to execute the same. Amen. Yours to command in godlinesse, JOHNE KNOX.

"Frome Deepe, the 17th of December, 1557."

A BAND SUBSCRIVED BY THE LORDS.

After the reading of these letters, and of others directed to the whole nobilitie, and some particular gentlemen, as the Lairds of Dun and Pitarrow; after newe consultatioun it was concluded, that they would follow furth their purpose once intended, and would committ themselves, and whatsoever God had givin them, into His hands, rather than they would suffer idolatrie so manifestlie to raigne, and the subjects to be still defrauded of the foode of their soules, as they had beene so long. That everie one might be the more assured of other, a commoun band was made and subscribed by some, the tenor wherof followeth:

"Wee, perceaving how Satan, in his members, the Antichrist of our time, cruellie doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospell of Christ, and his congregatioun, ought, according to our bounden duteis, strive in our Master's caus even to the death, being certane of the victorie in Him. The which our duetie being weill considered, we doe promise before the majestie of God, and His congregatioun, that we by His grace sall, with all diligence, continuallie apply our whole power, substance, and our verie lives, to mainteane, sett fordward, and establishe the most blessed Word of God, and His congregatioun; and sall labour at our possibilitie to have faithfull ministers, truelie and purelie to minister Christ's Gospell and Sacraments to His people. We sall mainteane them, nourishe them, and defend them, and the whole congregatioun of Christ, and everie member therof, at our whole power, and waging

of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that doth intend tyrannie or trouble against the foresaid congregatioun. Unto the which holie Word and congregatioun we doe joyne ourselves, and so doe forsake and renounce the congregatioun of Satan, with all the superstitious abominatioun and idolatrie therof; and, moreover, sall declare ourselves manifestlie enemeis thereto, by this our faithfull promise before God, testifeid to his congregatioun by our subscriptioun at these presents. At Edinburgh, the thrid of December, 1557. God called to witnesse. *Sic subscribitur*,

A. Erle of Argyle.
Glencarne.
Archibald, Lord of Lorn.
Johne Areskine of Dun, &c."
Mortoun.

THE NAME OF CONGREGATION TAKIN UP BY THE PROFESSORS.

[That this band was subscrived in the 1558th yeere, and not 1557, as it is in the printed historie, is cleere by the words following, where it is said, that before this band was subscribed, other letters, directed frome the lords to Mr Knox and Mr Calvine, to move Mr Knox to returne, were delivered to him in the moneth of November, the yeere of God 1558, by Mr Johne Gray, who, at that time, went to Rome, for expeditioun of the bulls of Rosse to Mr Henrie Sinclar. So, the letters directed frome Deepe, and the printed appellatioun to the nobilitie, and exhortatioun to the commouns, had sett an edge upon the professours, and brought furth, as appeareth, this effect; to witt, the subscriving of this band.[1]] Buchanan relateth, that the cheefe professours in Fife and Angus went through the countrie, and exhorted suche as favoured the truthe, not to suffer themselves or their freinds and brethrein professing the same truthe to be oppressed by a few, and those of the

[1] Having afterwards discovered that the band was really subscribed in 1557, Calderwood, in a marginal note of the MS., has ordered it to be included within the events of that year; but among the numerous alterations and erasures at this part of the work, which his mistake had occasioned, he omitted to cancel those sentences which we have inclosed within brackets.

weaker sort. If their adversareis would contend with them by law and right, they would prove victors: if by force they were a matche. These to whome these motioums were thought reasonable and just, subscribed a band, which was offered to them, tuiching that purpose. These were the first that tooke upon them the name of the Congregatioun, which name became more famous afterward, by the concurrence of others joyning to them. Of this name there is mentioun in the band above writtin.

THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONGREGATION.

After the subscriptioun of the band above writtin, the lords and barons, professing Christ Jesus, conveened frequentlie, and agreed upon these heads:—First, That in all parishes, the Commoun Prayer be read weekelie, on the Lord's day, in publick, with lessoums of the Old and New Testament, conforme to the order of the Booke of Commoun Prayer. If the curates be qualifeid, to caus them read the same; if not, or if they refuse, that the best qualifeid in the parish reade them. Secundlie, That doctrine, preaching, and interpretatioun of Scripture, be used in privat housses, without great conventiouns of people, till God move the prince to grant publick preaching by faithfull and true ministers.

This yeere, 1557, Marie, Queene of England, entangling herself, contrarie to her promise, in King Phillip her husband's querell, sent a defiance to the Frenche king, which was declared to him at Rhems, upon the 7th of June, being the Moonday in Whitsun weeke.

QUEENE REGENT ATTEMPTING WAR, FRUSTRAT OF HER ATTEMPT.

In the moneth of Julie after, at the instance of Marie, Queene of England, the Commissioners of England and Scotland met at Carlill, to treate of peace and redresse of wrongs; for the Queen of England feared that the Scots would attempt something against the English, now when warres were arising betwixt England and France.

In the verie time of the treatie, the Frenche king sent letters to the queene regent, and desired her, according to the conditiouns of the league, to make warre against the English. The queene assembleth the lords at Newbottle. She layed furth the wrongs done by the English without redresse; desired, that under that colour, in favour of France, warre might be denounced. The lords refused to beginne. To draw them on, as it were by constraint, by the advice of Monsieur d'Osell, she fortified Haymouth, beside Berwicke, not doubting but the English would preasse to hinder, and fromie thence would arise provocatiouns. And so it came to passe indeed. The Scots, provoked with injureis, consent to denounce warre. The commissioners, treating at Carlill, were recalled. The armie encamped at Maxwelheuche, beside Kelso; the queene regent remained in the castell of Hume. Some, to gratifie the queene, forrage the countrie about Warke. Monsieur d'Osell, then Lieutenant for France, gave charge that the cannons sould be transported over Twede; which was done with expeditioun, but without advice or consent of the nobilitie. They, interpreting his attempt a triell whether they would become subject to strangers, went to d'Osell's pavillioun, told him, they would in no wise invade England at that time, and commanded the ordinance to be brought backe againe, which was done without delay. But suche a fire was kindled in the queene regent's breast, as was not weill slockened till her breathe failed. Monsieur d'Osell was not a little greeved, apprehending the majestie of his maister to be somewhat tuiched in his persoun. Sundrie incursions were made in the borders the winter following.

COMMISSIONERS CHOSIN TO BE SENT TO FRANCE, TO CONSUMMAT THE MARIAGE.

The queen and Monsieur d'Osell, to mainteane their owne authoritie, and to diminish the authoritie of the comsell, procure letters fromc the Frenche king, wherin he craved the solemnizatioun of the mariage betwixt the young Queene of Scots and the Daul-

phine. A parliament was assembled at Edinburgh in December. The King of France his letters were read, wherin he craved that some might be sent to consumat the mariage, and to honour it with their presence, seing his sonne, now, about the end of December, was to enter into rype yeares for mariage. The utilitie that might redound out of this matche to both the natiouns was opened up. The estates understood verie weill what this haste meant, yitt eight ambassaders or commissioners were chosin to be sent:—Gilbert Kennedie, Erle of Cassils, James Lord Fleming, George Leslie, Erle of Rothesse, James Pryor of Sanct Andrewes, the queen's brother, George Seton, Proveist of Edinburgh, Johne Areskine of Dun, Proveist of Montrose, James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney.

M.D.LVIII.

THE MARIAGE OF THE QUEEN AND DAULPHINE SOLEMNIZED.

The commissioners departed in the moneth of Februar, the yeere 1558. They losed two ships not farre frome the raid of Bulloigne. None of the passingers were safe, except the Erle of Rothesse and the Bishop of Orkney, who were receaved into a fisher boate, and convoyed to land. When the commissioners came to court, the Guisians never rested till the contract of mariage was made, and the mariage consummated. The five brethrein of the Guises had the guiding and disposing of the treasure and men of warre in France, so that their greatnesse was greatlie feared. The mariage was solemnized in Parise, with great magnificence, in the church of Nostredame, the 24th of Aprile 1558.

THE MATRIMONIALL CROWNE SOUGHT.

After the solemnitie of the mariage, the Chanceller of France travelled with the commissioners to have the crowne, sceptre, or anie other ensignes of royall authoritie presented, to the end the Daulphine might be crowned King of Scotland. It was answered,

they had no suche commissioun. Then it was required that they would promise that they would travell to effectuat it, and that they would confirme this their promise by their hand-writt. To this impudent requeist, it was answered more sharplie, that their commissioun was limited within certane bounds, which they neither would nor could transgresse: And, howbeit they had been sent with free ambassadge, they could not make suche a promise, without the note of infamie and treasoun. They promised, nevertheless, to gratifie them so farre as they might, in all honest things.

THE DEATH OF SUNDRIE COMMISSIONERS IN FRANCE.

The commissioners being dismissed frome court, the Erle of Cassils, the Erle of Rothesse, the Lord Fleming, the Bishop of Orkney, beside others of inferiour ranke, died in France, not without suspicioun of poysoun. Lord James, Pryor of Sanct Andrewes, had, by all appearance, licked of the same box which dispatched the rest: howbeit, he outwrastled, by reasoun of the strong constitutioun of his bodie, or vigour of his youth; for he had alwayes an infirmitie in his stomacke. The Erle of Rothesse departed the 9th of November; the Erle of Cassils the 14th of November; the Lord Fleeming, at Parise, the 18th of December. The Bishop of Orkney being driven backe by a contrarie winde, and forced to land againe at Deepe, perceaving his sicknesse to increasse, caused make his bed betwixt his two coffers. Lord James, who was ever at debate with him for maters of religioun, went to visite him. He, finding him to ly otherwise than the honour of the countrie required, said unto him, "Fy, my lord, how ly yee so heere, in this commoun hous? Will yee goe to your chamber?" He answered, "I am weill where I am, my lord, so long as I can tarie, for I am neere to my freinds;" meaning his coffers, and the gold therin. "My lord," said he, "how long have you and I beene in plea for purgatorie?" "I thinke I sall knowe, ere it be long, whether there be suche a place or not." Whill Lord James exhorted him to call to minde God his promises, and the vertue of Christ's death, he

answered, "Nay, my lord, lett me alone; for you and I never agreed in our life, and I think we sall not agree now at my death; therefore, lett me alone." The Lord James departed to his loodging; the other, shortlie after, out of this life.

THE DEATH OF SUNDRIE PRELATS.

About the same time departed the Bishop of Galloway. He died as he lived. The articles of his beleefe were,—"I referre: decart you. Aha! the foure kings, and all made: the devill goe with it, it is but a varlett! Frome France we thought to have gottin a Rubie, and yitt he is nothing but a Cohubie!"[1] With suche faith, and suche prayers, departed out of this life that enemie to God and his truthe, who had vowed, that so long as they that then were prelats lived, that Word called the Gospell sould never be preached within this realme. After the death of Andrew Durie, Bishop of Galloway, followed the death of Mr David Panter, Bishop of Rosse, even after the like maner, except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the rest that therupon depended, was the pastyme of his life. The Bishop of Brechin deceassed also at this time. To the Bishop of Brechin succeeded the Abbot of Cowper; to the Bishop of Galloway succeeded Alexander Gordon, Archbishop of Athens.

THE PROGRESSE OF RELIGIOUN.

The professours being informed by learned and godlie men abroad, in forrane countreis, that they might not, with a safe conscience, give their bodilie presence to the masse, or offer their childrein to Papisticall baptism; and that judges, lords, and rulers of the people, ought not to serve superiour powers, in mainteaning of idolatrie, persecuting of their brethrein, and suppressing the truthe, or by their silence to justifie and allow whatsoever is done; then everie man

[1] These were terms in the card-playing of the period, including a pun at the expense of M. Rubie.

beganne to looke more diligentlie to his owne salvatioun, and with humble confessioun of their former offensses, with fasting and supplicatioun to God, they beganne to seeke some remedie of the present dangers. It was agreed, as hath been said, that the brethrein sould assemble together, at certane times, in everie toun, to the commoun prayers and reading of the Scriptures, till it pleased God to give the gift of exhortatioun to some, for comfort and instructioun of the rest. God so blessed this weake beginning, that within few moneths the face of a church was erected in sundrie places. Elders were chosin, to whome the whole brethrein promised obedience. The Laird of Dun, David Forresse, Mr Robert Lockhart, Mr Robert Hammiltoun, Williame Harlaw, and some other zealous men, exhorted according to the measure of grace given them. God so wrought by Paul Methven, that manie in Angus and Fife beganne openlie to renounce their idolatrie, and to submitt themselves to Christ's blessed ordinance, insomuche, that the toun of Dundie beganne to erect the face of a reformed church publicklie, in which the Word was preached openlie, and the Sacraments truelie ministred. Johne Willocke remained for the most part at Edinburgh, and notwithstanding of his long and dangerous sicknesse, as hath been said, did so incurage the brethrein, that they beganne to deliberate upon some publick reformatioun; for corruption in religioun was so great, that their consciences, now illightenned, could no longer susteane it. Yitt, becaus they would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the authoritie, the professours agreed with one consent to send Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Knight, a man whose age and yeeres deserved reverance, whose honestie and vertue might have procured audience, a man no wise suspected of his loyaltie or unfaithfulnesse to the authoritie, with a supplicatioun to the queene regent, the tenor wherof followeth :—

THE FIRST ORATION AND PETITION OF THE PROFESSORS TO THE QUEENE REGENT IN THE BEGINNING OF THE YEERE 1558.

"Albeit we have of long time conteaned ourselves in that mo-

destie, most noble princesse, that neither exile of bodie, losse of goods, nor perishing of this mortall life, was able to conveene us, to aske of your Grace reformatioun and redresse of these wrongs, and of that sore greefe which hath patientlie beene borne of us in bodeis and mindes of long time, yitt are we now of verie conscience, and through the feare of our God, compelled to crave, at your Grace's feete, remedie against the most unjust tyrannie used against your Grace's most obedient subjects, by those that be called the Estate Ecclesiasticall. Your Grace cannot be ignorant what controversie hath beene, and yitt is, concerning the true religioun, and right worshipping of God; and how the clergie (as they will be termed) usurp to themselves suche impyre above the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, whatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without farther respect to God's pleasure, commandement, or will, reveeled to us in his most holie Word; or elles there abideth nothing for us but faggot, fire, and sword, by the which manie of our brethrein most cruellie and most unjustlie have beene stricken of late yeeres within this realme: which now we find to trouble and wound our consciences: for we acknowledge it to have beene our boundin duteis before God, either to have defended our brethrein from these cruell murtherers, seing we are a part of that power which God hath established in this realme, or elles to have givin open testificatioun of our faith with them. Which now we offer ourselves to doe, least by our continuall silence, we sould seeme to justifie their crueltie, which doth not onlie displease us, but your Grace's wisdome most prudentlie doth foresee, that for the quyetting of this intestine dissensioun, a publick reformatioun, as weill in religioun as in the temporall government, were most necessarie; and to the performance therof, most gravelie and most godlie, as we are informed, yee have exhorted, als weill the cleargie as the nobilitie, to imploy their studie, diligence, and care. Wee, therefore, of conscience, darre no longer dissemble in so weightie a mater, which concerneth the glorie of God and our salvatioun. Neither now darre we withdraw our presence, or counsell, or petitiouns, least that the adversareis heer-

after sall object to us, that place was graunted for reformatioun, and that no man sued for the same; so sall our silence be prejudiciall to us in time to come. Therefore we, knowing no other order placed in this realme but your Grace, and your grave counsell, sett to amend as weill the disorders ecclesiasticall, as the defaults in the temporall regiment, we most humblie prostrate ourselves before your feete, asking justice, and your gracious helpe against them that falselie traduce and accuse us as hereticks and schismaticks, under that colour seeking our destructioun, for that we seeke the amendement of their corrupted lives, and Christ's religioun to be restored to the originall puritie. Farther, we crave of your Grace, with open and patent eares, to heare these our subsequent requeists; and to the joy and satisfactioun of our troubled consciences, mercifullie to grant the same, unlesse, by God's plaine Word, anie be able to prove, that justlie they ought to be denied.

"Furst, humblie we aske, that as we have, by the lawes of this realme, after long debate, obteaned libertie to reade the holie bookes of the Old and New Testament in our commoun tongue, as spirituall foode to our soules, so from hencefurth it may be lawfull that we may meete, publicklie or privatlie, to the commoun prayers in our vulgar tongue; to the end that we may encreasse and grow in knowledge, and may be induced in fervencie of prayer to commend to God the holie church universall, the queene our soverane, her honourable and gracious husband, the habilitie of their successioun, your Grace, regent, the nobilitie, and whole estate of this realme.

"Secundlie, if it sall happin in our said meetings, anie hard place of Scripture to be read, of the which no profite ariseth to the hearers, that it sall be lawfull to anie persons qualifeid with knowledge, being present, to interprete and open up the said hard places, to God's glorie and the profite of the auditorie. And if anie thinke that this libertie sall be occasioun of confusioun, debate, or heresie, we are content that it be provided that the said interpretatioun sall underly the judgement of the godlie and most learned within the realme at this time.

"Thridlie, that the holie sacrament of Baptism may be used in the

vulgar tongue, that the godfathers and the witnesses may not onlie understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also, that the church then assembled may more gravelie be informed and instructed in their dueteis which at all times they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him when they were receaved into his houshold by the lavature of spirituall regeneratioun.

"Fourthlie, we desire that the holie sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or of his blessed bodie and blood, may likewise be ministred unto us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kindes, according to the plaine institutioun of our Saviour, Christ Jesus.

"Lastlie, we most humblie require, that the wicked, slaunderous, and most detestable life of prelats, and of the state ecclesiasticall, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasioun (as of manie dayes they have had) to contemne their ministerie and preaching of the Word, wherof they sould be messingers. And if they suspect that we, rather invying their honours, or covetting their riches and possessiouns, than zealouslie desiring their amendement and salvatioun, doe travell and labour for this reformatioun, we are content not onlie that the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writtings of the ancient fathers, and the godlie and approved lawes of Justinian the Emperour, decide the controversie betwixt us and them. And if it sall be found, that either malevolentlie or ignorantlie we aske more than these three forenamed have required, and continuallie doe require of able and true ministers in Christ's church, we refuse not correctioun, as your Grace with right judgement sall thinke meete. But if all the forenamed sall damne that which we damne, and approve that which we require, then we most earnestlie beseech your Grace, that notwithstanding the long custome which they have had to live at their lust, they may be compelled to desist either from ecclesiasticall administratioun, or to discharge their dueteis as becometh true ministers, so that the grave and godlie face of the primitive church may be reduced, ignorance may be expelled, true doctrine and good maners may once again appeare in the church in this realme.

"These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your Grace, in the name of the eternall God, and of His Sonne Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne judiciall yee, and all other that on earth beare authoritie, sall give accompt of your temporall regiment.

"The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Grace's heart to justice and equitie."

In the moneth of Aprile this yeere, 1558, that mercilesse tyranne, the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, apprehended that blessed martyr of Christ, Walter Mill, a man of decrepit age, whome he putt to death most cruellie the 28th day of this moneth.

THE MARTYRDOME OF THE BLESSED SERVANT OF GOD, WALTER MILL.

Copied out of the Booke of Martyrs.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the mervellous constancie of Walter Mill is not to be past over with silence, out of whose ashes sprang thowsands of his opinioun and religioun in Scotland, who altogether choosed rather to dee than to be anie longer overtroden by the tyrannie of the foresaid cruell, ignorant, and beastlie bishops, abbots, monkes, and friers. And so beganne the congregatioun of Scotland to debate the true religioun against the Frenchemen and Papists, who sought alwayes to depresse and keepe doun the same; for it beganne soone after the martyrdome of Walter Mill, of which the forme heerafter followeth:

In the yeere of our Lord 1558, in the time of Marie, Dutchesse of Longvaill, Queene Regent of Scotland, and Johne Hammiltoun being Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, this Walter Mill, who in his youth had beene a Papist, after that he had beene in Almaine, and had heard the doctrine of the Gospell, he returned again into Scotland, and setting aside all Papistrie and compelled chastitie, he maried a wife, which thing made him

unto the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresie; and after long watching of him, he was takin by the Popish preests, one called Sir George Strauquhen, and the other Sir Hugh Turrey, servants to the said bishop for the time, within the toun of Dysart, in Fife, and brought to Sanct Andrewes, and imprisonned in the castell therof. He being in prisoun, the Papists earnestlie travelled and laboured to have seduced him; and threatened him with death and temporall torments, to the end they would caus him recant and forsake the truthe. But seing they could profite nothing thereby, and that he remained still firme and constant, they laboured to perswade him by faire promises, and offered unto him a monke's portioun for all the dayes of his life in the Abbey of Dumfermline, so that he would denie the things he taught, and graunt that they were heresie. But he, continuing in the truthe even to the end, despised their threatnings and faire promises.

Then assembled together the Bishops of Sanct Andrewes, Murrey, Brechin, Cathnesse, and Athens, the Abbots of Dumfermline, Lindores, Balmerinoth, and Cowper, with the doctors of theologie in Sanct Andrewes, as Johne Gresone, Blacke frier, and Deane Johne Wynrame, Sub-priour of Sanct Andrewes, Williame Cranstoun, Proveist of the Colledge, with diverse others, as sundrie friers Blacke and Gray. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was takin out of prisoun and brought to the metropolitane church, where he was putt in a pulpitt before the bishops, to be accused the 20th day of Aprile. Being brought to the church, and climming up to the pulpit, and seing him so weake and feeble of persoun, partlie by age and travell, and partlie by evill intreatment, that without help he could not climme up, they were in despaire not to have heard him for weakenesse of voice. But when he beganne to speake, he made the church to ring and sound againe, with so great courage and stoutnesse, that the Christians which were present were no lesse rejoiced, than the adversareis were confounded and ashamed. He being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishop's preests, commanded him to arise and answere to his ar-

ticles, saying, on this maner, "Sir Walter Mill, arise, and answere to the articles, for you hold my lords heere over long." To whome Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God more than men. I serve one more mightie, even the omnipotent Lord; and where you call me Sir Walter, they call me Walter, and not *Sir* Walter. I have beene over long one of the Pope's knights. Now, say what thou hath to say."

These were the articles whereof he was accused, with his answeres to the same:

Oliphant.—"What thinke you of preest's mariage?"

Mill.—"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself mainteaned it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But yee thinke it not free to you; yee abhorre it; and in the meane time yee take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keepe the bond that God hath made. Yee vow chastitie, and breake the same. Sanct Paul had rather marie than burne, the which I have done; for God forbade never mariage to anie man, of what state or degree so ever he were."

Oliphant.—"Thou sayeth there are not seven sacraments."

Mill.—"Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptisme, and take you the rest, and part them among you; for if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to witt, mariage, and give yourselves to slaunderous and ungodlie whoordome?"

Oliphant.—"Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayeth that the masse is wrong, and is idolatrie."

Mill.—"A lord or a king sendeth, and calleth manie to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readinesse, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sitt doun to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord, turning his backe unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them: so doe yee."

Oliphant.—"Thou denyeth the sacrament of the altar to be the verie bodie of Christ, reallie in fleshe and blood."

Mill.—"The Scripture of God is not to be takin carnallie but spirituallie, and standeth in faith onlie. And, as for the masse, it is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the crosse for man's

trespasse, and will never be offered againe, for then he ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant.—"Thou denyeth the office of a bishop."

Mill.—"I affirme, that these whome yee call bishops doe no bishop's workes, nor use the offices of bishops, (as Paul biddeth, writting to Timothie;) but live after their owne sensuall pleasure, and take no care of the flocke, nor yitt regard they the Word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called my lords."

Oliphant.—"Thou spake against pilgrimage, and called it a pilgrimage to whoordome."

Mill.—"I affirme that, and say, it is not commanded in Scripture; and that there is no greater whoordome in no places than at your pilgrimages, except it be in commoun brothells."

Oliphant.—"Thou preached secreitlie, and privatlie in housses, and openlie in the feilds."

Mill.—"Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a shippe."

Oliphant.—"Will thou not recant thy erroneous opiniouns? And if thou will not, I will pronounce sentence against thee."

Mill.—"I am accused of my life. I know I must dee once, and, therefore, as Christ said to Judas, '*Quod facis, fac cito.*' Yee sall know that I will not recant the truthe; for I am corne, I am not chaffe: I will not be blowne away with the wind, nor burst with the flaill, but will abide both."

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other light triffles, to augment their finall accusatioun. And then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he sould be delivered to the temporall judge, and punished as an heretick, which was, to be burnt. Notwithstanding, his boldnesse and constancie moved so the hearts of manie, that the bishop's stewart of his regalitie, proveist of the toun, called Patrik Learmonth, refused to be his temporall judge, to whome it apperteaned, if the caus had been just. Also the bishop's chamberlane being therewith charged, would not tak upon him so ungodlie an office; yea, the whole toun was so offended with his unjust condemnatioun, that the bishop's servants could not gett for their money so muche as one corde to

tie him to the stake, or a tarre barrell to burne him; but were constrained to cutt the cordes of their master's owne pavillioun to serve their turne. Neverthelesse, one servant of the bishop's, more ignorant and cruell than the rest, called Alexander Somervell, interprising the office of a temporall judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all naturall reasoun of man, his hardinesse and boldnesse did more and more encreasse, so that, the Spirit of God working miraculouslie in him, made it manifest to the people that his cause and articles were good and just, and he innocentlie putt down.

Now, when all things were readie for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him passe to the stake; and he said, "Nay, but will thou putt me up with thy hand, and take part of my death, thou sall see me passe gladelie; for by the law of God I am forbiddin to putt hands in myself." Then Oliphant putt him up with his band, and he ascended glaidlie, saying, "*Introibo ad altare Dei*," and desired that he might have space to speake to the people; the which Oliphant and the rest of the burners denied, saying, that he had spokin overmuche, for the bishops were altogether offended that the mater was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners and the bishops their masters to the divell, saying, that they beleeved they sould lament that day, and desired the said Walter to speake what he pleased.

And so, after he had made his humble supplicatioun to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coales, said on this wise: "Deere freinds, the caus why I suffer this day is not for anie crime laid to my charge, (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God,) but onlie for defense of the faith of Jesus Christ, set furth in the Old and New Testament to us; for which, as the faithfull martyrs have offered themselves gladelie before, being assured after the death of their bodeis of eternall felicitie, so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercie among the rest of his servants, to seale up his truthe with my life, which, as I have receaved it of him, so I willingly offer it to his glorie. Therefore, as you will escape

the eternall death, be no more seduced with the lees of preests, monkes, friers, pryors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sett of Antichrist, but depend onelie upon Jesus Christ and his mercie, that yee may be delivered from condemnatioun." All that while there was great mourning and lamentatioun of the multitude; for they, perceaving his patience, stoutnesse, and boldnesse, constancie and hardinesse, were not onlie moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflammed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religioun. After his prayer, he was hoised up on the stake; and being in the fire, he said, "Lord have mercie on me! Pray, people, whill there is time;" and so constantlie departed.

EPITAPHIUM.

Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ,
Armarunt hostis in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

After this, by the just judgements of God, in the same place where Walter Mill was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which passed both in number and costlinesse, were burnt in time of reformatioun. *Ex fideli testimonio e Scotia misso.*

Mr Knox recordeth after this maner. That blessed martyr of Christ, Walter Mill, a man of decrepit age, was putt to death most cruellie, the 28th of Aprile. Immediatelie after his death beganne a new fervencie among the people; yea even in the toun of Sanct Andrewes the people beganne plainlie to damne such unjust crueltie. In testificatioun that they would his death sould abide in recent memorie, there was cast together a great heape of stones in the place where he was burnt. The bishop and preests therat offended, caused once or twise remove the same, with denunciatioun of cursing if anie man there sould lay a stone. But in vaine was that winde blowne; for still was the heape made up, till that the preests

and Papists did steele away by night the stones, to build their walls, and for other privat uses. The professors of the truthe, not suspecting that the queene regent consented to this murther, most humblie compleaned of suche crueltie, required that justice in suche cases sould be ministred with greater indifferencie. She, as a woman borne to dissemble and deceave, beganne to lament with them the crueltie of the bishop, and to excuse herself as innocent, for that the sentence was givin without her knowledge, and the bishop's officiall proceeded against him without anie commissioun of the civill authoritie, *ex officio*, as they terme it, becaus the man sometime had beene a preest. They, nothing suspecting her falshood, required some order to be takin with suche enormiteis, which she promised, as oft before. But they sought redresse at the nixt parliament.

Walter Mill answered with suche courage, and so pertinentlie, that even his verie enemeis thought he was susteaned by some divine power. The citicens of Sanct Andrewes were so displeased with the injureis done to him, that there could not be found a judge to pronounce his doome, till one of the bishop's familiars, Alexander Somervell, tooke upon him that office for that time. All the booth doores in the toun were shut, whereby they were forced to delay the executioun for a day, for lake of materialls to the fire.

RELIGIOUN FLOORISHETH.

The Gospell floorished wonderfullie this yeere, for William Harlaw exhorted publicklie in Edinburgh; Johne Dowglas, alias Grant, preached in Leith, and sometimes in Edinburgh; Paul Methven preached publicklie in Dundie. So did diverse others in Angus and Mernes. Johne Willocke returned the secund time from Emden. Albeit he had contracted a dangerous sickenesse, yitt he taught and exhorted frome his bed some of the nobilitie, barons, and gentlemen, of whome some fell backe after, amongst whome the Lord Seton was cheefe. They keeped their conventiouns, and held their counsells with suche gravitie and closenesse, that the enemeis

trembled. The images were stollin in all parts of the countrie. In Edinburgh the great idol Sanct Gile was furst drowned in the North Loche, and after burnt.

THE PREACHERS SUMMONED.

The friers greeving at the stealing of their idols, rouped like ravens upon the bishops; the bishops ranne upon the queene, who was favourable eneugh to them; but she thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend suche a multitude as then tooke upon them the defense of the Gospell. Yitt consented she to summoun the preachers. The professors, nothing affrayed, determined to keep the day of compeerance, as they did the 19th of Julie, 1558. Buchanan maketh mentioun onlie of Paul Methven. The prelats and preests, perceaving that the professours were assembled, procured a proclamatioun to be made, that all men that were come to the toun without commandement or warrant of authoritie, sould with all diligence repaire to the borders, and remaine there fyfteen dayes. The Bishop of Galloway, after his accustomed maner, said in rhyme to the queen, "Madame, becaus they are come without order, I ridde you send them to the border." Now, God had so provided, that the quarter of the west countrie in which were manie of the professours, returned that same day frome the border, who understanding the charge to proceed frome the malice of the preests, assembled themselves together, and made a way to themselves, till they came to the privie chamber, where the queene regent and the bishops were. The gentlemen beganne to compleane upon this strange dealing, considering the faithfull obedience she had found in all things lawfull before. Whill the queen beganne to craft, a zealous and bold man, James Chalmers of Gathgirth, said, "Madame, yee know that this is the malice of the javvells, and of that bastard (meaning the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes) that standeth by you. We vow to God we sall make a day of it. They oppresse us and our tenants, for feeding their idle belleis. They trouble our preachers, and would murther them and us. Sall we

suffer this anie longer? No, Madame, it sall not be so!" and therewith everie man putt on his steele bonnet. Then was nothing heard on the queene's part but, "My joyes, my hearts, what aillеth you? We meane no evill to you nor the preachers. The bishop sall doe you no wrong. You are all my loving subjects. I know nothing of this proclamatioun. The day appointed for your preachers sall be discharged, and we will heare the controversie betwixt the bishops and you. My lords," said she to the bishops, "I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers." She turned againe to the gentlemen, who were greatlie commoved, and said, "My hearts, sould yee not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your minde; and sould yee not love your nighbours as your self?" With these, and the like words, she keeped the bishops frome buffets at that time. The bishops were constrained to adjourne the day of compeerance, and condemned the persons summouned onlie for absence. They appoint another day, the 1st of September, for compeerance, with offer of pardoun if they recanted.

SANCT GILE'S STOCK CAST DOUN.

The 1st of September, 1558, was a day dedicated to Sanct Gile, whome Edinburgh honoured as their tutelar god, or patron sanct. The day approaching, the bishops gave charge to the proveist, bailliffes, and counsell of Edinburgh, either to gett againe old Sanct Gile, or upon their expenses to make a new image. The counsell answered, their charge appeared to them unjust, for they understood that God, in some places of Scripture, had commanded idols and images to be destroyed; but where he commanded images to be sett up they had not read, and therefore desired the bishop to lett them see a warrant of his commandement. The bishop, offended, admonished them, under paine of cursing, which they prevented by an appellatioun frome him as a partiall and corrupt judge, to the Pope's Holinesse. But maters of greater weight following, that was forgottin. Yitt would not the preests and friers forbeare the

solemnitie, and customable abominatioun of that day. An idol was borrowed from the Gray friers; a silver peece of James Carmichael's was layed in pledge. It was fixed with yron nails upon their fertorie. Their bloodie preests, friers, chanmons, and rotten Papists, with tabrons and trumpets, banners and bagpipes, convoyed it: the queen regent ledde the ring, for honour of the feast. It is convoyed about, and brought doun the Hie Street to the commoun Croce. The queene regent dynned that day in Alexander Carpenter's hous, betwixt the Bowes. When the idol returned backe, she left it, and went in to her dinner. The hearts of the professours were greatlie inflammed, to see suche abominatioun so manifestlie mainteaned. They were divided in severall companeis, none knowing of other. There were some temporizers that day, (amongst whome David Forresse, called the Generall, was one,) fearing that which befell, laboured to stay them, but in vaine; for immediatlie after the queene entered into her loodging, some of those that were of the interprise drew neere to the idol, as willing to helpe to beare him up; and getting the fertorie upon their shoulders, beganne to shudder, thinking thereby the idol should have fallin. But that chance was prevented by yron nailes. Then beganne one to crie, "Doun with the idol! doun with it!" so, without delay, it was pulled doun. The patrons of the preests made some brags at the first; but when the preests and friers saw the feeblenesse of their god, they fled faster than they did at Pinkie cleughe. One of the professours taking Sanct Gile by the heeles, and dadding his head to the calsey, left Dagon without head or hands, and said, "Fy on thee, young Sanct Gile! thy father would not have beene so used." The friers fleeing, doun goe the croces, off goe the surplices and cappes! The Grey friers gaped, the Blacke friers blew, the preests paunted and fled. A mirrie Englishman, lying over a staire, cried to the friers, "Fy on you, whoorsonnes; why have you brokin order? Turne, and strike everie man a stroke for the honour of his god. Fy, cowards! fy, fy! ye sall never be judged worthie of your wages again." But after Bell had brokin his necke, there was no comfort for his confused armie. The queene regent layed up this in her heart, among other

memorialls, till she might see opportunitie to revenge. Searche was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended; for the brethrein assembled themselves in suche sort, in companeis, singing psalmes, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemeis were astonished.

PAUL METHVEN SUMMONED AGAIN.

The preests and prelats soone after come furth of their lurking holes, and pretending great courage, summouned again Paul Methven to compeere to a conventioun, to be holdin in November, in the Blacke Friers. He was called, and for non-compeerance condemned to be banished; and threatenings were denounced against these who sould resett him, or succour him with anie necessars. Yitt did not the citicens of Dundie absteane frome doing anie good offices, and convoying him frome one nighbour to another. They laboured with the queene regent for some release of the sentence, by some courteours. The clergie laboured on the contrare, and offered a great summe of money, least it sould be granted.

In the meane time, Mr Knox, who was burnt in effigie, soon after his departure out of the countrie, made an appellatioun, which appellatioun was printed this yeere, in Julie, and sent home about this time to Scotland.

THE APPELLATION OF JOHNE KNOX, FROM THE CRUELL AND MOST UNJUST SENTENCE PRONOUNCED AGAINST HIM BY THE FALSE BISHOPS AND CLEARGIE OF SCOTLAND; WITH HIS SUPPLICATION AND EXHORTATION TO THE NOBILITIE, ESTATES, AND COMMONALTIE OF THE SAME REALME.

Printed at Geneva, 1558.

"To the Nobilitie and Estats of Scotland, Johne Knox wisheth grace, mercie, and peace, from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous judgement.

"It is not onlie the love of life temporall, (Right Honourable,) nor the feare of death corporall, that moveth me at this present to expone unto you the injureis done against me; and to crave of you, as of lawfull powers appointed of God, redresse of the same; but partlie, it proceedeth from that reverence which everie man owe to God's eternall truthe, and partlie from a love which I beare to your salvatioun, and to the salvatioun of my brethrein abused in that realme, by suche as have no feare of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God, of his infinite mercie, not onlie so to illuminate the eyes of my minde, and so to tuiche my dull heart, that cleerelie I see, and by his grace unfainedlie beleeve, that there is no other name givin to men under the heaven, in which salvatioun consisteth, saving the name of Jesus alone, (Acts iv.,) who, by that sacrifice which he did once offer upon the croce, hath sanctified for ever these that sall inherit the kingdome promised, (Heb. x.;) but also it hath pleased him, of his superabundant grace, to make and appoint me, most wretched of manie thowsands, a witnesse, minister, and preacher of the same doctrine, the summe wherof I did not spaire to communicate with my brethrein, being in the realme of Scotland with them, in the yeere 1556. Becaus I knew myself to be a steward, and that accompts of the talent committed to my charge sall be required by him who will admitt no vaine excuse which fearefull men pretend, (1 Cor. iii.; Mat. xxv.) I did, therefore, (as God did minister,) during the time I was conversant with them, (God is record and witnesse,) truelie and sincerelie, according to the gift graunted unto me, divide the word of salvatioun; teaching all men to hate sinne, which, before God, was and is so odious, that none other sacrifice could satisfie his justice, except the death of his onlie Sonne; and to magnifie the great mercеis of our heavenlie Father, who did not spare the substance of his owne glorie, but did give him to the world, to suffer the ignominious and cruell death of the croce, by that meanes to reconcile his chosin childrein to himself, (John iii.; Rom. v., viii.; 2 Cor. v.;) teaching further, what is the duetie of such as doe beleeve themselves purged by suche a price from their former filthi-

nesse; to witt, that they are bound to walke in newnesse of life, fighting against the lusts of the fleshe, and studeing at all time to glorifie God by suche good workes as he hath prepared his childrein to walke in, (Romans vi.; Eph. iv. v.) In doctrine, I did further affirme, (so taught by my Master, Jesus,) that whosoever denieth Him, yea, or is ashamed of Him, before this wicked generatioun, him sall Christ Jesus denie, and of him sall he be ashamed, when he sall appeare in his majestie, (Ephes. ii.; Mat. x.) And, therefore, I feared not to affirme, that of necessitie it is, that suche as hope for life everlasting avoide all superstitioun, vaine religioun, and idolatrie. Vaine religioun and idolatrie I call whatsoever is done in God's service and honour, without the expresse commandement of his owne Worde.

"This doctrine did I beleeve to be so conformable to God's holie Scriptures, that I thought no creature could have beene so impudent as to have damned anie point or article of the same. Yitt nevertheless, me as an hereticke, and this doctrine as hereticall, have your false bishops and ungodlie clergie damned, pronouncing against me a sentence of death, in testificatioun wherof they have burnt a picture. Frome which false and cruell sentence, and frome all judgement of that wicked generatioun, I make it knowne to your honours, that I appeale to a lawfull and generall counsell. To suche, I meane, as the most ancient lawes and canons doe approve to be holdin by suche as whose manifest impietie is not to be reformed in the same; most humblie requiring of your honours, that, as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and by reasoun therof requireth of your hands the defense of innocents troubled in your dominions, in the meane time, and till the controverseis that this day be in religioun be lawfullie decided, yee receave me, and suche others as most unjustlie by these cruell beasts are persecuted, in your defense and protectioun.

The Petition of Protestants.

"Your honours are not ignorant, that it is not I alone who doe susteane the caus against the pestilent generation of Papists; but

that the most part of Germanie, the countrie of Helvetia, the King of Denmarke, the nobilitie of Polonia, together with manie other citeis and churches reformed, appeale frome the tyrannie of that Antichrist, and most earnestlie doe call for a lawfull and generall councell, wherin may all controverseis of religioun be decided by the authoritie of God's most sacred Word. And unto this same, as said is, doe I appeale, yitt once again, requiring of your honours to hold my simple and plaine appellatioun of no lesse value and effect, than if it had beene made with greater circumstance, solemnitie, and ceremonie; and that yee receave me, calling unto you, as the powers of God ordeaned, in your protectioun and defense against the rage of tyranns; not to mainteane me in anie iniquitie, errour, or false opinioun, but to lett me have suche equitie as God by his Word, ancient lawes, and determinatioums of most godlie councels, graunt to men accused or infamed. The Word of God willeth, that no man dee, except he be found criminall, and worthie of death for offence committed, of which he must be manifestlie convicted by two or three witnesses, (Deut. xvii.) Ancient lawes doe permitt just defenses to suche as be accused, (be the crimes never so horrible;) and godlie councels will, that neither bishop nor person ecclesiasticall whatsoever, accused of anie crime, sall sit in judgement, consultatioun, or counsell, where the caus of suche men as doe accuse them is to be tried.

The Petitions of Johne Knox.

"These things require I of your honours to be granted unto me, to witt, that the doctrine which our adversareis condemn for heresie may be tried by the simple and plaine Word of God; that just defenses be admitted to us that susteane the battell against this pestilent generatioun of Antichrist; and that they be removed from judgement in our caus, seing that our accusatioun is not intended against anie one particular person, but against that whole kingdome, which we doubt not to prove to be a power usurped against God, against his commandement, and against the ordinance of Christ Jesus, established in his church, by his cheefe apostles: yea, we doubt

not to prove the kingdome of the Pope to be the kingdome and power of Antichrist. And, therefore, my lords, I cannot ceasse in the name of Christ Jesus to require of you, that the mater may come in examinatioun, and that yee, the estates of the realme, by your authoritie compell suche as will be called bishops, not onlie to desist frome their cruell murthering of suche as doe studie to promote God's glorie, in detecting and disclosing the damnable impietie of that Man of Sinne, the Roman Antichrist, but also that yee compell them to answere to suche crimes as sall be layed to their charge, for not rightlie instructing the flocke committed to their cares.

Answere first to Objections.

"But heere, I know two things sall be doubted. The former, whether that my appellatioun is lawfull, and to be admitted, seing that I am damned as an heretick; and, secundarilie, whether your honours be bound to defend suche as call for your support in that case, seing that your bishops (who, in maters of religioun, claime all authoritie to apperteane to them) have by their sentence alreadie condemned me. The one and the other I nothing doubt most clearlie to prove. First, That my appellation is most lawfull and just; and, secundarilie, That your honours cannot refuse to defend me thus calling for your aide, but that, in so doing, yee declare yourselves rebellious to God, mainteaners of murtherers, and shedders of innocent blood.

"How just caus I have by the civill law (as for their canon, it is accursed of God) to appeale from their unjust sentence, my purpose is not to make long discourse. Onlie I will tuiche the points which all men confesse to be just causses of appellatioun. First, Lawfullie could I not be summouned by them, being for that time absent from their jurisdictioun, charged with the preaching of Christ's Evangell in a free citie, not subject to their tyrannie. Secundarilie, To me was no intimatioun made of their summons; but so secreit was their surmised malice, that the copie of the summons being required, was denyed. Thridlie, To the realme of Scotland could I have had no free nor sure accesse, being before exiled from the

same, by their unjust tyrannie. And, last, To me they neither could nor can be competent and indifferent judges, for that before anie summons was raised against me, I had accused them by my letters published to the queen dowager, and had intended against them all crimes, offering myself with hazard of life to prove the same, for which they are not onlie unworthie of ecclesiasticall authoritie, but also of anie sufferance within a commoun wealthe professing Christ. This my accusatioun preceiding their summouns, neither by the law of God, nor yitt by the law of man, can they be to me competent judges, till place be graunted to me openlie to prove my accusatioun intended against them, and they be compelled to make answere as criminalls: for I will plainlie prove, that not onlie bishops, but also Popes, have beene removed from all authoritie, and pronouncing of judgement, till they have purged themselves of accusatiouns layed against them. Yea, further, I will prove, that bishops and Popes most justlie have been deprived of all honours and administratioun for smaller crimes than I have to charge the whole rable of your bishops. But becaus this is not my cheefe ground, I will stand content for this present to show, that lawfull it is to God's prophets, and preachers of Christ Jesus, to appeale from the sentence and judgement of the visible church, to the knowledge of the temporall magistrat, who, by God's law, is bound to heare their causses, and defend them from tyrannie.

"The Prophet Jeremie was commanded by God to stand in the court of the hous of the Lord, and to preache this sermoun, in effect, that Jerusalem sould be destroyed, and be exponed in oppprobrie to all natiouns of the earth; and that also that famous temple of God sould be made desolate, like unto Silo, because the preests, the prophets, and the people, did not walke in the law which God had proposed unto them, neither would they obey the voices of the prophets, whome God sent to call them to repentance, (Jer. xxvi.)

"For this sermoun was Jeremie apprehended, and a sentence of death pronounced against him, and that by the preests, by the prophets, and by the people; which things being bruited in the eares of the princes of Judah, they passed up from the king's hous to the

temple of the Lord, and sett doun in judgement, for further knowledge of the cause. But the preests and prophets continued in their cruell sentence, which before they had pronounced, saying, 'This man is worthie of death, for he hath propheceid against this citie, as your eares have heard.' But Jeremie, so moved by the Holie Ghost, beganne his defense against that their tyrannous sentence, in these words:—

"'The Lord,' sayeth he, 'hath sent me to prophecie against this hous, and against this citie, all the words which ye have heard. Now, therefore, make good your wayes, and heare the voice of the Lord your God, and then sall he repent of the evill which he hath spokin against you. As for me, behold, I am in your hands, (so doeth he speake to the princes:) doe to me as yee think good and righteous. Nevertheless, know you this, most assuredlie, that if you murther or slay me, yee sall make yourselves, this citie, and the inhabitants of the same, criminall and guiltie of innocent blood. For of a truthe, the Lord hath sent me to speeke in your eares all these words.'

"'Then the princes and the people (sayeth the text) said, This man is not worthie of death, for he hath spokin to us in the name of the Lord our God.' And so, after some contention, was the prophet delivered frome that danger. This fact and historie manifestlie proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed, to witt, that it is lawfull for the servants of God to call for the helpe of the civill magistrat against the sentence of death, if it be unjust, by whomsoever it be pronounced; and also that the civill sword hath power to represse the furie of the preests, and to absolve whome they have condemned. For the prophet of God was damned by those who then onlie in earthe were knowne to be the visible church, to witt, preests and prophets who then were in Jerusalem, the successors of Aaron, to whome was givin a charge to speeke to the people in the name of God, and a precept givin to the people to heare the law from their mouthes, to which, if anie sould be rebellious or inobedient, he sould dee the death without mercie, (Deut. xvii.) These men, I say, thus authorised of God, first did excommunicat Jeremie, for

that he did preache otherwise than did the commoun sort of prophets in Jerusalem; and last, apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing against him this sentence before writtin, frome which, neverthelesse, the prophet appealed, that is, sought helpe and defense against the same. And that most earnestlie did he crave of the princes. For, albeit he sayeth, 'I am in your hands; doe with me as yee thinke righteous;' he doth not contemne nor neglect his life, as though he regarded not what sould become of him; but in these his words, most vehementlie did he admonishe the princes and rulers of the people, giving them to understand what God sould require of them. As if he sould say, 'You princes of Judah, and rulers of the people, to whome apperteaneth indifferentlie to judge betwixt partie and partie, to justifie the just man, and to condemn the malefactor; you have heard a sentence of death pronounced against me by those whose lippes ought to speake no deceate, becaus they are sanctifeid and appointed by God himself to speake his law, and to pronounce judgement with equitie, Deuteron. xvii.; Jerem. i.; Deuter. i. x. But as they have left the living God, and have taught the people to follow vanitie, so are they become mortall enemeis to all God's true servants, of whom I am one, rebooking their iniquitie, apostasie, and defectioun from God, which is the onlie caus why they seeke my life. But a thing most contrarie to all equitie, law, and justice it is, that I, a man sent frome God, to call them, this people, and you, againe to the true service of God, frome which you are declyned, sall suffer death, becaus that my enemeis doe so pronounce sentence. I stand in your presence, whome God hath made princes. Your power is above their tyrannie: before you I doe expone my caus: I am in your hands, and cannot resist to suffer what yee thinke just. But least that my lenitie and patience sould either make you negligent in the defense of me, in my just caus, appealing to your judgement, either yitt encourage my enemeis, in seeking my blood, this one thing I darre not conceale, that if yee murther me, (which thing yee doe, if yee defend me not,) yee make not onlie my enemeis guiltie of my blood, but also yourselves, and this whole citie.' By these words,

I say, it is evident, that the prophet of God, being damned to death by the preests, and by the prophets of the visible church, did seeke aide, support, and defense, at the princes and temporall magistrats, threatning his blood to be required at their hands, if they, by their authoritie, did not defend him frome the furie of his enemeis; alledging also just causses of his appellatioun, and why he ought to have beene defended, to witt, that he was sent of God to rebooke their vices and defectioun frome God; that he taught no doctrine which before God had not pronounced in his law; that he desired their conversioun to God, continuallie calling upon them to walke in the wayes which God had approved. And, therefore, doth he boldlie crave of the princes, as of God's lieutenants, to be defended frome the blind rage and tyrannie of the preests, notwithstanding that they claimed unto themselves authoritie to judge in all maters of religioun. And the same did he what time he was cast in prisoun, and therafter was brought to the presence of King Zedekias, after, I say, that he had defended his innocencie; affirming, that he had neither offended against the king, against his servants, nor against the people. At last he made intercessioun to the king for his life, saying, 'But now, my lord the king, take heed, I beseeche thee, let my prayer fall into thy presence; command me not to be careid again into the hous of Jonathan the scribe, that I dee not there,' Jerem. xxxviii. And the text witnesseth, that the king commanded the place of his imprisonment to be changed. Whereof it is evident, that the prophet did ofter than once seeke helpe at the civill power; and that first the princes, and therafter the king, did acknowledge, that it apperteaned to their office to deliver him frome the unjust sentence which was pronounced against him. If anie thinke that Jeremie did not appeale, becaus he onlie declared the wrong done to him, and did but create defense according to his innocencie, lett the same man understand, that none otherwise doe I appeale frome that false and cruell sentence which your bishops have pronounced against me; neither yitt can there be anie other just caus of appellatioun, but innocencie hurt, or suspected to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and

corruption of those who, under the title of justice, doe exercise tyrannie. If I were a theefe, murtherer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or anie offender whome God's Word commandeth to suffer for a crime committed, my appellatioun were vaine, and to be rejected. But I being innocent, yea, the doctrine which your bishops have condemned in me, being God's eternall Veritie, have no lesse libertie to crave your defense against that crueltie, than had the prophet Jeremie to seeke the aide of the princes, and King of Juda. But this sall more plainlie appeare in the fact of Sanct Paul, who, after that he was apprehended in Jerusalem, did first claime to the libertie of Romane citicens, for avoiding torment, what time that the captane would have examined him by questioums; therafter in the councell, where no righteous judgement was to be hoped for, he affirmed, that he was a Pharisee, and that he was accused of the resurrectioun of the dead, Acts xxii. xxiii. xxiv. and xxv. And last, in the presence of Festus, he appealed frome all knowledge and judgement of the preests at Jerusalem to the emperour. Of which last point, becaus it doth cheeflie apperteane to this my caus, I will somewhat speeke.

"After that Paul had diverse times beene accused, as in the Acts of the Apostles is manifest, at last the cheefe preests and their factioun came to Cæsarea, with Festus the president, who presented to them Paul in judgement, whome they accused of horrible crimes, which neverthelesse they could not prove, the apostle defending that he had not offended, neither against the law, nor against the temple, neither yitt against the emperour. But Festus, willing to gratifie the Jewes, said to Paul, 'Will thou goe up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things in my presence?' But Paul said, 'I stand at the justice-seate of the emperour, where it behoveth me to be judged. I have done no injurie to the Jewes, as thou better knoweth. If I have done anie thing unjustlie, or yitt committed crime worthie of death, I refuse not to dee. But if there be nothing of these things true wherof they accuse me, no man may give me to them: I appeale to Cæsar,' Acts xxv. It may appeare at the first sight, that Paul did great injurie to Festus the judge,

and to the whole order of the preesthood, who did hope greater equitie in a cruell tyranne, than in all that sessioun and learned companie. Which thing, no doubt, Festus did understand, pronouncing these words, 'Hath thou appealed to Cæsar? thou sall goe to Cæsar'—as if he would say, 'I, as a man willing to understand the truthe before I pronounce sentence, have required of thee to goe to Jerusalem, where the learned of thyne owne natioun may heare thy cause, and deceme in the same. The controversie standeth in maters of religioun. Thou art accused as an apostat frome the law, as a violator of the temple, and a transgressor of the traditiouns of their fathers; in which mater I am ignorant, and therefore desire informatioun, by these that be learned in the same religioun wherof the questioun is. And yitt doth thou refuse so manie godlie fathers to heare thy caus, and doth appeale to the emperour, preferring him to all our judgements, of no purpose, belike, but to delay time.' Thus, I say, it might have appeared that Paul did not onlie injurie to the judge and to the preests, but also that his caus was greatlie to be suspected, partlie that he did refuse the judgement of those that had most knowledge (as all men supposed) of God's will and religioun, and partlie, becaus he appealed to the emperour, who then was in Rome, farre absent frome Jerusalem; a man also ignorant of God, and enemie to all vertue. But the apostle considering the nature of his enemeis, and what things they had intended against him, even frome the first day that he beganne freelie to speeke in the name of Christ, did not feare to appeale frome them, and frome the judge that would have gratifeid them. They had professed themselves plaine enemeis to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed Evangell, and had sought the death of Paul, yea, even by factiouns and treasounable conspiracie. And therefore by no meanes would he admitt them, either judges in his caus, either auditors of the same, as Festus required. But, grounding himself upon strong reasons, to witt, that he had not offended the Jewes, neither yitt the law, but that he was innocent, and, therefore, that no judge ought to give him in the hands of his enemeis,—grounding, I say, his appellatioun upon these reasouns, he

neither regarded the displeasure of Festus, neither the bruite of the ignorant multitude, but boldlie did appeale from all cognitioun of them, to the judgement of the emperour, as said is.

"By these two examples, I doubt not but your honours understand, that lawfull it is to the servants of God, oppressed by tyrannie, to seeke remedie against the same, be it by appellatioun frome their sentence, or by imploring the helpe of civill magistrats; for what God hath approved in Jeremie and Paul, he can condemne in none that likewise be intreated. I might alledge some historeis of the primitive church, serving to the same purpose; as of Ambrose and Athanasius, of whom the one would not be judged but at Milan, where that his doctrine was heard of all his church, and receaved and approved by manie; and the other would in no wise give place to these councels, where he knew that men, conspired against the truthe of God, sould sitt in judgement and consultatioun. But, because the Scriptures of God are my onlie foundatioun and assurance, in all maters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former testimoneis sufficient, as weill to prove my appellatioun reasonable and just, as to declare to your honours, that with safe conscience yee cannot refuse to admitt the same. If anie thinke it arrogancie or foolishnesse in me to compare myselfe with Jeremie and Paul, lett the same man understand, that as God is immutable, so is the veritie of his glorious Evangell of equall dignitie, whensoever it is impugned, be the members suffering never so weake. What I thinke tuiching myne owne persoun, God sall reveele when the secreets of all hearts sall be disclosed; and suche as with whom I have beene conversant, can partlie witnesse what arrogancie or pride they espie in me. But tuiching the doctrine and caus which that adulterous and pestilent generatioun of Antichrist's servants (who will be called bishops amongst you) have condemned in me, I neither feare, nor am ashamed to confesse and avow, before man and angell, to be the eternall truthe of the eternall God. And, in that cace, I doubt not to compaire myself with anie member in whome the truthe hath beene impugned since the beginning. For, as it was the truthe that Jeremie did preache, in these words.

'The preests have not knowne me, sayeth the Lord, but the pastors have trateroustie declyned, and fallin backe frome me,' Jerem. ii. The prophets have propheceid in Baal, and have gone after these things which cannot helpe. My people have left the fountaine of living waters, and have digged to themselves pitts which can conteane no water, (Jerem. i.) As it was a truthe, that the pastors and watchemen in the days of Isay were become dumbe dogges, blind, ignorant, proud, and avaricious, (Isa. lvi.;) and, finallie, as it was a truthe, that the princes and preests were murtherers of Christ Jesus, and cruell persecutors of his apostles, (Acts iii. and iv.;) so likewise it is a truthe, and that most infallible, that these that have condemned me (the whole rable of the papisticall clergie) have declynned frome the true faith; have given eare to deceavable spirits, and to doctrine of devills; are the starres fallin frome the heaven to the earth; are fountaines without water, and, finallie, are enemeis to Christ Jesus, denyers of his vertue, and horrible blasphemers of his death and passioun, (Tim. iv.; Jude 1; 2 Pet. ii.) And further, as that visible church had no crime wherof justlie they could accuse either the prophets, either the apostles, except their doctrine onlie, so have not suche as seeke my blood other crime to lay to my charge; except that I affirme, as always I offer to prove, that the religioun which now is mainteaned by fire and sword is no lesse contrarious to the true religioun taught and established by the apostles, than is darknesse to light, or the devill to God; and also, that suche as now do clame the title and name of the church, are no more the elect spous of Christ Jesus, than was the synagogue of the Jewes the true church of God, what time it crucifeid Christ Jesus, damned his doctrine, and persecuted his apostles. And, therefore, seing that my battell is against the proud and cruell hypocrits of this age, as that battell of these most excellent instruments was against the false prophets and malignant church of their ages, neither ought anie man thinke it strange that I compare myself with them with whome I susteane a commoun caus; neither ought you, my lords, judge yourselves lesse addebted and bound to me, calling for your support, than did the princes of Juda

thinke themselves bound to Jeremie, whome for that time they delivered, notwithstanding the sentence of deathe pronounced against him by the visible church.

"And this much for the right of my appellatioun, which in the bowells of Christ Jesus I require your honours not to esteeme as a thing superfluous and vaine; but that yee admitt it, and also accept me in your protectioun and defense, that by you I assured, I may have accesse to my native countrie, which I never offended; to the end that openlie and freelie, in presence of the whole realme, I may give my confessioun of all suche points as this day be in controversie; and also, that you, by your authoritie which yee have of God, compell suche as of long time have blinded and deceaved both yourselves and the people, to answere to suche things as sall be layed to their charge. But, least that some doubt remaine, that I require more of you than you of conscience are bound to grant, in few words I hope to prove my petitioun to be suche, as without God's heavie displeasure ye cannot denie. My petition is, that yee whome God hath appointed heads in your commounwealthe, with single eye doe studie to promote the glorie of God; to provide that your subjects be rightlie instructed in his true religioun; that they be defended from all oppression and tyrannie; that true teachers may be maintened, and suche as blind and deceave the people, together also with all idle belleis that doe rob and oppresse the flocke, may be removed and punished, as God's law prescribeth. And to the performance of everie one of these doe your offices and names, the honours and benefites which yee receave, the law of God universallie givin to all men, and the examples of most godlie princes, bind and oblishe you. My purpose is not greatlie to labour to prove, that your whole studie ought to be to promote the glorie of God; neither yitt will I studie to alledge all reasons that justlie may be brought to prove, that yee are not exalted to raigne above your brethrein, as men without care and solicitude. For these be principalls so grafted in nature, that very Ethnicks have confessed the same. For, seing that God onlie hath placed you in his chaire, hath appointed you to be lieutenants, and by his owne seale hath

marked you to be magistrats, and to rule above your brethrein, to whome, neverthelesse, nature hath made you like in all points, (for in conceptioun, birth, life, and death, ye differ nothing frome the commoun sort of men; but God onlie, as said is, hath promoted you, and of his speciall favour hath givin unto you this prerogative to be called gods:) how horrible ingratitude were it then, that yee sould be found unfaithfull to him that thus hath honoured you! And further, what a monster were it, that you sould be proved unmercifull to them above whome yee are appointed to raigne, as fathers above their children! Becaus, I say, that very Ethnicks have granted, that the cheefe and first care of princes, and of suche as be appointed to rule above others, ought to be, to promote the glorie and honour of their gods, and to mainteane that religioun which they supposed to have beene true; and that their secund care was, to mainteane and defend the subjects committed to their charge, in all equitie and justice, I will not labour to show unto you what ought to be your studie in mainteaning God's true honour, least that in so doing I sould seeme to make you lesse carefull over God's true religioun than were the Ethnicks over their idolatrie. But becaus other petitiouns may appeare more hard and difficill to be granted, I purpose breefelie, but yitt freelie, to speeke what God by his Word doth assure me to be true. To witt, first, that in conscience you are bound to punishe malefactors, and to defend innocents imploring your helpe: Secundarilie, that God requireth of you to provide that your subjects be rightlie instructed in his true religioun; and that the same by you be reformed whensoever abuses creepe in, by malice of Satan and negligence of men: And, last, that you are bound to remove frome honour, and to punishe with death, (if the crime so require,) suche as deceave the people, or defraude them of that foode of their soules, I meane, God's livelie Word. The first and secund are most plaine, by the words of Sanct Paul, thus speeking of lawfull powers: 'Lett everie soule (sayeth he) submitt himself unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordeaned of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And

they that resist sall receave to themselves damnatioun; for rulers are not to be feared of these that doe weill, but of these that doe evill. Will thou then be without feare of the power? Doe that which is good, and so sall thou be praised of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealthe. But if thou doe that which is evill, feare. For he beareth not the sword for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance upon them that doe evill,' Rom. xiii. As the apostle in these words most straitlie commandeth obedience to be givin to lawfull powers, pronouncing God's wrath and vengeance against suche as sall resist the ordinance of God, so doth he assigne to the powers their offices; which be, to take vengeance upon evill doers, to mainteane the weill doers, and so to minister and rule in their office, that the subjects by them may have a benefite, and be praised in weill doing. Now, if you be powers ordeaned by God, (and that I hope all men will graunt,) then by the plaine words of the apostle, is the sword given unto you for maintenance of the innocent, and for punishement of malefactors. But I, and my brethrein accused with me, doe offer, not onlie to prove ourselves innocents in all things layed to our charge, but also we offer most evidentlie to prove your bishops to be the verie pestilence who have infected all Christianitie. And, therefore, by the plaine doctrine of the apostle, you are bound to mainteane us, and to punishe the other, being evidentlie convicted and proved criminall. Moreover, the former words of the apostle doe teache how farre hier powers be bound to their subjects, to witt, that becaus they are God's ministers, by him ordeaned for the profite and utilitie of others, most diligentlie ought they to attend upon the same: for that caus assigneth the Holie Ghost, commanding subjects to obey, and pay tribute, saying, 'For this doe you pay tribute and toll,' (Rom. xiii.)—that is, becaus they are God's ministers, bearing the sword for your utilitie. Wherof it is plaine, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I wishe your wisdoms deepelie to consider, that God hath not placed you above your brethrein to raigne as tyrams, without respect of their profite and commoditie. You heare the Holie

Ghost witnesse the contrarie, affirming that all lawfull powers be God's ministers, ordeaned for the wealth, profite, and salvatioun of their subjects, and not for their destructioun. Could it be said, I beseeche you, that magistrats inclosing their subjects in a citie without all victualls, or giving to them no other victualls but suche as were poysoumed, did rule for the profite of their subjects? I trust that none would be so foolish as so to affirme; but that rather everie discreit persoun would boldlie affirme, that suche as so did were tyranns unworthie of all regiment. If we will not denie that which Christ Jesus affirmeth to be a truthe infallible, to witt, that the soule is greater and more pretious than is the bodie, then sall we easilie espie how unworthie of authoritie be these that this day debarre their subjects frome the hearing of God's Word; and by fire and sword compell them to feede upon the verie poysoun of their soules, the dammable doctrine of Antichrist. And, therefore, in this point I say, I cannot ceasse to admonishe your honours diligentlie to take heed over your charge, which is greater than the most part of men suppose. It is not eneugh that you absteane frome violent wrong and oppressioun, which ungodlie men exercise against their subjects. But yee are further bound, to witt, that yee rule above them for their wealth; which yee cannot doe, if yee either by negligence not providing true pastors, nor yitt by your maintenance of suche as be ravening woolves, suffer their soules to sterve and perishe for lacke of the true foode, which is Christ's Evangell sincerelie preached. It will not excuse you in His presence, who will require accompt of everie talent committed to your charge, to say, that yee supposed that the charge of soules had beene committed to your bishops. No, no, my lords! so yee cannot escape God's judgements: for if your bishops be proved to be no bishops, but deceaveable theeves and ravening woolves, which I offer me to prove by God's Word, by law and councels, yea by the judgement of all the godlie learned, frome the primitive church to this day; then sall your permissioun and defense of them be reputed before God a participatioun with their thift and murther. For thus accused the prophet Isay the princes of Jerusalem:

'Thy princes,' sayeth he, 'are apostats, (that is, obstinat refusers of God,) and they are companions of theeves,' Is. i. This greevous accusatioun was layed against them, albeit they ruled in that citie which sometime was called Holie, where then were the temple, rites, and ordinances of God, becaus that not onlie they were wicked themselves, but cheefelie becaus they mainteaned wicked men, their preests and false prophets, in honour and authoritie. If they did not escape the accusatioun of the Holie Ghost in that age, looke yee neither to escape the accusatioun nor the judgement which is pronounced against the mainteaners of wicked men; to witt, that the one and the other sall drinke the cuppe of God's wrath and vengeance together, (Jer. xxiii. and xxvii., Ezech. xiii., Hos. iv.) And least yee sould deceave yourselves, esteeming your bishops to be vertuous and godlie, this doe I affirme, and offer myself to prove the same, that more wicked men than be the whole rable of your cleargie, were never frome the beginning universallie knowne in anie age. Yea, Sodome and Gomorrha may be justifeid in their respect; for they permitted just Lott to dwell among them, without anie violence done to his bodie, which that pestilent generatioun of your shaven sort doth not, but most cruellie persecute by fire and sword the true members of Christ's bodie, for no other caus but for the true service and honouring of God. And, therefore, I feare not to affirme that which God sall one day justifie, that by your offices yee be bound not onlie to represse their tyrannie, but also to punishe them as theeves and murtherers, as idolaters and blasphemers of God; and in their rowmes yee are bound to place true preachers of Christ's Evangill, for the instructioun, comfort, and salvation of your subjects, above whome elles sall never the Holie Ghost acknowledge that yee rule in justice for their profite. If yee pretend to possesse the kingdome with Christ Jesus, yee may not tak exemple, neither by the ignorant multitude of princes, neither by the ungodlie and cruell rulers of the earth, of whome some passe their time in slouth, insolencie, and ryott, without respect had to God's honour or the salvatioun of their brethrein; and others, who most cruellie oppresse, with Nimrod, suche

as be subject to them. But your paterne and exemple must be, the practise of these whome God hath approved by the testimonie of his Word, as after sall be declared. Of the premisses it is evident, that to lawfull powers is given the sword for punishement of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profite and utilitie of their subjects. Now, lett us consider whether the reformatioun of religioun fallin in decay, and punishement of false teachers, doe apperteane to the civill magistrat and nobilitie of anie realme. I am not ignorant that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darknesse, hath obteaned of the blind world two cheefe points: former, he hath perswaded princes, rulers, and magistrats, that the feeding of Christ's flocke perteaneth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected upon the bishops and estate ecclesiasticall; and, secundarilie, that the reformatioun of religioun, be it never so corrupt, and the punishement of suche as be sworne souldiours in their kingdome, are exempted from all civill power, and are reserved to themselves and to their owne cognitioun. But that no offender can justlie be exempted frome punishement, and that the ordering and reformatioun of religioun, with the instruction of subjects, doth especiallie apperteane to the civill magistrat, sall God's perfyte ordinance, his plaine Word, and the facts and exemples of these that of God are highlie praised, most evidentlie declare.

"When God did establishe his law, statuts, and ceremoneis in the middest of Israel, he did not exempt the maters of religioun frome the power of Moses: but as he gave him charge over the civill policie, so he putt in his mouth, and in his hand—that is, he first reveeled to him, and therafter commanded to putt in practice, whatsoever was to be taught or done in maters of religioun. Nothing did God reveele particularlie to Aaron, but altogether was he commanded to depend frome the mouth of Moses; yea, nothing was hee permitted to doe to himself, or to his childrein, either in his or their inauguratioun and sanctificatioun to the preesthood, but all was committed to the care of Moses. And therefore were these words so frequentlie repeated to Moses, 'Thou sall seperat Aaron and his sonnes frome the middest of the people of Israel,

that they may execute the office of the preesthood. Thou sall make unto them garments, thou sall anoint them, thou sall washe them, thou sall fill their hands with the sacrifice,' Exod. xxviii. And so furth of everie rite and ceremonie that was to be done unto them, speciall commandement was givin to Moses that he sould doe it. Now, if Aaron and his sonnes were so subject to Moses, that they did nothing but at his commandement, who darre be so bold as to affirme, that the civill magistrat hath nothing to doe in maters of religioun? For seing that then God did so straitlie require, that even these who did beare the figure of Christ sould receave frome the civill power, as it were, their sanctificatioun and entrance to their office; and seing also, that Moses was so farre preferred to Aaron, that the one commanded, and the other did obey; who darre esteeme that the civill power is now become so profane in God's eyes, that it is sequestred frome all intromissioun with the maters of religioun? The Holie Ghost in diverse places declareth the contrarie; for one of the cheefe precepts commanded to the king, when that he sall be placed in his throne, was, to write the exemple of the books of the Lord's law; that it sould be with him, that he might read in it all the dayes of his life; that he might learne to feare the Lord his God, and keepe all the words of his law, and his statuts to doe them. This precept requireth, not onlie that the king himself sould feare God, keepe his law and statuts; but also he, as the cheefe ruler, sould provide, that God's true religioun sould be keeped inviolated of the people and flocke which by God was committed to his charge. And this did not onlie David and Salomon perfytlie understand, but also some godlie kings in Judah, after the apostasie and idolatrie that infected Israel by the meanes of Jeroboam, did practise their understanding, and execute their power in some notable reformatioun. For Asa and Josaphat, kings in Judah, finding the religioun altogether corrupted, did apply their hearts (sayeth the Holie Ghost) to serve the Lord, and to walke in his wayes; and therafter doth witnesse, that Asa removed frome honours his mother, some say grandmother, becaus she had committed, and laboured to mainteane, horrible idolatrie,

(2 Paral. xiv. and xvii.) And Josaphat did not onlie refuse strange gods himself, but also destroying the cheefe monuments of idolatrie, did send furth the Levits to instruct the people. Wherof it is plaine, that the one and the other did understand suche reformations to perteane to their dueteis. But the facts of Ezekias and Josias doe more cleerelie prove the power and duetie of the civill magistrat in the reformatioun of religioun. Before the raigne of Ezekias, so corrupt was the religioun, that the doores of the hous of the Lord were shutt up, the lampes were extinguished, no sacrifice was orderlie made. But in the first yeere of his raigne, the first moneth of the same, did the king open the doores of the temple, bring in the preests and Levits, and assembling together, did speeke unto them as followeth: 'Heare me, O yee Levits, and be sanctified now, and sanctifie also the hous of the Lord God of your fathers, and carie furth frome the sanctuarie all filthinesse, (he meaneth all monuments and vessels of idolatrie,) for our fathers have transgressed, and have committed wickednesse in the eyes of the Eternall, our God: they have left him, and have turned their faces frome the tabernacle of the Lord, and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon Judah and Jerusalem. Behold, our fathers have fallin by the sword; our sonnes, daughters, and wives, are ledde in captivitie. But now have I purposed in my heart to mak a covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turne the wrathe of his furie frome us. And, therefore, my sonnes, (he sweetlie exhorteth,) be not faint, for the Lord hath chosin you to stand in his presence, and to serve him,' (2 Paral. xxix.) Suche as be not more nor blind cleerelie may perceave, that the king doth acknowledge that it apperteaned to his charge to reforme the religioun, to appoint the Levits to their charges, and to admonishe them of their office and duetie; which thing he more evidentlie declareth, writting his letters to all Israel, to Ephraim, and Manasseh, and sent the same by the hand of messingers, having this tenor, 'You sonnes of Israel, returne to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaack, and Israel, and he sall returne to the residue that resteth frome the hands of Ashur. Be not as your fathers and brethrein were, who have

transgressed against the Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them desolate as you see. Hold not your heart, therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord: returne unto his sanctuarie, serve him, and he sall shew mercie to you, and to your sonnes and daughters that be in bondage; for he is pitifull, and easie to be intreated,' (2 Par. xxx.) Thus farre did Ezekias, by letters and messingers, provoke the people declynned from God to repentance, not onlie in Judah, where he raigned lawfull king, but also in Israel, subject then to another king. And albeit that by some wicked men his messingers were mocked, yitt as they laiked not their punishement, (for within six yeeres after Samaria was destroyed, and Israel led captive by Salmanassar,) so did not the zealous king Ezekias desist to prosecute his duetie, in restoring the religioun to God's perfyte ordinance, removing all abominations. The same is to be read of Josias, who did not onlie restore the religioun, but did further destroy all monuments of idolatrie which of long time had remained: for it is writtin of him, that after the booke of the law was found, and that he had asked counsell at the Prophetesse Hulda, he sent, and gathered all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem; and standing in the temple of the Lord, he made a covenant, that all the people, frome the great to the small, sould walke after the Lord, sould observe his law, statuts, and testimoneis, with all their heart, and all their soule, and that they sould ratifie and confirme whatsoever was writtin in the booke of God, 2 Par. xxxiv.; 2 Reg. xxiii. He further commanded Hilkias, the High Preest, and the preests of the inferior order, that they sould carrie furth of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to Baal, which he burnt, and did carie their powder to Bethel. He did further destroy all monuments of idolatrie, yea, even these that had remained frome the dayes of Salomon; he did burne them, stampe them to powder, wherof one part he scattered in the brooke Kidron, and the other upon the sepulchres and graves of the idolaters, whose bones he did burn upon the altars where before they made sacrifice, not onlie in Judah, but also in Bethel, where Jeroboam had erected his idolatrie. Yea, he further proceeded, and did kill

the preests of the high places, who were idolaters, and had deceaved the people; he did kill them, I say, and did burne their bones upon their owne altars, and so returned to Jerusalem. This reformatioun made Josias, and for the same obteaned this testimonie of the Holie Ghost, that neither before him, neither after him, was there anie suche king, who returned to God with his whole soule, and with all his strenth, according to the law of Moses.

"Of which historeis it is evident, that the reformatioun of religioun in all points, together with the punishement of false teachers, doth apperteane to the power of the civill magistrat. For what God required of them, his justice must require of others, having the like charge and authoritie: what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others, who, with like zeale and sinceritie, doe interprise to purge the Lord's temple and sanctuarie. What God required of them, it is before declared, to witt, that most diligentlie they sould observe his law, statuts, and ceremoneis. And how acceptable were their facts to God, doth he himself witnesse; for to some he gave most notable victorie without the hand of man, and in their most desperate dangers did declare his most speciall favours towards them, by signes supernaturall, (2 Par. xxxii.;) to others, he so established the kingdome, that their enemeis were compelled to stoupe under their feete. And the names of all he hath registred not onlie in the Booke of Life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posteriteis; since their dayes, which also sall continue till the comming of the Lord Jesus, who sall reward with the crowne of immortalitie not onlie them, but also suche as unfaiedlie studie to doe the will, and to promote the glorie, of his heavenlie Father, in the middest of this corrupted generatioun. In consideratioun wherof ought you, my lords, all delay sett apart, to provide for reformatioun of religioun in your dominioums and bounds, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christ's institutioun remaineth in the originall puritie. And, therefore, of necessitie it is, that speedilie yee provide for reformatioun, or elles yee declare yourselves not onlie voide of love towards your subjects, but also

to live without care of your owne salvatioun; yea, without all feare, and true reverence of God.

"Two things, perchance, may move you to esteeme these histo-reis, before breeflie tuiched, to apperteane nothing to you. First, Becaus yee are no Jewes, but Gentiles; and, secundarilie, Becaus yee are no kings, but nobles, in your realme. But be not deceaved, for neither of both can excuse you in God's presence frome doing your duteis; for it is a thing more than certane, that whatsoever God required of the civill magistrats in Israel or Judah, concerning the observatioun of true religioun, during the time of the Law, the same doth he require of lawfull magistrats professing Christ Jesus, in the time of the Gospell, as the Holie Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of David, saying, 'Be learned, you that judge the earth. Kisse His Sonne, least that the Lord waxe angrie, and that yee perishe frome the way,' Psalme ii. This admonitioun did not extend to the judges under the Law onlie, but doth also include all suche as be promoted to honours in the time of the Gospell, when Jesus Christ doth raigne and fight in his spirituall kingdom, whose enemeis in that psalme be first most sharplie taxed, their furie expressed, and vanitie mocked; and then are kings and judges, who thinke themselves free from all law and obedience, commanded to repent their former blind rage, and judges are charged to be learned. And, last, all are commanded to serve the Eternall in feare, to rejoice before Him in trembling, to kisse His Sonne, that is, to give unto him most humble obedience. Wherof it is evident, that the rulers, magistrats, and judges, now in Christ's kingdome, are no lesse bound to obedience unto God, than were these under the Law. And how is it possible, that anie sall be obedient, who despiseth this religioun in which standeth the cheefe glorie that man can give unto God, and is a service which God especiallie requireth of kings and rulers? Which thing Sanct Augustine plainlie did note, wrytting to one Bonifacius, (Epistle 50,) a man of warre, according to the same argument and purpose which I labour to persuade your honours. For, after that he hath,

in that his epistle, declared the difference betwixt the Donatists and Arrians, and hath somewhat spokin of their crueltie, he sheweth the way how their furie sould and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawfull for the unjustlie afflicted to seeke support and defense at godlie magistrats. For thus he writteth, 'Either must the veritie be keeped close, or elles must their crueltie be susteaned. But if the veritie sould be concealed, not onlie sould there none be saved, nor delivered by suche silence, but also sould manie be lost through their deceate. But if, by preaching of the veritie, their furie sould be provoked more to rage, and by that meanes yitt some were delivered, and made strong, yitt sould feare hinder manie weakelings to follow the veritie, if their rage be not stayed.' In these first words Augustine showeth three reasons why the afflicted church, in these dayes, called for the helpe of the emperour, and of godlie magistrats, against the furie of the persecuters. The first, The veritie must be spokin, or elles mankind sall perishe in errour. The secund, The veritie being plainlie spokin, provoketh the adversareis to rage. And becaus that some did alledge, that rather we ought to suffer all injurie than to seeke support by man, he addeth the thrid reasoun, to witt, That manie weake ones be not able to suffer persecutioun and deathe for the truthe's sake, to whome, nothelesse, respect ought to be had, that they may be wonne frome errour, and so brought to greater strenth.

"O that the rulers of this age sould ponder and weygh the reasons of this godlie writter, and provide the remedie which he requireth in these words following!—'Now, when the church was thus afflicted, if anie thinke that rather they sould have susteaned all calamitie, than that the helpe of God sould have been asked by Christian emperours, he doth not weill advert, that of suche negligence no good compt or reasoun could be givin. For where suche as would that no just lawes sould be made against their impietie, alledge, that the apostles sought no suche things of the kings of the earth, they doe not consider, that then the time was other than is now, and that all things are done in their owne time. What emperour then beleeved in Christ, that sould serve him in making

lawes for godlinesse against impietie? Whill yitt that saying of the prophet was compleit, 'Why have nations raged together, and people have imagined vanitie? The kings of the earth have stand up, and princes have convented together, against the Lord, and against His Anointed;'—that which is after said in the same psalme was not yitt come to passe: 'And now understand, O yee kings, be learned, you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in feare, and rejoice to him with trembling.' How doe kings serve the Lord in feare, but in punishing, and by a godlie severitie forbidding these things which are done against the commandement of the Lord? For otherwise doth he serve in so farre as he is man, otherwise in so farre as he is king. In so farre as he is man, he serveth Him by living faithfullie: but becaus he is also king, he serveth Him by establishing lawes, and commanding things that be just; and that with a convenient rigour, forbidding things contrarie. As Ezechias served, destroying the groves, the temples of idols, and the places which were builded against God's commandement; so served also Josias, doing the same; so served also the king of Ninivites, compelling the whole citie to mitigate the Lord; so served Darius, giving in the power of Daniel the idol to be brokin, and his enemeis to be cast to the lyons; so served Nebuchadnezar, by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his realme to blaspheme God. Heerin, therefore, doe kings serve the Lord, in so farre as they are kings, when they doe these things to serve him, which none except kings be able to doe.' He further proceedeth, and concludeth, that 'as when wicked kings doe raigne, impietie cannot be bridled by lawes, but rather is tyrannie exercised under the title of the same, so is it a thing without all reasoun, that kings professing the knowledge and honour of God, sould not regard nor care who did defend, nor who did oppugne the church of God in their dominions.' By these words of this ancient and godlie writter, your honours may perceave what I require of you; to witt, to represse the tyrannie of your bishops, and to defend the innocents professing the truthe. He did require it of the emperour and of kings of his days professing Christ, and manifestlie contendeth, that they cannot serve

Christ except that they so doe. Lett not your bishops thinke that Augustine speeketh for them, becaus he nameth the church. Lett them reade and understand, that Augustine writteth for that church which professeth the truthe, and doth suffer persecutioun for defense of the same, which your bishops doe not; but rather, with the Donatists and Arrians, doe cruellie persecute all suche as boldlie speeke Christ's eternall veritie to manifest their impietie and abominatioun. But this muche we have of Augustine, that it apperteaneth to the obedience and service which kings owe to God, as weill now, in the time of the Gospell, as before under the Law, to defend the afflicted for maters of religioun, and to represse the furie of persecuters, by the rigour and severitie of godlie lawes. For which caus, no doubt, doth Isay the prophet say, (Isay xlix.) that kings sould be nourishers to the church of God; that they sould abase their heads, and lovinglie embrace the childrein of God. And thus, I say, your honours may evidentlie see, that the same obedience doth God require of rulers and princes, in time of the Gospell, that he required in the time of the Law.

"If you doe thinke that the reformatioun of religioun, and defense of the afflicted, doth not apperteane to you, becaus you are no kings, but nobles and estates of a realme, in two things you are deceaved: Former, In that you doe not advert, that David requireth as weill that the princes and judges of the earth be learned, and that they serve and feare God, as that he requireth that the kings repent. If you, therefore, be judges and princes, as no man can denie you to be, then, by the plaine words of David, you are charged to be learned; to serve and feare God, which yee cannot doe, if yee despise the reformatioun of his religioun. And this is your first errour. The secund is, That yee neither know your duetie which yee owe to God, neither your authoritie, which of him yee have receaved, if yee, for pleasure or feare of anie earthlie man, despise God's true religioun, and contemn your brethrein, that in his name call for your support. Your duetie is to heare the voice of the Eternall, your God, and unfainedlie to studie to follow his precepts, who, as is before said, of speciall mercie has promoted

you to honours and dignitie. His cheefe and principall precept is, that with reverence yee receave and embrace his onlie beloved Sonne, Jesus, that yee promote to the uttermost of your powers his true religion, and that yee defend your brethrein and subjects whome he hath putt under your charge and care. Now, if your king be a man ignorant of God, enemie to his true religioun, blinded by superstitioun, and a persecuter of Christ's members, sall yee be excused, if with silence yee passe over his iniquitie? Be not deceaved, my lords; yee are placed in authoritie for another purpose than to flatter your king in his folie and blind rage; to witt, that as with your bodeis, strenth, riches, and wisdome, yee are bound to assist and defend him in all things which by your advice he sall tak in hand, for God's glorie, and for the preservatioun of his commoun wealth and subjects; so, by your graviteis, counsell, and admonitioun, yee are bound to correct and represse whatsoever yee know him to attempt expresslie repugning to God's Word, honour, and glorie, or what yee sall espie him to doe, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjects, great or small. Of which last part of your obedience if yee defraud your king, yee committ against him no lesse treasoun than if yee did abstract from him your due and promised support, what time by his enemeis unjustlie he were persued. But this part of their duetie, I feare, doe a small number of the nobilitie of this age rightlie consider; neither yitt will they understand, that for that purpose God hath promoted them. For now, the commoun song of all men is, 'We must obey our kings, be they good, or be they bad, for so hath God commanded.' But horrible sall the vengeance be that sall be powred furth upon suche blasphemers of God his holie name and ordinance. For it is no lesse blasphemie to say, that God hath commanded kings to be obeyed when they command impietie, than to say, that God by his precept is author and mainteaner of all iniquitie. True it is, God hath commanded kings to be obeyed; but like true it is, that in things which they committ against his glorie, or when cruellie without caus they rage against their brethrein, the members of Christ's bodie, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather

he hath approved, yea, and greatlie rewarded suche as have opponed themselves to their ungodlie commandements and blind rage, as in the exemples of the three childrein, of Daniel, and Ebedmelech, it is evident. The three childrein would neither bow nor stoup before the goldin image, at the commandement of the great king, Nebuchadnezar: Daniel did openlie pray, his windowes being open, against the established law of Darius and his counsell; and Ebedmelech feared not to enter in before the presence of Zedekias, and boldlie to defend the caus and innocencie of Jeremie, the prophet, whome the king and his counsell had condemned to death, Jer. xxxviii. Everie one of these facts sould this day be judged foolish by suche as will not understand what confessioun God doth require of his childrein, when his veritie is impugned, or his glorie called in doubt. Suche men, I say, as preferre man to God, and things present to the heavenlie inheritance, sould have judged everie one of these facts stubburne inobedience, foolish presumption, and singularitie, or elles bold controlling of the king, and his wise counsell. But how acceptable in God's presence was this resistance to the ungodlie commandements and determinatioums of their king, the end did witnesse; for the three childrein were delivered frome the furnace of fire, and Daniel frome the denne of lyons, to the confusioun of their enemeis, to the better instructioun of the ignorant kings, and to the perpetuall comfort of God's afflicted childrein. And Ebedmelech, in the day of the Lord's visitatioun, when the king and his counsell did drinke the bitter cuppe of God's vengeance, did find his life for a prey, and did not fall on the edge of the sword, when manie thowsands did perish, Jerem. xxxix. And this was signifeid unto him by the prophet himself, at the commandement of God, before that Jerusalem was destroyed. The promise and caus were recited unto him in these words:—'I will bring my words upon this citie unto evill, and not unto good. But most assuredlie I sall deliver thee, because thou hath trusted in me, sayeth the Lord.' The trust and hope which Ebedmelech had in God made him bold to oppone himself, being but one, to the king, and to his whole counsell, who had condemned to death the prophet.

whome his conscience did acknowledge to be innocent. For this did he speeke in the presence of the king, sitting in the port of Benjamin. 'My lord the king, (sayeth Ebedmelech,) these men doe wickedlie in all things that they have done to Jeremie the prophet.' Advert and take heed, my lords, that the men who had condemned the prophet were, the king, his princes, and counsell; and yitt did one man accuse them all of iniquitie, and did boldlie speeke in the defense of him, of whose innocencie he was perswaded. And the same, I say, is the duetie of everie man in his vocatioun, but cheefelie of the nobilitie, which is joyned with their kings to bridle and represse their furie and blind rage. Which thing, if the nobilitie doe not, neither yit labour to doe, as they are traitours to their kings, so doe they provoke the wrath of God against themselves, and against the realme, in which they abuse the authoritie which they have receaved of God, to mainteane vertue, and to represse vice. For heerof I would your honours were most certanlie perswaded, that God will neither excuse nobilitie nor people, but the nobilitie least of all, that they obey and follow their kings in manifest iniquitie; but with the same vengeance will God punish the prince, people, and nobilitie conspyring together against him, and against his holie ordinances, as in the punishment takin upon Pharao, Israel, Judah, and Babylon, is evidentlie to be seene. For Pharao was not drowned alone, but his captans, chariots, and great armie, dranke the same cuppe with him. The kings of Israel and Judah were not punished without companie; but with them were murthered the counsellers, their princes imprisonned, and their people led captive. And why? becaus none was found so faithful to God, that he durst interprise to resist nor againstand the manifest impietie of their princes. And therefore was God's wrath powred out upon the one and upon the other. But the more ample discourse of this argument I differ till better opportunitie. Onlie at this time I thought expedient to admonishe you, that before God it sall not excuse you to alledge, 'We are no kings, and, therefore, neither can we reforme religioun, nor yitt defend suche as be persecuted.' Consider, my lords, that yee are powers ordeaned by God, as before is declared, and

therefore, doth the reformatioun of religioun, and the defense of suche as unjustlie are oppressed, apperteane to your charge and care; which thing sall the law of God universallie givin to be keeped of all men most evidentlie declare. Which is my last and most assured reason why, I say, yee ought to remove frome honours, and punishe with death, suche as God hath condemned by his owne mouth. After that Moses had declared what was true religioun, Deut. xii., to witt, to honour God, as he commandeth, adding nothing to his Word, neither yitt diminishing anie thing frome it; and after also that vehementlie he had exhorted the same law to be observed, he denounceth the punishement against the transgressers in these words, 'If thy brothers, soume, daughters, wife, or nighbour, whome thou loveth as thyne owne life, solicitat thee secreetlie, saying, Lett us goe serve other gods, whome neither thou nor thy fathers have knowne, consent not to him, heare him not, lett not thyne eye spare him, shew him no indulgencie or favour, hide him not, but utterlie kill him. Lett thy hand be the first upon him, that he may be slaine, and after, the hand of the whole people,' Deut. xxiii., xxvii. Of these words of Moses are two things apperteaning to our purpose to be noted: Former, That suche as solicitat onlie to idolatrie ought to be punished to death, without favour or respect of the persoun; for He that will not suffer man to spare his sonne, his daughter, nor his wife, but straitlie commandeth punishement to be takin upon the idolatrous, (have they never so neere conjunctioun with us,) will not winke at the idolatrie of others, of what estate or conditioun soever they be.

"It is not unknowne, that the prophets had revelatioums of God which were not commoun to the people, as Samuel had the revelatioun that Eli and his posteritie sould be destroyed; that Saul sould first be king, and theratter that he sould be rejected; that David sould raigne for him, 1 Sam. iii.; 1 Sam. ix., xv. Michaiah understood, by visioun, that Achab sould be killed in battell against the Syrians, 1 Reg. xxii. Elias saw that dogges sould eate Jezabell in the fortresse of Jezreel, 1 Reg. xxi. Eliseus did see hunger come upon Israel by the space of seven yeeres, 2 Reg. viii. Jeremie

did foresee the destructioun of Jerusalem, and the time of their captivitie. And so, diverse other prophets had diverse revelatiouns frome God, which the people did not otherwise understand but by their affirmatioun; and, therefore, in these dayes were the prophets named Seears, because that God did open unto them that which was hide frome the multitude. Now, if anie man might have claimed anie priviledge frome the rigour of the law, or might have justifeid his fact, it sould have beene the prophet. For he might have alledged for himself, his singular prerogative that he had above other men, to have God's will reveeled unto him by visioun, or by dreame; or that God had declared unto him, particularlie, that his pleasure was to be honoured in that maner, in suche a place, and by suche meanes: but all suche excuses doth God remove, commanding that the prophet that sall solicite the people to serve strange gods sall dee the death, notwithstanding that he alledge for himself dreame, visioun, or revelatioun. Yea, although he promise miracles, and also, that suche things as he promiseth sall come to passe, yitt, I say, commandeth God, that no credite be givin to him, but that he dee the death, becaus he teacheth apostacie and defectioun from God. Heerof, your honours may easilie espie, that none provoking the people to idolatrie ought to be exempted frome the punishement of death; for, if neither that inseparable conjunctioun which God himself hath sanctifeid betwixt man and wife, neither that unspeakable love, grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the sonne, neither yitt that reverence which God's people ought to beare to the prophets, can excuse anie man to spare the offender, or to conceale his offense, what excuse can man pretend which God will accept? Evident it is, that no estate, conditioun, or honour, can exempt the idolater from the hands of God, when he sall call him to accompts, or sall inflict punishement upon him for his offense. How sall it then excuse the people, that they, according to God's commandement, punishe not to death suche as sall solicitat, or violentlie draw the people to idolatrie?

"And this is the first which I would your honours sould note of the former words; to witt, that no persoun is exempted frome

punishement, if he can be manifestlie convicted to have provoked or led the people to idolatrie. And this is most evidentlie declared in that solemne oath and covenant which Asa made with the people to serve God and mainteane his religioun; adding this penaltie to the transgressers of it, to witt, that whosoever sould not seeke the Lord God of Israel sould be killed, were he great, or were he small, were it man, or were it woman, 2 Par. xv. And of this oath was the Lord compleased. He was found of them, and gave them rest in everie part, becaus they sought him with their whole heart, and did sweare to punishe the offenders, according to the precept of his law, without respect of persouns. And this is it which, I say, I would your honours sould note for the first, that no idolater can be exempted from punishement by God's law. The secund is, that the punishement of suche crimes as are idolatrie, blasphemie, and others that tuiche the majestie of God, doth not apperteane to kings and cheefe rulers onlie, but also to the whole bodie of that people, and to everie member of the same, according to the vocatioun of everie man, and according to that possibilitie and occasion which God doth minister, to revenge the injury done against his glorie, what time that impietie is manifestlie knowne. And that doth Moses more plainlie speeke in these words, 'If in anie of thy citeis (sayeth he) which the Lord thy God giveth unto thee to dwell into them, thou sall heare this bruite, There are some men of the sonnes of Belial passed furth from thee, and have solicited the citicens of their citeis by these words, Lett us goe and serve strange gods which you have not knowne, searche and inquire diligentlie; and if it be true that suche abominatioun is done in the middest of thee, thou sall utterlie strike the inhabitants of that citie with the sword; thou sall destroy it, and whatsoever is within it; thou sall gather the spoile of it in the middest of the mercat-place; thou sall burne that citie with fire, and the spoile of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heape of stones for ever, neither sall it anie more be builded. Let nothing of that execratioun cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turne frome the furie of his wrath, and be moved towards thee with inward affectioun,' Deuter.

xiii. Plaine it is that Moses speeketh, nor giveth not charge to kings, rulers, and judges onlie; but he commandeth the whole bodie of the people, yea, and everie member of the same, according to their possibilitie. And who darre be so impudent as to denie this to be most reasonable and just? For seing that God had delivered the whole bodie frome boundage, and to the whole multitude had givin his law, and to the twelve tribes had he so distributed the inheritance of the land of Canaan, that no familie could compleane that it was neglected, was not the whole and everie member addebted to confesse and acknowledge the benefites of God? yea, had it not beene the part of everie man to have studeid to keepe the possessioun which he had receaved? Which thing God did plainelie pronounce they sould not doe, except that in their hearts they did sanctifie the Lord God; that they embraced and inviolablie keeped his religioun established, and, finallie, except they did cutt out iniquitie amongst them: declaring themselves earnest enemeis to these abominationus which God had declared himself so vehementlie to hate, that first he commanded the whole inhabitants of that countrie to be destroyed, and all monuments of their idolatrie to be brokin doun. And therafter, He also straitlie commandeth, that a citie declyning to idolatrie sould fall on the edge of the sword, and that the whole spoile of the some sould be burned, no portioun therof reserved. To the carnall man this may appeare a rigorous and severe judgement; yea, it may rather seeme to be pronounced in a rage than in wisdome: for what citie was ever yitt, in which, to man's judgement, were not to be found manie innocent persons, as infants, childrein, and some simple and ignorant soules, who neither did nor could consent to suche impietie? And yitt, we find no exceptioun, but all are appointed to the cruell death. And as concerning the citie, and the spoile of the same, men's reasoun cannot thinke but it had beene better bestowed than consumed with fire, and so profite no man: but in suche cases will God that all creatures stoupe, cover their faces, and desist frome reasouning, when commandement is givin to execute his judgement. Albeit I could adduce diverse causses of suche

severitie, yitt will I searche none other than the Holie Ghost hath assigned; first, that all Israel, hearing the judgement, sould feare to committ the like abominatioun; and, secundarilie, that the Lord might turne frome the furie of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affectioun, be mercifull to them, and multiplie them, according to his oathe made unto their fathers. Which reasouns, as they are sufficient in God's childrein to correct the murmuring of the grudging fleshe, so ought they to provoke everie man, as before I have said, to declare himself enemie to that which so highlie provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people. For where Moses sayeth, 'Lett the citie be burned, and lett no part of the spoile cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may returne frome thee the furie of his wrathe,' he plainlie doth signifie, that by the defectioun and idolatrie of a few, God's wrathe is kindled against the whole; which is never quenched till suche punishement be takin upon the offenders, that whatsoever served them in their idolatrie be brought to destructioun, becaus that it is execrable and accursed before God, and, therefore, he will not that it be reserved for anie use of his people.

"I am not ignorant that this law was not putt in execution as God commanded; but what did therof insue and follow historeis declare; to witt, plague after plague, till Israel and Judah were led in captivitie, as the Bookes of Kings doe witnesse. The consideratioun wherof maketh me more bold to affirme, that it is the ductie of everie man that list to escape the plague and punishement of God, to declare himself enemie to idolatrie, not onlie in heart hating the same, but also in externall gesture declaring, that he lamenteth, if he can doe no more, for suche abominatioums. Which thing was shewed to the prophet Ezechiel, what time He gave him to understand why he would destroy Judah with Israel; and that He would remove His glorie frome the temple and place that He had chosin, and so powre furth His wrathe and indignatioun upon the citie that was full of blood and apostasie; that became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, 'The Lord hath left the earth, and seeth not.' Ezech. viii. 9. At this time, I say,

the Lord reveeled in visioun to his prophet who they were that sould find favour in that miserable destructioun; to witt, these that did mourne and lament for all the abominatioums done in the citie, in whose foreheads did God command to print and seale TAU, to the end that the destroyer, who was commanded to strike the rest without mercie, sould not hurt them in whome that signe was found.

"Of these premisses I suppose it be evident, that the punishement of idolatrie doth not apperteane unto kings onlie, but also to the whole people, yea, to everie member of the same, according to his possibilitie; for that is a thing most assured, that no man can mourne, lament, and bewaile for these things, which he will not remove to the uttermost of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of everie man in his vocatioun, what sall be required of you, my lords, whome God hath raised up to be princes and rulers above your brethrein; whose hands he hath armed with the sword of his justice: yea, whome he hath appointed to be as bridles, to represse the rage and insolencie of your kings, whensoever they pretend manifestlie to transgresse God's blessed ordinance?

"If anie thinke that this my affirmatioun tuiching the punishement of idolaters be contrarie to the practise of the apostles, who, finding the Gentiles in idolatrie, did call them to repentance, requiring no suche punishement, lett the same man understand, that the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, lived, as the apostle speeketh, 'without God in the world;' drowned in idolatrie, according to the blindnesse and ignorance in which then they were holdin; as a profane natioun, whome God had never openlie avowed to be his people, had never receaved in his houshold, neither givin them lawes to be keeped in religioun nor policie. And, therefore, did not the Holie Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them anie corporall punishement, according to the rigour of the Law, unto the which they were never subjects, as they that were strangers frome the commoun wealthe of Israel, Ephes. ii. But if anie thinke, that after that the Gentiles were called frome their vaine

conversatioun, and by embracing Christ Jesus were receaved in the number of Abraham's childrein, and so made one people with the Jewes;—beleeving if anie man thinke, I say, that then they were not bound to the same obedience which God required of his people Israel, what time he confirmed his league and covenaunt with them, the same man appeareth to make Christ inferiour to Moses, and contrarious to the law of his heavenlie Father. For if the contempt or transgressioun of Moses' law was worthie of death, what sould we judge the contempt of Christ's ordinances to be; I meane, after they be once receaved? And if Christ be not come to dissolve, but to fulfill the law of his heavenlie Father, sall the libertie of his Gospell be an occasioun that the speciall glorie of his Father be troden under foote, and regarded by no man? God forbid! The speciall glorie of God is, that suche as professe them to be his people sould hearken to his voice. And amongst all the voices of God reveeled to the world, tuiching the punishement of vices, is none more evident, neither more severe, than that which is pronounced against idolatrie, the teachers and mainteaners of the same. And, therefore, I feare not to affirme, that the Gentiles, I meane everie citie, realme, province, or natioun among the Gentiles, embracing Christ Jesus and his true religioun, be bound to the same league and covenant that God made with his people Israel, what time he promised to root out the natiouns before them, in these words, Beware that thou mak anie covenant with the inhabitants of the land to the which thou cometh, least perchance that this come in ruine, that is, be destruction to thee. But thou sall destroy their altars, breake their idols, and cutt doun their groves. Feare no strange gods: worship them not, neither yitt make you sacrifice to them; but the Lord, who, in his great power and outstretched arme, hath brought you out of the land of Egypt, sall you feare, him sall you honour, him sall you worship, to him sall you make sacrifice; his statuts and judgements, lawes and commandements, you sall keepe and observe. This is the covenant which I have made with you, sayeth the Eternall; forgett it not, neither yitt feare yee other gods, but feare yee the Lord your God,

and he sall deliver you frome the hands of all your enemeis,' Exod. xxxiv. To this same law and covenant, I say, are the Gentiles no lesse bound than sometime were the Jewes. Whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of anie multitude, province, people, or citie, and putteth the sword in their owne hand, to remove suche enormiteis from amongst them as before God they know to be abominable, then, I say, they are no lesse bound to purge their dominiouns, citeis, and countreis from idolatrie, than were the Israelites, what time they receaved the possessioun of the land of Canaan. And moreover, I say, if anie goe about to erect and sett up idolatrie, or to teache defectioun frome God, after that the Veritie hath beene receaved and approved, that then not onlie the magistrats to whome the sword is committed, but also the people, are bound by that oathe which they have made to God, to revenge to the uttermost of their power the injurie done against his majestie. In universall defectiouns, and in a generall revolt, suche as was in Israel after Jeroboam, there is a diverse consideratioun: for then, becaus the whole people were together conspired against God, there could none be found that would execute the punishement which God had commanded, till God raised up Jehu, whome he had appointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other generall defectiouns, suche as this day be in Papistrie, where all are blinded, all are declynned frome God, and that of long continuance, so that no ordinarie justice can be executed, but the punishement must be reserved unto God, and unto suche meanes as he sall appoint. But I doe speeke of suche a number as, after they have receaved God's perfyte religioun, doe boldlie professe the same, notwithstanding that some, or the most part, fall backe, (as of late dayes was England;) unto suche a number, I say, it is lawfull to punishe the idolaters with death, if by anie meanes God give them power; for so did Josuah and Israel determine to have done against the childrein of Reuben, Gad, and Manasses, for their suspected apostasie and defectioun frome God; and the whole tribes did, in verie deed, execute that sharpe judgement against the tribe of Benjamin, for a lesse offense than idolatrie. And the

same ought to be done wheresoever Christ Jesus or his Evangell is so receaved, in anie realme, province, or citie, that the magistrats and people have solemnelie avowed and promised to defend the same; as under King Edward, of late dayes, was done in England. In suche places, I say, it is not onlie lawfull to punishe to the death suche as labour to subvert the true religioun, but the magistrats and people are bound so to doe, unlesse they will provoke the wrathe of God against themselves. And therefore I feare not to affirme, that it had beene the duetie of the nobilitie, judges, rulers, and people of England, not onlie to have resisted and gainstanded Marie, that Jesabell, whome they call their queene, but also to have punished her to the death, with all the sort of her idolatrous preests, together with all suche as sould have assisted her, what time that she and they openlie beganne to suppresse Christ's Evangell, to shedde the blood of the saincts of God, and to erect that most devilish idolatrie, the Papisticall abominations, and his usurped tyrannie who once, most justlie, by commoun oathe, was banished that realme. But becaus I can not at this present discusse this argument as it apperteaneth, I am compelled to omitt it to better opportunitie. And so, returning to your honours, I say, that if yee confesse yourselves baptized in the Lord Jesus, of necessitie yee must confesse that the care of his religioun doth apperteane to your charge; and if yee know that in your hand God hath putt the sword for the causses above expressed, then can yee not denie but that the punishement of obstinat and malapert idolaters (suche as all your bishops be) doth apperteane to your office, if after admonitioun they continue obstinat.

"I am not ignorant what be the vaine defenses of your proud prelats. They claime, first a prerogative and priviledge, that they are exempted, and, that by consent of councels and emperours, from all jurisdictioun of the temporalitie; and, secundarilie, when they are convicted of manifest impieteis, abuses, and enormiteis, as weill in their maners as in their religioun, neither feare nor shame they to affirme, that things so long established cannot suddanelie be reformed, although they be corrupted, but with processe of time

they promise to tak order. But in few words, I answere, that no priviledge granted against the ordinance and statuts of God is to be observed, although all councels and men in the earth have appointed the same; but against God's ordinance it is that idolaters, murtherers, false teachers, and blasphemers, sall be exempted frome punishement, as before is declared. And, therefore, in vaine it is that they claime for priviledge, when God sayeth, 'The murtherer sall thou ryve frome myne altar, that he may dee the death.' And as to the order and reformatioun which they promise, that is to be looked and hoped for, when Satan, whose childrein and slaves they are, sall change his nature.

"This answere, I doubt not, sall suffice the sober and godlie reader. But yitt, to the end that they may further see their owne confusioun, and that your honours may better understand what yee ought to doe in so manifest a corruptioun and defectioun frome God, I aske of them what assurance they have for this their immunitie, exemptioun, or priviledge; who is the author of it, and what fruict it hath produced? And first, I say, that of God they have no assurance; neither yitt can he be proved to be author of anie suche priviledge. But the contrarie is easie to be seene; for God, in establishing his orders in Israel, did so subject Aaron (in his preesthood being the figure of Christ) to Moses, that he feared not to call him in judgement, and constraine him to give accompt of his wicked deed, in consenting to idolatrie, as the historie doth plainlie witnesse. For thus it is writtin, 'Then Moses tooke the calfe which was made, and burned it with fire, and did grind it to powder, and scattering it in the water, gave it to the childrein of Israel to drinke,'—declaring heereby the vanitie of their idol, and the abominatioun of the same. And therafter, Moses said to Aaron, 'What hath this people done to thee, that thou sould bring upon it so great a sinne?' Exod. xxxii. Thus, I say, doth Moses call, and accuse Aaron of the destruction of the whole people; and yitt, he perfytelie understood that God had appointed him to be the High Preest, that he sould beare upon his shoulder, and upon his breast, the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, for whome he was ap-

pointed to make sacrifice, prayers, and supplicatiouns; he knew his dignitie was so great, that onlie he might enter within the Most Holie Place. But neither could his office nor dignitie exempt him frome judgement when he had offended. If anie object, Aaron at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he subject to Moses, I have answered, that Moses being taught by the mouth of God, did perfytlie understand to what dignitie Aaron was appointed; and yitt, he feared not to call him in judgement, and to compell him to make answere for his wicked fact. But if this answere doth not suffice, yitt sall the Holie Ghost witnesse further in the mater. Salomon removed frome honour Abiathar, being the High Preest, and commanded him to ceasse frome all functioun, and to live as a privat man. Now, if the unctioun did exempt the preest frome jurisdictioun of the civill magistrat, Salomon did offend, and injured Abiathar, for he was anointed, and did carie the arke before David. But God doth not reprove the fact of Salomon, neither yitt doth Abiathar claime anie prerogative by reasoun of his office; but rather doth the Holie Ghost approve the fact of Salomon, saying, 'Salomon ejected furth Abiathar, that he sould not be the preest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be performed, which he spake upon the hous of Eli,' 1 Reg. ii.; 2 Sam. iii. And Abiathar did thinke that he obteaned great favour, in that he did escape the present death, which by his conspiracie he had deserved. If anie yitt reasoun, that Abiathar was no otherwise subject to the judgement of the king, but as he was appointed to be executer of that sentence which God before had pronounced; as I will not greatlie denie that reasoun, so require I that everie man consider that the same God who pronounced sentence against Eli and his hous, hath pronounced also that idolaters, whoormoongers, murtherers, and blasphemers, sall neither have portioun in the kingdome of God, neither ought to be permitted to beare anie rule in his church and congregatioun, Gal. iv. 1; 1 Tim. iii. Now, if the unctioun and office saved not Abiathar, becaus that God's sentence must needs be performed, can anie priviledge granted by man be a

buckler to malefactors, that they sall not be subject to the punishements pronounced by God? I thinke no man will be so foolishe as so to affirme: for a thing more than evident it is, that the whole preesthood in the time of the Law was bound to give obedience to the civill powers; and if anie member of the same was found criminall, the same was subject to the punishement of the sword, which God putt in the hand of the magistrat. And this ordinance of his Father did not Christ disannull, but rather did confirme the same, commanding tribute to be payed for himself and for Peter, (Matt. xvii.) who perfytlie knowing the minde of his Maister, thus writteth in his Epistle. 'Submitt yourselves to all maner ordinance of man, (he excepteth suche as be expreslie repugning to God's commandement,) for the Lord's sake; whether it be to king, as to the cheefe head, or unto rulers, as to these that are sent by him for punishement of evill doers, and for the praise of them that do weill,' 2 Pet. ii.; Acts iv. and v. The same doth the apostle Sanct Paul most plainlie command, in these words, 'Lett everie soule be subject to the superiour powers,' Rom. xiii. Which places mak evident, that neither Christ, neither his apostles, have givin anie assurance of this immunitie and priviledge, which men of church (as they will be termed) doe this day clame. Yea, it was a thing unknowne to the primitive church, manie yeeres after the dayes of the apostles; for Chrysostome, who served in the church at Constantinople foure hundreth yeeres after Christ's ascensioun, and after that corruptioun was greatlie increassed, doth thus write upon the foresaid words of the apostle: 'This precept (sayeth he) doth not apperteane to suche as are called seculars onlie, but even to these that be preests and religious men,' (Chrysostome upon the thirteenth to the Romans.) And after, he addeth, 'Whether thou be apostle, evangelist, prophet, or whosoever thou be, thou canst not be exempted frome this subjectioun.' Heerof it is plaine, that Chrysostome did not understand that God had exempted anie persoun frome obedience and subjectioun of the civill power, neither yitt that he was author of

suche exemptioun and priviledge, as Papists doe this day claime. And the same was the judgement and uniforme doctrine of the primitive church, manie yeeres after Christ.

"Your honours doe wounder, I doubt not, frome what fountaine then did this their immunitie (as they terme it) and singular priviledge spring. I sall shortlie tuiche that which is evident in their owne law and historeis. When the Bishops of Rome, the verie Antichrists, had, partlie by fraud, and partlie by violence, usurped the superioritie of some places in Italie, and most unjustlie had spoiled the emperours of their rents and possessiouns, and had also murthered some of their officers, as historeis doe witnesse, then beganne Pope after Pope to practise and devise how they might be exempted from judgement of princes, and frome the equitie of lawes. And in this point they were most vigilant, till at lenth iniquitie did so prevaile in their hands, according as Daniel had forepropheceid of them, that this sentence was pronounced, 'Neither by the emperour, neither by the cleargie, neither yitt by the people, sall the judge be judged,' Distin. ix. 'God will (sayeth Symmachus) that the causes of others be determined by men, but without all question he hath reserved the bishops of this seate (understanding Rome) to his owne judgement,' Quest. iii. And heerof, diverse Popes, and expositors of their lawes, would seeme to give reasouns; for sayeth Agatho, 'All the precepts of the apostolick seate are assured, as by the voice of God himself,' Dist. xix. The author of the glosse upon their canon affirmeth, that 'if all the world sould pronounce sentence against the Pope, yitt sould his sentence prevaile;' for, sayeth he, 'The Pope hath a heavenlie will, and therefore he may change the nature of things. He may applie the substance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make somewhat. And that sentence which was nothing, (that is, by his minde false and unjust,) he may make somewhat, (that is, true and just,) for (sayeth he) in all things that please him, his will is for reasoun. Neither is there anie man may aske of him, Why doeth thou so? for he may dispense above the law; and of injustice he may make justice, for he hath the fullnesse of all power,' (Cap. de

Translat. titul. 7.) And manie other most blasphemous sentences did they pronounce, everie one after another, which for shortnesse I omitt, till at the end they obteaned this horrible decree, that, 'Albeit in life and conversatioun they were so wicked and detestable, that not onlie they condemned themselves, but also they drew to hell and perditioun manie thowsands with them, yitt that none sould presume to reprehend or rebooke them,' Dist. xl.

"This being established for the Head, albeit not without some contradictioun, for some emperours did require due obedience of them, as God's Word commanded, and ancient bishops had givin before to emperours and to their lawes, but Satan so prevailed in his sute before the blind world, that the former sentences were confirmed. Which power being granted to the Head, then beganne provisioun to be made for the rest of the members, in all realmes and countreis where they made residence, the fruict wherof wee see to be this; that none of that pestilent generatioun (I meane the vermine of the Papisticall order) will be subject to anie civill magistrat, how enormous that ever his crime be, but will be reserved to his owne ordinarie, as they terme it. And what fruicts heerof have ensued, be the world never so blind, it cannot but witnesse; for how their Head, that Roman Antichrist, hath beene occupied ever since the granting of suche priviledges, historeis doe witnesse, and of late, the most part of Europe subject to the plague of God, to fire and sword by his procurement, hath felt, and to this day doth feele. The pride, ambitioun, invy, excesse, fraude, spoile, oppressioun, murther, filthie life, and incest, that is used and mainteaned amongst that rable of preests, friers, monkes, channons, bishops, and cardinals, cannot be expressed. I feare not to affirme, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papisticall church is farther degenerated frome the puritie of Christ's doctrine, frome the footesteps of the apostles, and frome the maners of the primitive church, than was the church of the Jewes fronie God's holie statuts, what time it did crucifie Jesus, the onlie Messias, and most cruellie persecuted his apostles. And yitt will our Papists claime their priviledges and ancient liberteis, which if yee grant unto them, my

lords, yee sall assuredlie drinke the cuppe of God's vengeance with them, and sall be reputed before his presence companions of theeves, and mainteaners of murtherers, as is before declared. For their immunitie and priviledge, wherof so greatlie they boast, is nothing elles but as if theeves, murtherers, and brigands, sould conspire among themselves that they would never answere in judgement before anie lawfull magistrat, to the end that their thift and murther sould not be punished. Even suche, I say, is their wicked priviledge, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Christ Jesus, who hath reveeled his Father's will to the world, neither yitt of the apostles, nor primitive church, as before is declared. But it is a thing conspired among themselves, to the end that their iniquitie, detestable life, and tyrannie, sall neither be repressed nor be reformed. And if they object, that godlie emperours did graunt and confirme the same, I answere, that the godlinesse of no man is, nor can be, of sufficient authoritie to justifie a foolishe and ungodlie fact, suche, I meane, as God hath not allowed by his Word; for Abraham was a godlie man, but the denyall of his wife was suche a fact as no godlie man ought to imitate. The same might I shew of David, Ezekias, and Josias, unto whome, I thinke, no man of judgement will preferre anie emperour since Christ in holinesse and wisdome; and yitt are not all their facts, no, even suche as they appeared to have done for good causses, to be approved nor followed. And, therefore, I say, as errour and ignorance remaine alwayes with the most perfect men in this life, so must their workes be examined by another rule than by their owne holinesse, if they would be approved. But if this answere doth not suffice, then will I answere more shortlie, that no godlie emperour since Christ's ascensioun hath granted anie suche priviledge, to anie suche church or persoun, as they (the whole generatioun of Papists) be at this day. I am not ignorant, that some emperours of a certane zeale, and for some consideratiouns, granted libertie to the true church afflicted, for their maintenance against tyranns: but what serveth this for the defense of their tyrannie? If the law must be understood according to the minde of the lawgiver,

then must they first prove themselves Christ's true and afflicted church, before they can claime anie priviledge to apperteane to them; for onlie to that church were the priviledges graunted. It will not be their glorious titles, neither yitt the long possessioun of the name, that can prevaile in this so weightie a caus; for all these had the church of Jerusalem, which did crucifie Christ, and condemne his doctrine. Wee offer to prove by their fruicts and tyrannie, by the prophets and plaine Scriptures of God, what trees and generatioun they be; to witt, unfruictfull and rottin, apt for nothing but to be cutt and cast in hell fire; yea, that they are the verie kingdome of Antichrist, of whome we are commanded to be aware.

"And, therefore, my lords, to returne to you: Seing God hath armed your hands with the sword of justice; seing that his law most straitlie commandeth idolaters and false prophets to be punished with death, and that you be placed above your subjects to raigne as fathers over their childrein; and further, seing not onlie I, but with me manie thowsand famous, learned, and godlie persons, accuse your bishops, and the whole rable of the Papisticall cleargie, of idolatrie, of murther, and of blasphemie against God committed, it apperteaneth to your honours to be vigilant and cairfull in so weyghtie a mater. The questioun is not of earthlie substance, but of the glorie of God, and salvatioun of yourselves, and of your brethrein subject to your charge; in which, if you, after this plaine admonitioun, be negligent, there resteth no excuse by reason of ignorance. For in the name of God I require of you, that the caus of religioun may be tried in your presence by the plaine and simple Word of God; that your bishops be compelled to desist frome their tyrannie; that they be compelled to make answere for neglecting of their office; for the substance of the poore, which unjustlie they usurpe, and prodigallie they doe spend; but principallie for the false and deceavable doctrine which is taught and defended by their false prophets, flattering friers, and other suche vennomous locusts. Which thing if with single eyes yee doe, (preferring God's glorie, and the salvatioun of your bre-

threin, to all worldlie commoditie,) then sall the same God who solemnelie doth pronounce to honour these that doe honour him, powre his benedictiouns plentifullie upon you. He sall be your buckler, protectioun, and captane, and sall represse, by his strenth and wisdome, whatsoever Satan by his supposts sall imagine against you. I am not ignorant that great troubles sall insue your interprise; for Satan will not be expelled frome the possessioun of his usurped kingdome without resistance. But if you, as is said, preferring God's glorie to your owne lives, unfainedlie seeke and studie to obey his blessed will, then sall your deliverance be suche, as evidentlie it sall be knowne that the angels of the Eternall doe watche, make warre, and fight for those that unfainedlie feare the Lord. But if you refuse this my most reasonable and just petitioun, what defense that ever you appeare to have before men, then sall God (whome in me yee contemne) refuse you. He sall powre furth contempt upon you, and upon your posteritie after you; the spirit of boldnesse and wisdome sall be takin frome you; your enemeis sall raigne, and yee sall dee in bondage; yea, God sall cutt doun the unfruictfull trees, when they appeare most beautifullie to floorishe, and sall so burne the roote, that after you sall neither twig nor branche again spring to glorie, Deut. xxviii.; Levit. xxvi.; Is. xxvii. and xxx. Heerof I need not to adduce unto you exemples frome the former ages and ancient historeis; for your brethrein, the nobilitie of England, are a mirrour and glasse, in which yee may behold God's punishement. For as they have refused Him and his Evangell, which once in mouth they did professe, so hath He refused them, and hath takin frome them the spirit of wisdome, boldnesse, and of counsell. They see and feele their owne miserie, and yitt they have no grace to avoide it. They hate the boundage of strangers, the pride of preests, and the monstriferous impyre of a wicked woman, and yitt are they compelled to bow their neckes to the yoke of the devill; to obey whatsoever the proud Spaniards and wicked Jesabell list to command; and, finallie, to stand like slaves, with cappe in hand, till the servants of Satan, the shaven sort, call them to counsell. This fruict doe they reape and gather

of their former rebellioun and unfaithfulnesse towards God. They are left confused in their owne counsells. He whom, in his members, for the pleasure of a wicked woman, they have exiled, persecuted, and blasphemed, doth now laugh them to scorne, suffereth them to be pynned in boundage of most wicked men, and finallie sall adjudge them to the fire everlasting, except that speedilie and openlie they repent their horrible treasoun, which against God, against his Sonne, Christ Jesus, and against the libertie of their owne native realme, they have committed. The same plagues sall fall upon you, be yee assured, if yee refuse the defense of his servants that call for your support.

"My words are sharpe; but consider, my lords, that they are not myne, but that they are the threatnings of the Omnipotent, who assuredlie will performe the voices of his prophets, how that ever carnall men despise his admonitiouns. The sword of God's wrathe is alreadie drawin, which, of necessitie, must needs strike, when grace offered is obstinatlie refused. You have beene long in bondage of the devill; blindnesse, errour, and idolatrie, prevailing against the simple truthe of God in that your realme, in which God hath made you princes and rulers. But now doth God, of his great mercie, call you to repentance, before he powre furth the uttermost of his vengeance; he crieth to your eares, that your religioun is nothing but idolatrie: he accuseth you of the blood of his sancts, which hath beene shed by your permissioun, assistance, and power; for the tyrannie of these raging beasts sould have no force, if by your strenth they were not mainteaned. Of these horrible crimes doth now God accuse you, not of purpose to condemne you, but mercifullie to absolve and pardoun you, as some time he did these whom Peter accused to have killed the Sonne of God, so that yee be not of minde nor purpose to justifie your former iniquitie, Acts ii. Iniquitie, I call, not onlie the crimes and offences that have beene, and yitt remaine in your maners and lives, but that also which appeareth before men most holie, with hazard of my life, I offer to prove to be abominatioun before God; that is, your whole religioun to be so corrupt and vaine, that no true servant of God

can communicat with it, becaus, that, in so doing, he sould manifestlie denie Christ Jesus, and his eternall veritie. I know that your bishops, accompaneid with the swarme of the papisticall vermine, sall cry, 'A damned heretick ought not to be heard!' But remember, my lords, what in the beginning I have protested, upon which ground I continuallie stand, to witt, that I am no heretick, nor deceavable teacher, but the servant of Christ Jesus; a preacher of his infallible veritie; innocent in all that they can lay to my charge, concerning my doctrine; and that, therefore, by them being enemeis to Christ, I am unjustlie damned, frome which cruell sentence I have appealed, and doe appeale, as before mentioun is made: in the meantime, most humblie requiring your honours to take me in your protectioun, to be auditors of my just defence, granting unto me the same libertie which Achab, a wicked king, and Israel, at that time a blinded people, graunted to Elias, in that case, (1 Reg. viii.) That is, that the bishops, and the whole rable of your cleargie, may be called before you, and before that people whome they have deceaved; that I be not condemned by multitude, by custome, by authoritie or law, devised by man, but that God himself may be judge betwixt me and my adversareis. Lett God, I say, speeke by his law, by his prophets, by Christ Jesus, or by his apostles, and so lett him pronounce what religioun he approveth. And then, be my enemeis never so manie, and appeare they never so strong and so learned, no more doe I feare victorie than did Elias, being but one man, against the multitude of Baal's preests. And if they thinke to have advantage by their councels and doctors, this I further offer, to admitt the one and the other as witnesses in all maters debatable, three things (which justlie cannot be denied) being graunted unto me: First, That the most ancient councels neerest to the primitive church, in which the learned and godlie fathers did examine all maters by God's Word, may be holdin of most authoritie: Secundlie, That no determinatioun of councels nor man be admitted against the plaine veritie of God's Word, nor against the determinatioun of these foure cheefe councels, whose authoritie hath beene, and is, holdin by them equall with the authoritie of

the foure Evangelists; and, last, That to no doctor be givin greater authoritie than Augustine requireth to be givin to his writtings; to witt, if he plainlie prove not his affirmatioun by God's infallible Word, that then his sentence be rejected, and imputed to the errour of a man.—*In Prolog. Retract.* These things granted and admitted, I sall no more refuse the testimoneis of councels and doctors, than sall my adversareis. But if they will justifie these councels which mainteane their pride and usurped authoritie, and will reject these which plainlie have condemned all suche tyrannie, negligence, and wicked life, which bishops now doe use; and if, further, they will snatche a doubtfull sentence of a doctor, and refuse his minde when he speaketh plainlie; then will I say, that all man is a leer, that credite ought not to be givin to an unconstant witnesse, and that no councels ought to prevaile, or be admitted against the sentence which God hath pronounced. And thus, my lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a triell of my innocencie; I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people, as rulers and princes; I have offered unto you, and unto the inhabitants of the realme, the veritie of Christ Jesus, and, with the hazard of my life, I presentlie offer to prove the religioun which amongst you is mainteaned by fire and sword, to be false, damnable, and diabolicall. Which things, if yee refuse, mainteaning tyranns in their tyrannie, then darre I not flatter; but as it was commanded to Ezechiel boldlie to proclame, so must I crie to you, that yee sall perishe in your iniquitie, (Ezech. xxxiii.;) that the Lord Jesus sall refuse so manie of you as maliciouslie withstand his eternall veritie; and in the day of his apparitioun, when all flesh sall appeare before him, that he sall repell you frome his companie, and command you to the fire which never sall be quenched, Matt. xxiv. and xxvi. And then, neither sall the multitude be able to resist, neither sall the counsell of man be able to prevaile against that sentence which he sall pronounce, Dan. xii.; Matt. xxv.

"God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holie Spirit, so rule and dispose your hearts, that with simpli-

citie yee may consider the things which be offered; and that yee may take suche order in the same, as God in you may be glorifeid, and Christ's flocke by you may be edifeid and comforted, to the praise and glorie of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose omnipotent Spirit rule your hearts in his true feare to the end. Amen."

"To his beloved Brethrein, the Communaltie of Scotland, Johne Knox wisheth grace, mercie, and peace, with the spirit of righteous judgement.

"What I have required of the queene regent, estats, and nobilitie, as of the cheefe heads (for this present) of the realme, I can not ceasse to require of you, deerelie beloved brethrein, which be the communaltie and bodie of the same; to witt, that it (notwithstanding that false and cruell sentence which your disguised bishops have pronounced against me) would please you to be so favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my just purgatioun. Which to doe, if God earnestlie move your hearts, as nothing I doubt, but that your interprise sall redound to the praise of his holie name, so am I assured that yee and your posteritie sall receave, by that meanes, most singular comfort, edificatioun, and profite. For when yee sall heare the mater debated, you sall easilie perceave and understand, upon what ground and foundatioun is builded that religioun which amongst you is this day defended by fire and sword. As for my owne conscience, I am most assuredlie perswaded, that whatsoever is used in the Papisticall church is altogether repugning to Christ's blessed ordinance, and is nothing but mortall vennome, of which, whosoever drinketh, I am assuredlie perswaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnatioun, except by true conversioun unto God he be purged frome the same. But becaus that long silence of God's Word hath begottin ignorance almost in all sorts of men, and ignorance, joyned with long custome, hath confirmed superstitioun in the hearts of manie, I therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus, desire audience as weill of you, the communaltie, my brethrein, as of the estats and nobilitie of the realme, that in

publick preaching I may have place among you, at large, to utter my minde in all maters of controversie, this day, in religioun. And further, I desire that yee, concurring with your nobilitie, would compell your bishops and cleargie to ceasse frome their tyrannie; and also that, for the better assurance and instructioun of your conscience, yee would compell your said bishops and false teachers to answere by the Scriptures of God to suche objectioums and crimes as sall be layed against their vaine religioun, false doctrine, wicked life, and slaunderous conversatioun.

"Heere, I know, it sall be objected, that I require of you a thing most unreasonable, to witt, that yee sould call your religioun in doubt, which hath beene approved and established by so long continuance, and by the consent of so manie before you. But I shortlie answere, that neither is the long processe of time, neither the multitude of men, a sufficient approbatioun which God will allow for our religioun; for as some of the most ancient writters doe witnesse,[1] neither can long processe of time justifie an errour, neither can the multitude of suche as follow it change the nature of the same; but if it was an errour in the beginning, so it is in the end; and the longer that it be followed, and the moe that doe receive it, it is the more pestilent, and more to be avoided. For if antiquitie and multitude of men could justifie anie religioun, then was the idolatrie of the Gentiles, and now is the abominatioun of the Turkes, a good religioun, for antiquitie approved the one, and a multitude hath receaved, and doth defend the other. But otherwise to answere: godlie men may wounder frome what fountaine suche a sentence doth flow, that no man ought to trie his faith and religioun by God's Word, but that he safelie may beleeve, and follow everie thing which antiquitie and a multitude have approved. The Spirit of God doth otherwise teache us; for the Wisdome of God, Christ Jesus, remitted his adversareis to Moses and the Scriptures, to try by them whether his doctrine was of God, or not, Johne v. and vii. The Apostles Paul and Peter command men to trie the religioun which they professe by God's plaine

[1] Lactant. Firman. Tertull. Cyprian.

Scriptures, and doe praise men for so doing: Sanct Johne straitlie commandeth that we beleeve not everie spirit, but willeth us to trie the spirits, whether they be of God or not, Acts xvii.; 2 Pet. i.; 1 Johne iv. Now, seing that these evident testimoneis of the Holie Ghost will us to trie our faith and religioun by the plaine Word of God, wounder it is, that the Papists will not be content that their religioun and doctrine come under the triell of the same. If this sentence of Christ be true, (as it is most true, seing it springeth frome the Veritie itself,) 'Whoso evill doeth, hateth the light, neither will he come to the light, least that his evill workes be manifested and rebooked,' (Johne iii.,) then doe our Papists, by their owne sentence, condemne themselves and their religioun; for in so farre as they refuse examinatioun and triell, they declare that they know some fault which the light will utter, which is a caus of their feare, and why they clame to that priviledge, that no man dispute of their religioun. The veritie and truthe being of the nature of fyne purifeid gold, doth not feare the triell of the furnace; but the stubble and chaffe of men's inventions (suche is their religioun) may not abide the flamme of the fire. True it is, that Mahumet pronounced this sentence, that no man sould, on paine of death, dispute or reasoun of the ground of his religioun; which law, to this day, by the art of Satan, is observed among the Turkes, to their mortall blindnesse, and horrible blaspheming of Christ Jesus, and of his true religioun. And frome Mahumet, or rather frome Satan, father of all lees, hath the Pope and his rable learned this former lessoun, to witt, that their religioun sould not be disputed upon; but what the fathers have beleeved, that ought and must the childrein approve. And, in so devising, Satan lacked not his foresight; for no one thing hath more established the kingdom of that Roman Antichrist than this most wicked decree, to witt, that no man was permitted to reason of his power, or to call his lawes in doubt. This thing is most assured, that whensoever the Papisticall religioun sall come to examinatioun, it sall be found to have no other ground than hath the religioun of Mahumet; to witt, man's inventiouns, device, and dreames, overshadowed with some

colour of God's Word. And, therefore, brethrein, seing that the religioun is as the stomache to the bodie, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole members, it is necessarie that the same be examined; and if it be found replenished with pestilent humors, (I meane with the phantaseis of men,) then of necessitie it is that these be purged, elles sall your bodeis and soules perishe for ever: for of this I would yee were most certanlie perswaded, that a corrupt religioun defileth the whole life of man, appeare it never so holie.

"Neither would I, that yee sould esteeme the reformatioun and care of religioun lesse to apperteane to you, becaus yee are no kings, rulers, judges, nobles, nor in authoritie. Beloved brethrein, yee are God's creatures, created and formed to his owne image and similitude; for whose redemptioun was shed the most pretious blood of the onlie beloved Sonne of God; to whome he hath commanded his Gospell and glade tidings to be preached, and for whome he hath prepared the heavenlie inheritance, so that yee will not obstinatlie refuse, and disdainfullie contemne the meanes which he hath appointed to obteane the same; to witt, his blessed Evangell, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that yee may be saved: for the Gospell and the glade tidings of the kingdome truelie preached, is the power of God, to the salvatioun of everie beleever, Rom. i. Which to credite and receave, you, the communaltie, are no lesse addebted than be your rulers and princes. For albeit God hath putt and ordeaned distinctioun and difference betwixt the king and subjects, betwixt the rulers and the commoun people, in the regiment and administratioun of civill policeis, yit, in the hope of the life to come, he hath made all equall. For as in Christ Jesus the Jew hath no greater prerogative than hath the Gentile, the man than hath the woman, the learned than hath the unlearned, the lord than the servant, but all are one in him, (Galat. iii.,) so is there but one way and meanes to atteane to the participation of his benefites and spirituall graces, which is a livelie faith working charitie. And, therefore, I say, that it doth no lesse apperteane to you, beloved brethrein, to be assured that your faith and religioun be grounded

and established upon the true and undoubted Word of God, than to your princes and rulers. For as your bodeis cannot escape corporall death, if with your princes yee eate and drinke deadlie poysoun, (although it be by ignorance or negligence,) so sall yee not escape the death everlasting, if with them yee professe a corrupt religioun. Yea, except in heart yee beleeve, and with mouth yee confesse the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world, (which yee cannot do except yee embrace his Evangell offered,) yee cannot escape death and damnatioun; for as the just liveth by his owne faith, so doth the unfaithfull perishe by his infidelitie; and as true faith is ingendred, nourished, and mainteaned in the hearts of God's elect by Christ's Evangell truelie preached, so is infidelitie and unbeleefe fostered by concealing and repressing the same, Abac. ii.; Marc xvi.; Johne iii. And thus, if yee looke for life everlasting, yee must trie if yee stand in faith; and if yee would be assured of a true and livelie faith, yee must have Christ Jesus truelie preached unto you. And this is the caus, dear brethrein, that so oft I repeate, and so constantlie I affirme, that to you it doth no lesse apperteane, than to your kings and princes to provide, that Christ Jesus be truelie preached among you, seing, that without his true knowledge can neither of you both atteane to salvatioun. And this is the point wherin, I say, all man is equall; that as all be descended from Adam, by whose sinne and inobedience did death enter into the world, (Rom. v.,) so it behoved all that sall obteane life to be engrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who being the just servaunt, doth, by his knowledge, justifie manie, to witt, all that unfainedlie beleeve in him, Isa. liii.; Johne iii. and v.

"Of this equalitie, and that God requireth no lesse of the subject, be he never so poore, than of the prince and riche man, in maters of religioun, he hath givin an evident declaratioun in the Law of Moses: for when the tabernacle was builded, erected, and sett in order, God did provide how it, and the things appertaneing to the same, sould be susteaned, so that they sould not fall in decay. And this provisioun (albeit heaven and earth obey his impire) would he not take frome the secreit and hide treasures wlich

ly dispersed in the haines[1] of the earth, neither yitt would he take it frome the riche and potent of his people; but he did command that everie man of the sonnes of Israel, were he riche, or were he poore, that came in compt, frome twentie yeeres and upward, sould yeerelie pay halfe a sickle for an oblatioun to the Lord, in remembrance of their redemptioun, and for an expiatioun or cleansing to their soules, which money God commanded sould be bestowed upon the ornaments and necessareis of the tabernacle of testimonie. He furthermore added a precept, that the riche sould give no more for that use, and in that behalfe, than sould the poore; neither yitt that the poore sould give anie lesse than sould the riche, in that consideratioun, Exod. xxx. This law, to man's reasoun and judgement may appeare verie unreasonable; for some riche man might have givin a thowsand sickles, with lesse hurt of his substance, than some poore man might have payed the half sickle. And yitt God maketh all equall, and will that the one sall pay no more than the other, neither yitt the poore anie lesse than the riche. This law, I say, may appeare verie unequall; but if the caus which God addeth be observed, we sall find in the same the great mercie and unestimable wisdome of God to appeare; which caus is expressed in these words, 'This money receaved frome the childrein of Israel, thou sall give in the service of the tabernacle, that it may be to the childrein of Israel a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be mercifull to your soules,' Exod. xxx. This caus, I say, doth evidentlie declare, that as the whole multitude was delivered frome the boundage of Egypt, by the mightie power of God alone, so was everie member of the same, without respect of persoun, sanctifeid by his grace, the riche, in that behalfe, nothing preferred to the poorest; for by no merit or worthinesse of man was He moved to choose and to establishe his habitatioun and dwelling amongst them; but their felicitie, prerogative, and honour, which they had above all other natiouns, proceeded frome the fountaine of his eternall goodnesse, who loved them freelie, as that He freelie had chosen them to be his preestlie kingdome, and holie people, frome all na-

[1] Hoards.

tioums of the earth. Thus to honour them, that He would dwell in the middest of them, He neither was moved, I say, by the wisdome of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yitt by the vertue and holinesse of anie estate amongst them ; but of meere goodnesse did He love them, and with his presence did He honour that people, Exod. xix. And, therefore, to paint out the same, his commoun love to the whole multitude, and to cutt off occasiouns of contentioun and doubts of conscience, He would receave no more frome the riche nor frome the poore, for the mainteanance of that his tabernacle, by the which was represented his presence and habitatioun amongst them. If the riche had been preferred to the poore, then, as the one sould have beene puffed up with pride, as that he had beene more acceptable to God, by reasoun of his greater gift, so sould the conscience of the other have beene troubled and wounded, thinking that his povertie was an impediment, that he could not stand in so perfyte favour with God as did the other, becaus he was not able to give so muche as did the riche, to the maintenance of his tabernacle. But He, who of mercie, as said is, did choose his habitatioun among them, and also, that best knoweth what lieth within man, did provide the remedie for the one and for the other, making them equall in that behalfe, who, in other things, were most unequall. If the poore sould have found himself greeved, by reasoun of that taxe, and that as muche was imposed upon him as was upon the riche, yitt had he no small caus of joy, that God himself would please to compare him, and to make him equall in the maintenance of his tabernacle, to the most riche and potent in Israel.

"If this equalitie was commanded of God for maintenance of that transitorie tabernacle, which was but a shaddow of a better to come, (Heb. ix.,) is not the same required of us, who now have the veritie, which is Christ Jesus, who being clade with our nature, is made Immanuel, that is, God with us ; whose naturall bodie, albeit it be receaved in the heavens, where he must abide till all be complete that is forespokin by the prophets, yitt hath he promised to be present with us to the end of the world, Isai. viii. ; Acts iii. ; Matt.

xxviii. And for that purpose, and for the more assurance of his promise, He hath erected amongst us heere in earth the signes of his owne presence with us his spirituall tabernacle; the true preaching of his Word, and right administratioun of his Sacraments, to the maintenance wherof is no lesse bound the subject than the prince, the poore than the riche. For as the price which was givin for man's redemptioun is one, so requireth God of all that sall be partakers of the benefites of the same, alike duetie, which is a plaine confessioun, that by Christ Jesus alone we have receaved whatsoever was lost in Adam. Of the prince doth God require that he refuse himself, and that he follow Christ Jesus; of the subject he craveth the same. Of kings and judges it is required that they kisse the Sonne, that is, give honour, subjectioun, and obedience unto him; and frome suche reverence doth not God exempt the subject that sall be saved. And this is that equalitie which is betwixt kings and subjects, the most riche and noble, and betwixt the poorest and men of lowest estate, to witt, that as the one is oblished to beleeve in heart, and with mouth to confesse the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world, so also is the other. Neither is there anie of God's childrein (who hath atteaned to the yeeres of discretioun) so poore but that he hath this muche to bestow upon the ornaments and maintenance of their spiritual tabernacle, when necessitie requireth; neither yitt is there anie so riche of whose hand God requireth anie more. For, albeit that David gathered great substance for building of the temple; that Salomon with earnest diligence, and incredible expenses, erected and finished the same; that Ezekias and Josias purged the religioun which before was corrupted, (1 Par. xxix.; 2 Par. iii., iv., and v.; 2 Par. xxix., xxx., and xxxv.;) yitt to them was God no further debter in that respect, than he was to the most simple of the faithfull posteritie of faithfull Abraham; for their diligence, zeale, and workes, gave rather testimonie and confessioun before men what honour they did beare to God, what love to his Word, and reverence to his religioun, than that anie worke proceeding frome them did either establishe, or yitt increasse God's favour towards them, who freelie did love them in

Christ his Sonne before the foundatioun of the world was layed. So that these forenamed, by their notable workes, gave testimonie of their unfained faith; and the same doth the poorest that unfainedlie and openlie professeth Christ Jesus, that doth embrace his glade tydings offered, that doth abhorre superstitioun, and flee frome idolatrie. The poorest, I say, and most simple that this day in earth, in the dayes of this cruell persecutioun, firmlie beleeveth in Christ, and boldlie doth confesse him, before this wicked generatioun, is no lesse acceptable before God, neither is judged in his presence to have done anie lesse in promoting Christ his caus, than the king who, by the sword and power which he hath received of God, rooteth out idolatrie, and so advanceth Christ's glorie.

"But to returne to our former purpose, it is no lesse required, I say, of the subjects to beleeve in Christ, and to professe his true religioun, than of the prince and king; and, therefore, I affirme, that in God's presence it sall not excuse you to alledge that yee were no cheefe rulers, and, therefore, that the care and reformatioun of religioun did not apperteane unto you. You, (deare brethrein,) as before is said, are the creatures of God, created to his owne image and similitude, to whom it is commanded to heare the voice of your heavenlie Father, to embrace his Sonne, Christ Jesus, to flee frome all doctrine and religioun which he hath not approved by his owne will, revealed unto us in his most blessed Word, Matt. xvii. To which precepts and charges if yee be found inobedient, yee sall perishe in your iniquitie, as rebels and stubborne servants that have no pleasure to obey the good will of their Soverane Lord, who most lovinglie doth call for your obedience. And, therefore, brethrein, in this behalfe, it is your part to be carefull and diligent, for the question is not of things temporall, which, although they be endangered, yitt by diligence and processe of time may after be redressed; but it is of the dammatioun of your bodeis and soules, and of the losse of life everlasting, which once lost can never be recovered. And, therefore, I say, that it behoveth you to be carefull and diligent in this, so weightie a mater, least that yee, contemning this

occasioun which God now offereth, find not the like, although that after, with groaning and sobbes, yee languish for the same.

"And that yee be not ignorant of what occasioun I meane, in few words I sall expresse it. Not onlie I, but with me also diverse others, godlie and learned men, doe offer unto you our labours, faithfullie to instruct you in the wayes of the Eternall, our God, and in the sinceritie of Christ's Evangell, which this day, by the pestilent generatioun of Antichrist, (I meane by the Pope and his most ungodlie cleargie,) are almost hide frome the eyes of men. We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvatioun of your soules, and by manifest Scriptures to prove that religioun, which amongst you is mainteaned by fire and sword, to be vaine, false, and diabolicall. Wee require nothing of you but that patientlie yee will heare our doctrine, which is not ours, but is the doctrine of salvatioun, reveeled to the world by the onlie Sonne of God; and that you will examine our reasons, by which we offer to prove the Papisticall religioun to be abominable before God. And last of all, we require, that by your power the tyrannie of these cruell beasts (I meane of the preests and friers) may be bridled, till we have uttered our mindes in all maters this day debatable in religioun. If these things, in the feare of God, yee graunt unto me, and unto others that unfainedlie for your salvatioun and for God's glorie require the same, I am assured, that of God yee sall be blessed, whatsoever Satan devise against you. But if yee contemn or refuse God, who thus lovinglie offereth unto you salvatioun and life, yee sall neither escape plagues temporall, which shortlie sall apprehend you, nather yitt the torment prepared for the devill and for his angels, except by speedie repentance ye returne to the Lord, whome now ye refuse, if that yee refuse the messengers of his Word. But yitt I thinke yee doubt what yee ought and may doe in this so weightie a mater. In few words I will declare my conscience in the one, and in the other. Yee ought to preferre the glorie of God, the promoting of Christ his Evangell, and the salvatioun of your soules, to all things that be in earth. And yee, although yee be but subjects, may law-

fullie require of your superiours, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true preachers, and that they expell suche as, under the name of pastors, devoure and destroy the flocke, not feeding the same, as Christ Jesus hath commanded. And if, in this point, your superiours be negligent, or yitt pretend to mainteane tyranns in their tyrannie, most justlie yee may provide true teachers for yourselves, be it in your citeis, touns, or villages: them yee may mainteane, and defend against all that sall persecute them, and by that meanes sall labour to defraude you of that most comfortable food of your soules, Christ's Evangell truelie preached. Yee may, moreover, withhold the fruicts and profites which your false bishops and cleargiemen unjustlie receave of you, untill suche time as they be compelled faithfullie to doe their chargeis and duteis which is, to preache unto you Christ Jesus truelie, rightlie to minister his sacraments according to his owne institutioun, and so to watche for the salvatioun of your soules, as is commanded by Christ Jesus himself, and by his apostles Paul and Peter, John xxi.; Acts xx.

"If God sall move your hearts in his true feare, to beginne to practise these things, and to demand and crave the same of your superiours, which most lawfullie yee may doe, then I doubt not, but of his great mercie and free grace he sall illuminate the eyes of your mindes; that his undoubted veritie sall be a lanterne to your feete, to guide and leade you in all the wayes which his godlie wisdome doth approve. He sall make your enemeis tremble before your faces. He sall establish his blessed Evangell amongst you, to the salvatioun and perpetuall comfort of yourselves, and of your posteritie after you. But if (as God forbid) the love of freinds, the feare of your princes, and the wisdome of the world, drawe you backe frome God, and from his Sonne Christ Jesus, be ye certanlie perswaded, that yee sall drinke the cuppe of his vengeance, so manie, I meane, as sall contemne and despise this loving calling of your heavenlie Father. It will not excuse you (deare brethrein) in the presence of God, neither yitt will it avail you in the day of his visitatioun, to say, 'We were but simple subjects; we could not re-

dresse the crimes and faults of our rulers, bishops, and cleargie; wee called for reformatioun, and wished for the same. But lords' brethrein were bishops, their sonnes were abbots, and the freinds of great men had the possessioun of the church, and so we were compelled to give obedience to all that they demanded.' These vaine excuses, I say, will nothing availe you in the presence of God, who requireth no lesse of the subjects than of the rulers, that they declyne frome evill, and that they doe good; that they absteane frome idolatrie, superstitioun, blasphemie, murther, and other suche horrible crimes which his law forbiddeth, and yitt not the lesse are openlie committed, and maliciouslie defended, in that miserable realme. And if yee thinke that yee are innocent, becaus that yee are not the cheefe authors of that iniquitie, yee are utterlie deceaved; for God doth not onlie punish the cheefe offenders, but with them doth he damne the consenters to iniquitie, and all are judged to consent that, knowing impietie committed, give no testimonie that the same displeaseth them, Rom. i.

"To speake this mater more plainlie; as your princes and rulers are criminall, with your bishops, of all idolatrie committed, and of all the innocent blood that is shed for the testimonie of Christ's truthe, and that becaus they mainteane them in their tyrannie, so are you (I meane so manie of you as give no plaine confessioun to the contrarie) criminall and guiltie, with your princes and rulers, of the same crimes; becaus yee assist and mainteane your princes in their blind rage, and give no declaratioun that their tyrannie displeaseth you. This doctrine, I know, is strange to the blind world; but the veritie of it hath beene declared in all notable punishements, frome the beginning. When the originall world perished by water, when Sodome and Gomorrha were consumed by fire, and, finallie, when Jerusalem was horriblie destroyed, doth anie man thinke that all were alike wicked before the world? Genes. vii. and xix.; *Josephus*; *Ægesippus*. Evident it is that they were not, if they sall be judged according to their externall facts, for some were young, and could not be oppressours, neither yitt could defile themselves with unnaturall and beastlie lusts; some were pitifull, and gentle

of nature, and did not thrist for the blood of Christ, nor of his apostles. But did anie escape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the Scriptures witnesse, and the historeis be considered, which plainlie doe testifie, that by the waters all fleshe in earth, at that time, did perishe, (Noah and his familie reserved;) that none escaped in Sodome, and in the other citeis adjacent, except Lott and his two daughters. And evident it is that in the famous citie of Jerusalem, in that last and horrible destructioun of the same, none escaped God's vengeance, except so manie as before were dispersed. And what is the caus of this severitie, seing that all were not alike offenders? Lett fleshe ceasse to dispute with God, and lett all men, by these exemples, learne to flee and avoide the societie and companie of the proud contemners of God, if that they list not to be partakers of their plagues. The caus is evident, if we can be subject without grudging to God's judgements, which in themselves are most holie and just. For in the originall world was none found that either did resist tyrannie and oppressioun, which universallie were used, neither yitt that earnestlie reprehended the same. In Sodome was none found that did gainstand that furious and beastlie multitude, that did compasse about and besiege the hous of Lott; none would beleeve Lott, that the citie sould be destroyed. And, finallie, in Jerusalem were none found that studied to represse the tyrannie of the preests, who were conjured against Christ and his Evangell, but all fainted, (I except ever suche as gave witnesse with their blood, or their fleing, that suche impietie displeased them;) all keeped silence, by which all approved iniquitie, and joyned hands with the tyranns. And so were all arrayed and sett, as it had beene, in one battell against the Omnipotent, and against his Sonne Christ Jesus, for whosoever gathereth not with Christ, in the day of his harvest, is judged to scatter. And, therefore, of one vengeance temporall were they all partakers. Which things (as before I have tuiched) ought to move you to the deepe consideratioun of your dueteis, in these last and most perellous times. The iniquitie of your bishops is more

than manifest. Their filthie lives infect the aire. The innocent blood which they shed crieth vengeance into the eares of our God. The idolatrie and abominatioun which openlie they committ, and without punishement they mainteane, doth corrupt and defile the whole land, and none amongst you doth unfainedlie studie for anie redresse of suche enormiteis. Will God, in this behalfe, hold you as innocents? Be not deceaved, deare brethrein; God hath not onlie punished the proud tyranns, filthie persons, and cruell murtherers, but also suche as with them did draw the yoke of iniquitie, were it by flattering their offenses, obeying their unjust commandements, or in winking at their manifest iniquitie. All suche, I say, hath God once punished with the cheefe offenders. Be yee assured, brethrein, that as He is immutable in nature, so He will not pardoun in you, that which so severelie He hath punished in others; and now, the lesse, becaus He hath plainlie admonished you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercie, before He powre furth his wrath and displeasure upon the inobedient.

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Father of glorie and God of all consolatioun, give you the spirit of wisdome, and open unto you the knowledge of himself, by the meanes of his deere Sonne, by which yee may atteane to the esperance and hope, that, after the troubles of this transitorious life, yee may be partakers of the riches of that glorious inheritance which is prepared for suche as refuse themselves, and fight under the banner of Christ Jesus in the day of this his battell; that in deepe consideratioun of the same, yee may learne to preferre the invisible and eternall joyes to the vaine pleasures that are present. God further grant you his Holie Spirit, righteouslie to consider what I, in his name, have required of your nobilitie, and of you, the subjects, and move you all together so to answere, that my petition be not a testimonie of your just condemnatioun, when the Lord Jesus sall appeare to revenge the blood of his sancts, and the contempt of his most holie Word. Amen.

"Sleepe not in sinne, for vengeance is prepared against all in-

obedient. Flee frome Babylon, if yee will not be partakers of her plagues.

"Bee witnesse to my appellatioun. Grace be with you.

"Your brother to command in godlinesse,

"Frome Geneva, the 14th of Julie 1558. JOHNE KNOX."

FIRST AND SECUND BLAST OF THE TRUMPET.

This same yeere, 1558, he sett furth a treatise, intituled, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Weomen," wherin he gave a prooffe of his eruditioun. The raigne of Queene Marie in England, and the regiment of Marie of Loraine in Scotland, provoked him to sett furth that treatise. In the preface, he protests he did not conceale his name for feare of corporal punishement, and promiseth to take the blame upon him, that others may be purged at the thrid blast—for his purpose was to blow the trumpet thrise in this mater. If Queene Marie had not ended her dayes sooner he had performed his promise. The scope of the Secund Blast, if it had beene sett furth, may be gathered in the postscript extant at the end of Antony Gilbei's Admonitioun to England and Scotland, as followeth:—

"Johne Knox to the Reader.

"Becaus manie are offended at the First Blast of the Trumpet, in which I affirme, that to promote a woman to beare rule or impyre above anie realme, natioun, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, and a thing most contrarious to his reveeled and approved ordinance; and becaus, also, some have promised, as I understand, a confutatioun of the same, I have delayed the Secund Blast till suche time as their reasouns appeare, by which I may be either reformed in my opinioun, or sall have further occasioun more simplie and plainlie to utter my judgement. Yitt in the meantime, for discharge of my conscience, and avoiding suspicion, which might be engendered by reasoun of my silence, I could not ceasse

to notifie these subsequent propositions, which by God's grace I purpose to treate in the Secund Blast promised.

"1. It is not birth onlie, nor propinquitie of blood, that maketh a king lawfullie to raigne above a people professing Christ Jesus, and his eternall Veritie; but in his electioun must the ordinance which God hath established in inferiour judges be observed.

"2. No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgresser of God's holie precepts, ought to be promoted to anie publick regiment, honour, or dignitie, in anie realme, province, or citie, that hath subjected the self to Christ Jesus and his blessed Evangell.

"3. Neither can oath nor promise bind anie suche people to obey and mainteane tyranns against God, and against his truthe knowne.

"4. But if either rashlie they have promoted anie manifest wicked persoun, or yitt ignorantlie have chosin suche a one, as after declareth himself unworthie of regiment above the people of God, (and suche be all idolaters and cruell persecuters,) most justlie may the same men depose and punishe him that unadvisedlie before they did nominate, appoint, and elect.

"'If the eye be single, the whole bodie sall be cleere,' Matt. vi."

ARGILE TAKETH THE PROTECTION OF JOHNE DOWGLAS.

These two heads being agreed upon,[1] the old Erle of Argile tooke the protectioun of Johne Douglas, alias Grant, caused him preache publictlie in his hous, and reformed manie things according to his counsell. Others tooke the same boldnesse, as weill within touns as within the countrie, which did not a little trouble the bishops and the queene regent. The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes directed Sir David Hammiltoun to the Erle of Argile, with instructioums or a memorandum, wherin he putteth the erle in mind of the antiquitie, nobilitie, and loyaltie of his hous; professeth his good affection to his hous; admonisheth him in what danger he is, if the authoritie would putt at him; offereth one to instruct him in the

[1] See "The Conclusions of the Congregatioun," p. 328.

Catholick faith, to be his preacher; layeth to Johne Dowglas his charge heresie and apostasie, and letteth him know what evill report he had incurred among lords both spirituall and temporall, and with the queene's Grace, and other weill affected people. He professeth his sorrow, and that he absteaned frome executioun of the lawes for feare of dishonouring of him and his hous. He answered, that he remaineth still readie to obey his prince or princesse; but that it standeth in God's omnipotent power to make up houses, or to cast them doun. He professeth that he will not acknowledge everie thing to be heresie which is concluded by generall councells, seing they have beene at diversitie among themselves. But the Spirit of Veritie cannot erre. If the authoritie would putt at his hous, for the confessioun of God's truthe, and maintenance of his lawes, God is mightie eneugh. He will serve his prince, but with reservatioun of his duetie to God; and as for the preacher he offereth him to triell, if he would provide him suche a man as would preache Christ truelie, he would provide him a living, and give him thanks. In end he sayeth, "There are diverse houses in Scotlande that professe the same God secreetlie beside us. They desire but that yee beginne the bargane at us; and when it beginneth at us, God knoweth what will be the end therof, and who sall abide the nixt putt. My lord, consider this. Lett not the vaine exhortatioun of them that regard little the weale and strenth of both our housses, stirre up your lordship, as they would doe, to doe against God, your owne conscience, and the weale of the posteritie for ever. Therefore now, in the end, I pray your lordship weigh these things wiselie. If yee doe otherwise, God is God, and sall be God, when all is wrought that man can worke." The bishops looked for nothing lesse than suche answeres frome the Erle of Argile, therefore they made them for their last defense, that is, to corrupt, and by bribes to stirre up the queene regent against the professours. Shortlie after, in the yeere 1559, the erle ended his dayes, renouncing all superstitioun and idolatrie, and recommending to his sonne the setting fordward of the Gospell to the uttermost of his power.

THE PAPISTS BRAGGE, BUT ARE DISSWADED FROME DISPUTATIOUN.

The petitiouns of the professours being presented to the queene regent, the cleargie beganne to storme, and to devise all maner of lees to deface the equitie of their caus. They bragged as if they would have publick disputatioun, wherof the professours were verie desirous, two things being provided: First, that the Scriptures decide all controverseis: Secundlie, that their brethrein, of whome some were then exiled, and by them unjustlie damned, might have free access to the said disputatioun, and safe conduct to returne to their dwelling-places, notwithstanding anie processe which before had beene led against them in maters concerning religioun. But these things were denyed, neither would they admitt anie judges but themselves, their councels, and canon law. Mr David Panter, then lying at Restalrig, disswaded them, affirming, that if ever they disputed but where themselves were both judge and partie, and where fire and sword sould obey their decree, that then their caus was marred for ever: for their victorie stood, neither in God nor his Word, but in their owne wills, and things concluded by their owne councels, "whereto," said he, "these fellowes will give no place, but will call you to your compt-booke, that is, to the Bible, and by it yee will not be found the men that yee are called. Therefore, if yee love yourselves, enter never in disputatioun with them, nor call the mater in questioun, but defend yourselves, or elles all is lost."

CONDITIOUNS OFFERED BY THE PAPISTS TO THE PROFESSOURS.

The Popish factioun beganne to draw certane articles of reconciliatioun, promising to the professours, if they would admitt the masse to stand in the former reverence and estimatioun, graunt purgatorie after this life, confesse prayer to the sancts and for the dead, and suffer them to enjoy their rents, honours, and posses-

sioums, that then they would graunt libertie to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, so that it were done secreetlie, and not in open assemblie. In the meane time, that perfyte hypocrite, Mr Johne Sinclar, Deane of Restalrig, afterward Bishop of Brechin, and Lord President, was so indifferent in preaching, that manie judged he was not farre frome the kingdome of God. But when he understood that the godlie beganne to conceave some good opinioun of him, and the friers to whisper, he appointed a day, wherin he promised to declare his judgement in the controverted heeds of religioun. He contradicteth what he had before taught concerning justificatioun and prayer, and setteth up to the uttermost pricke, holie water, pilgrimage, purgatorie, and mainteaneth that they were of suche vertue in his conceate, that without them he looked not to be saved.

THE QUEENE REGENT'S DOUBLE-DEALING WITH THE PROFESSOURS.

The conditioums offered by the Papists were so grosse, that the professors all in one voice refused them. They crave instantlie justice of the queene regent, and a reasonable answere to their former petitioums. The queene regent, being a craftie woman, thinking to make vantage of both parteis for obteaning of the matrimoniall crowne, permitted the professours to use themselves according to their desires, providing they held no publick assembleis in Edinburgh or Leith, and promised her assistance to their preachers, till some uniforme order might be established by parliament. To the cleargie she promised secreetlie, that how soone opportunitie sould serve, she sould so order their maters that they sould not be troubled after. Some say they gave her fourtie thowsand punds, gathered by the Laird of Earlshall. The professours suspecting nothing her doublenesse nor falsehood, departed, fullie contented with her answere. To give a prooffe of their quietnesse, they putt to silence Johne Dowglas, who publicklie would have preached in the toun of Leith. She would say to the prelats and preests after this

maner, "Yee may cleerlie see I cannot doe what I would in this realme, for the hereticks and confederats with England are so banded together, that they stoppe all good order. But will yee assist me in this sute, in suing for the matrimoniall crowne, yee sall see ere it be long how I sall handle the hereticks and traitours." And, indeid, she meant truthe in that behalfe. To the professours she said, "I am not unmindfull how oft yee have solicited me for reformatioun of religioun, and gladelie would I consent thereto. But yee see the power and craft of the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, together with the power of the duke and the churche men, to be ever bent against me in all my proceedings, so that I may do nothing, unlesse the full authoritie of this realme be committed to the King of France, which cannot be but by donatioun of the crown matrimoniall. If yee will bring this to passe, then devise what yee please in maters of religioun, and it sall be granted." With these, and the like speeches, was Lord James, then Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, directed to the Erle of Argile. By her dissimulatioun she inflammed the credulous and upright to be more fervent in her petitioun than herself appeared to be.

THE MATRIMONIALL CROWNE GRANTED TO THE DAULPHINE.

There was a parliament holdin about the end of November 1558, at Edinburgh. The commissioners sent to France, to solemnize the mariage, obteaned an approbatioun and confirmatioun of their proceedings. The Frenche ambassader had a long harang, wherin he assured the estats of the good affectioun of the Daulphine and his father, and made knowne to them, that the queene, their soverane, did earnestlie desire, and curteouslie requeist the estats, to honour her husband with the title of a King, wherby he might be called King of Scotland als long as she lived, and for that end to graunt unto him the matrimoniall crowne; and that they would appoint three or foure of the cheefest of the nobilitie to carie the honours or ensignes of the kingdome to her husband. Exemples were alledged, and assistance to the queene, in her claime to the

crowne of England, after the death of Queene Marie, was after a sort promised. The more curious he was, the more was he and the Frenche factioun suspected of some secreit designe; yitt the ambassader, partlie with large offers, partlie with importunat requeists, and assistance of suche as would pre-occupie the Daulphin's favour, obteaned at lenth that he sould be king during the queen's life. Gillespick Campbell, Erle of Argile, and James Stewart, Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, were appointed to goe to France, to invest the Daulphine with the ornaments or honours of the kingdome.

THE PETITION OF THE PROFESSOURS.

The professours exhibited to the queene in parliament the letter following :—

"Unto your Grace, and unto you, right honorable lords of this present parliament, humblie meane and shew your Grace's most humble and obedient subjects; that where we are daylie molested, slaundered, and injured, by wicked and ignorant persons, place-holders of the ministers of the church, who most untruelie cease not to defame us as hereticks, and under that name most cruellie have persecuted diverse our brethrein, and intend further to execute their malice against us, unlesse by some godlie order their furie and rage be bridled and stayed: and yitt in us they are able to prove no crime worthie of punishement, unlesse to read the Holie Scriptures in our assembleis, to invocate the name of God in publick prayers, with all sobrietie to interprete and open up the hard places of Scripture that be read, to the further edificatioun of the brethrein assembled, and truelie according to Christ his holie institutioun to minister the Sacraments, be crimes worthie of punishement, of other crimes we are not able to be convicted. And to the premisses are we compelled, for that the said place-holders discharge no part of their duetie rightlie to us, nor to the people subject to us. Therefore, unlesse we sould declare ourselves unmindefull of our owne salvatioun, we are compelled of verie conscience to seeke how that we and our brethrein may be delivered frome the

thraldome of Satan: for now, it hath pleased God to open our eyes, that manifestlie we see, that, without extreme danger of our soules, we may no wise communicate with the damnable idolatrie and intolerable abuses of the Papisticall kirk. And, therefore, most humblie we require of your Grace, and of you, right honorable lords, barons, and burgesses, assembled in this present parliament, prudentlie to weigh, and, as becometh just judges, to grant these our most just and reasonable petitiouns:

"First, Seing that the controversie in religioun, which long hath continued betwixt the Protestants of Almaine, Helvetia, and other provinces, and the Papisticall kirk is not yitt decided by a lawfull and generall councell; and seing our consciences are likewise tuiched with the feare of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controversie, we most humblie desire that all suche acts of parliament as in time of darknesse gave power to kirkmen to execute their tyrannie against us, by reasoun that wee to them were delated as hereticks, may be suspended or abrogated till a generall councell, lawfullie assembled, have decided all controverseis in religioun.

"Secundlie, We require, least this mutatioun sould seeme to sett all men at libertie to live as they list, that it be enacted by this present parliament, that the prelats and their officers be removed frome the place of judgement; granting to them, neverthelesse, the place of accusators in the presence of a temporall judge, before whome the churchmen, accusators, sall be bound to call anie by them accused of heresie, to whome also they sall be boundin to deliver an authentick copie of all depositiouns, accusatiouns, and processes led against the persons accused; the judge likewise delivering the same to the partie accused, assigning unto him a competent terme to answere to the same, after he hath takin sufficient caution, *De judicio sisti.*

"Thridlie, Wee require, that all lawfull defenses be graunted to the person accused, as, if he be able to prove that the witnesses be persons unable by law to testifie against him, that then their accusatiouns and depositiouns be null, according to justice.

"Fourthlie, That place be granted to the partie accused, to explaine and interprete his owne minde and meaning, which we require to be inserted in the public acts, and to be prefered to the depositiouns of anie witnesses, seing that none ought to suffer for religioun that is not found obstinat in his damnable opinioun.

"Last, We require, that our brethrein be not damned for hereticks unlesse by the manifest Word of God they be convinced to have erred frome that faith which the Holie Spirit witnesseth to be necessarie to salvatioun. And if so they be, we refuse not but that they be punished according to justice, unlesse by wholesome admonitioun they can be reduced to a better minde.

"These things require we to be considered of you who occupie the place of the eternall God, who is the God of order and truthe, even in suche sort as yee will answere in the presence of his throne judiciall; requiring further, that favourablie yee will have respect to the tendernesse of our consciences, and to the troubles which appeareth to follow in this commounwealthe, if the tyrannie of the prelats and of their adherents be not bridled by God and just lawes. God move your hearts deeplie to consider your owne duteis, and our present troubles."

These petitiouns were first presented to the queene regent, becaus they had determined to interprise nothing without her knowledge, most humblie requiring her favourablie to assist them in their just actioun. She spaired not amiable lookes, and good words in abundance, but keeped their bill close in her pocket. When they required secreitlie that their petitiouns might be propouned to the whole assemblie, she answered, that she thought not that expedient, for then would the whole ecclesiasticall estate crosse her proceedings, which at that time were great; for the matrimoniall crowne was sought, and in that parliament granted. "But," said she, "how soone order can be takin with these things which now may be hindered by the churchemen, yee sall know my good minde, and in the meane time, whatsoever I may graunt unto you sall gladelie be graunted." They yitt suspecting nothing her falshood, were content to give place, for a time. to her pleasure, and pre-

tended reasoun. Yitt thought they it expedient to protest, before the dissolving of the parliament: for their petitiouns were manifestlie knowne to the whole assemblie, as also how, for the queene's pleasure, they ceased to persue the uttermost. The protestatioun was formed as followeth:—

THE FORME OF THE PROTESTATION MADE IN PARLIAMENT.

"It is not unknowne to this honorable parliament what controversie is now latelie risen betwixt these that will be called the prelats and rulers of the church, and a great number of us, the nobilitie and communaltie of this realme, for the true worshipping of God, for the dutie of ministers, for the right administratioun of Christ Jesus his holie Sacraments; how that we have compleaned by publict supplicatiouns to the queene regent, that our consciences are burthenned with unprofitable ceremoneis, and we are compelled to adhere to idolatrie; that suche as take upon them the office ecclesiasticall discharge no part therof, as becometh true ministers to doe; and, finallie, that we and our brethrein are most unjustlie oppressed by their usurped authoritie. And also, we suppose, it is a thing sufficientlie knowne, that we were of minde at this present parliament to seeke redresse of suche enormiteis. But considering that the troubles of the time doe not suffer suche reformatioun as we by God's plaine Word doe require, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestlie we desire. And yitt, least that our silence sould give occasioun to our adversareis to thinke that we repent our former interprises, we cannot ceasse to protest for remedie against that most unjust tyrannie which we have heeretofore most patientlie susteaned.

"And, first, We protest, that seing we cannot obteane a just reformatioun according to God's Word, that it be lawfull to us to use ourselves in maters of religioun and conscience as we must answere to God, unto suche time as our adversareis be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's church, and to purge themselves of suche crimes as we have alreadie layed to their

charge, offering ourselves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred authoritie pleaseth to give us audience.

"Secundlie, We protest, that neither we, nor yitt anie other that gladelie list to joyne with us in the true faith that is grounded upon the invincible Word of God, sall incurre anie danger in life or lands, or other politicall paines, for not observing suche acts as heeretofore have past in favours of our adversareis; neither yitt for violating of suche rites as man, without God's commandement or Word, hath commanded.

"Thridlie, We protest, that if anie tumult or uproare sall arise among the members of this realme for diversitie of religioun, and if it sall chance that abuses be violentlie reformed, that the crime therof be not imputed unto us, who most humblie doe now seeke all things to be reformed by order; but rather, whatsoever inconvenient sall follow for laike of order taken, that it may be imputed to these that doe refuse the same.

"Last, We protest, that these our requests, proceeding frome conscience, doe tend to no other end but to the reformatioun of abuses in religioun, onlie most humblie beseeching the sacred authoritie to take us, faithfull and obedient subjects, into protectioun against our adversareis, and to shew unto us suche indifferencie in our most just petitiouns as it becometh God his lieutenants to doe to these that in his name call for defense against cruell oppressours and bloodthristie tyranns."

These protestatiouns, after they were publicklie read, they desired to have them inserted in the commoun register. But by the procurement of their adversareis it was denyed. Neverthelesse, the queene regent said, "Me will remember what is protested; and me sall putt good order after this to all things that now be in controversie." And thus, after that she by craft had obteaned her purpose, they departed in good hope of her favour, praising God in their hearts that she was so weill inclyned towards godlinesse. The good opinioun that they had of her sinceritie caused them not onlie to spend their goods, and hazard their bodeis at her pleasure, but also, by publick letters writtin to that excellent servant of God,

Johne Calvine, to praise and commend her for excellent knowledge in God's Word, and good-will toward the advancement of His glorie; requiring of him, that by his grave counsell and godlie exhortatioun he would animate her Grace constantlie to follow that which godlie she had begunne. They did farther sharpelie rebooke, both by word and writting, all suche as appeared to suspect in her anie venome of hypocrisie, or that were contrarie to that opinion which they had conceaved of her godlie life. But how farre they were deceaved in their opinioun, and abused by her craft, it did appeare soone after that all things perteaning to the commoditie of France were graunted, and that peace was concluded betweene France, England, and Scotland.

THE COMMISSIONERS SENT TO FRANCE STAYED.

The Erle of Argile, and James Stewart, Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, were chosin, by all appearance, at the parliament, to carie the honours to France, that they being employed abroad, maters of greater importance, namelie, anent religioun, might be overturned at home in their absence. They, being warned of the danger, and how heavie a journey it might prove both to themselves and to religioun, addressed themselves slowlie to the journey. The consideratioun of the death of Marie, Queene of England, who ended her life the 17th day of this same moneth of November, stayed them altogether; for it was thought that the queene, and her husband, the king, would assume to themselves greater titles. Some relate that the parliament was holdin in September, others in October; and that when they were appointed to goe to France, the death of Queene Marie fell not furth till they were addressing themselves to their journey.

In the discourse of the troubles of Frankefurde, we find that the English church at Geneva sent a letter to Arrow, Basill, Strausburge, Wormes, Frankefurd, etc., wherin they required, that seing now the Lord had removed Queene Marie, and placed Queene Elizabeth in her seate, that they would conferre with them, to the

end, that, if it were possible, all controversie for ceremoneis which had beene amongst them might be ended; that they might all joyne hearts and hands together in furtherance of the Gospell. This letter, dated the 15th day of December, was subscribed by Mr Knox and Christopher Gudman, who were then at Geneve, whereby it may evidentlie appeare that the letter writtin by Mr Knox frome Deepe to the lords was writtin in October 1557, and not 1558.

M.D.LIX.

The first of Januarie, 1559, but according to the old accompt, 1558, this warning to the friers which followeth was divulgate:—

> "The blind, crooked, lame, wedowes, orphans, and all other poore visited by the hand of God, as may not worke, to the flockes of all friers within this realme, we wish restitution of wrongs past, and reformation in times comming, for salutation.

"Yee yourselves are not ignorant, and though yee would be, it is now (thankes be to God) knowne to all the world by his most infallible Word, that the benignitie, or almes of Christian people, perteaneth to us alone, which yee, being whole of bodie, strong, sturdie, and able to worke, what under pretence of povertie, and nevertheless possessing most easilie all abundance, what through clocked and hiden simplicitie, though your pride is knowne, and what through fained holinesse, which now is declared superstitioun and idolatrie, have these manie yeers, expresslie against God's Word, and the practice of His holie apostles, (to our great torment, alas!) most falselie stollin from us. And as yee have, by your false doctrine and wresting of God's Word, learned of your father Satan, induced the whole people, high and low, into sure hope and beleefe, that to clothe, feed, and nourishe you, is the onlie most acceptable almes allowed before God, and to give a pennie or a peece

of bread once in a weeke is eneugh for us; so have yee perswaded them to build you great hospitalls, and to mainteane you therin by their force, which onlie perteaneth now to us by all law, as builded and givin to the poore, of whose number yee are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the law of God, nor yitt by no other law proceeding of nature, reasoun, or civill policie. Wherefore, seing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavilie oppressed by your false meanes, that none taketh care of our miserie, and that it is better to provide for these our impotent members which God hath given us, to oppone to you in plaine controversie, then to see you heerafter, as yee have done before, steale from us our loodging, and our selves in the meane time to perishe, and dee for want of the same; we have thought good, therefore, ere we enter in conflict with you, to warne you in the name of the great God, by this publick writting affixed on your gates where yee now dwell, that yee remove furth of our said hospitalls, betwixt this and the feast of Witsonday nixt, so that we, the onlie lawfull proprieters therof, may enter therto, and afterward injoy the commoditeis of the church which yee have heertofore wrongfullie holdin from us: certifeing you if yee faile, we will at the said terme, in whole number, and with the helpe of God, and assistance of his sancts on earth, of whose readie support we doubt not, enter, and take possession of our said patrimonie, and eject you utterlie furth of the same.

"Let him, therefore, that before hath stollin, steale no more; but rather lett him worke with his hands, that he may be helpefull to the poore.

"Frome all citeis, touns, and villages of Scotland, the first of Januarie."

Mr Knox directed frome Geneva, the 12th of Januarie, a breefe exhortatioun to England, for the speedie embracing of Christ's Gospell, before suppressed by the tyrannie of Marie. Becaus it is prolixe, I have sett doun a part therof as followeth, as pertinent for the purpose and scope of our historie:

"Your humiliatioun, confessioun, and repentance, may now ob-

teane no lesse of God's great mercie than did Josias his nobles and people, in the same case, to whome in all things yee are so like as one beane is to another. For no crime is so haynous which God will not cast in the bottome of the sea, and burie in perpetuall oblivioun, if yee, with unfained hearts, turne to the Lord your God, whome so greevouslie yee have offended. This conversioun and repentance requireth, no doubt, a reformatioun; removing and suppressing of all abuses, all wrong, all violence, all oppressioun and fraude, how long, in whom, and by whom soever they have been mainteaned, practised, or permitted. But remitting all other things to suche as God sall further move with his Holie Spirit to instruct you, I say, that your conversioun to God, and unfained repentance, requireth two things; first, That the religioun and true honouring of God may be once brought to that puritie which His Word requireth: Secundlie, That order may be takin, so farre as in you lyeth, that the same religioun which God approveth may be keeped inviolable among you for ever, and that the people universallie may be instructed in the same. For the first point, tuiching reformatioun of religioun, yee must at once so purge and expell all dregs of Papistrie, superstitioun, and idolatrie, that thou, O England, must judge and hold execrable and accursed whatsoever God hath not sanctifeid to thee by his blessed Word, or by the actioun of our Master Christ Jesus. The glistering beautie of vaine ceremoneis, the heapes of things perteaning nothing to edificatioun, by whosoever they were invented, justifeid, or mainteaned, ought at once to be removed, and so troden under the obedience of God's Word, that continuallie this sentence of God's Word be present in thy heart, and readie in thy mouth: 'Not that which appeareth good in thy eyes sall thou doe to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that sall thou doe. Adde nothing to it, diminishe nothing from it.' Lett not the king and his proceedings, whatsoever they be, not agreeable to the Lord's holie Word, be a snare to thy conscience. O, cursed were the hearts that first devised that phrase in maters of religioun, whereby the simple people were brought to one of these inconvenients; to witt, that

either they did esteeme everie religioun good and acceptable to God, which the king and parliament did approve and command; or elles, that God's religioun, honour, and service, was nothing elles but devices of men. O England, England! lett this blasphemie, first of all others, be removed from you. Horrible it is to remember, that the religioun and honouring of the eternall God sall so be subjected to the appetites of foolish and unconstant men. Lett God's blessed Word alone be the rule and lyne to measure his majestie's religioun. What it commandeth thee, lett that be obeyed; what it commandeth not, lett that be execrable, becaus it hath not the sanctificatioun of His Word, under what title or name so ever it be published. Halt no louger on both parts: lett not these vices prevaile in your parliament: 'This, to our judgement, is good and godlie; this the people can weill beare; this repugneth not to God's Word; and when the people be better instructed, then may we proceed farther.' O, dissembling hypocrites, plaine messengers of Satan! now, I doe write, which sometime I have said to your faces, that whatsoever God, in maters of religioun, hath not sanctifeid by his expressed Word, the same, I say, before his majestie, remaineth execrable, polluted, and defiled. And so, in few words, this is the first point which your true conversioun requireth, to witt, that His owne onlie Word reforme His religioun. The inviolable preservatioun of God's religioun, which is the secund point, requireth two principall things: the one, That power nor libertie be not permitted to anie, of what estate, degree, or authoritie, that ever they be, either to live without the yoke of discipline by God's Word commanded; either yitt to alter, to change, to disannul, or dissolve the least one jote in religioun, which fromc God's mouth thou hath receaved. But lett His holie and blessed ordinances, by Christ Jesus to his kirk commanded, be within thy limits and bounds so sure and established, that if prince, king, or emperour, would interprise to change or disannul the same, that he be of thee reputed enemie to God, and, therefore, unworthie to raigne above his people; yea, that the same man or men that goe about to destroy God's true religioun once established, and to erect idolatrie, which God detesteth,

be adjudged to death, according to God's commandement. The negligence of which part hath made you all (these onlie excepted whome before I have expressed) murtherers of your brethrein, denyers of Christ Jesus, and manifest traitours to God's soverane Majestie, which horrible crimes, if yee will avoide in time comming, then must yee, (I meane the princes, rulers, and people of the realme,) by solemne oath, renue the covenant betwixt God and you, in the forme as Asa, king of Judah, did, in the like case. 'They made a covenant (sayeth the historie) that they would seeke the Lord God of their fathers with all their hearts, and with all their soule, and that whosoever sould not seeke the Lord God of Israel, he sould dee the death, whether he were great or small, man or woman; and they did sweare unto the Lord with a great oath, and with the sound of trumpet, and of shalmes. And of this oathe did all the Jewes rejoice, for with their whole heart they did sweare, and they sought God with unfained affectioun, and he was found of them, and the Lord gave them rest on everie side.' This is thy duetie, and this is the onlie remedie, O England, to stay God's vengeance, which long thou hath deserved, and sall not escape, if his religioun and honour be subject to mutation and change, as oft as thy rulers list, or as by reasoun of death they sall be changed. And so this, breefelie, is the first thing which thou must, with invocatioun of God's name, provide, for establishing of his true religioun. The other part, tuiching the instructioun of the people, standeth muche in the faithfull diligence of these to whome the charge of preaching sall be committed. But when I remember that horrible confusioun which before was mainteaned even by those who would be esteemed cheefe pillars of religioun, I doe more feare to be plaine in this mater, than in all that which before I have spokin, for it may be, that, in speeking the simple truthe, I may displease those whome willinglie for no earthlie profite I would offend. Nevertheless, seing the caus is not myne, but perteaneth to Christ Jesus, and to the feeding of that flocke which so earnestlie and tenderlie his Majestie did commend to Peter, and to all his faithfull pastors to the world's end, whatsoever man sall judge, I

darre not cease in God's name to require of you a severe reformatioun of these things which before were utterlie disordered. And, first, In the name of the Lord Jesus I require of you, that no dumbe dogge, no poysouned and pestilent Papist, none who before hath persecuted God's childrein, or obstinatlie mainteaned idolatrie, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poyson (for other profite they sall doe none) the soules of these whome Christ Jesus hath redeemed with his pretious blood. Secundlie, That benefice upon benefice be heaped upon no man, but that a sufficient charge, with a competent stipend, be assigned to the workman. For O, how horrible was that confusioun, that one man sould be permitted to have two, three, foure, five, six, or seven benefices, who skarselie in the yeere did so often preache: yea, that a man sould have the charge of them whose faces he never saw! Lett that pestilence, proceeding frome avarice, be utterlie avoided. Lett not men at their pleasure preache, when and where they list; but so soone as a godlie order may be established, lett the parts and bounds be assigned to everie man. Londoun, in time past, was indifferentlie provided for; but, alas! what barbarous ignorance was in the rest of the realme! Thridlie, Lett no man be charged, in preaching of Christ Jesus, above that which a man may doe. I meane, that your bishopricks be so divided, that of everie one, as they are now, (for the most part,) be made tenne; and so, in everie citie and great toun, there may be placed a godlie, learned man, with so manie joyned with him for preaching and instructioun, as sall be thought sufficient for the bounds committed to their charge; the utilitie wherof yee sall understand, within few yeeres, greatlie to redound to the profite of the simple flocke. For your proud prelats' great dominiouns and charge (impossible by one man to be discharged) are no part of Christ's true ministrie, but are the maintenance of the tyrannie first invented, and yitt reteaned by the Roman Antichrist. Fourthlie, That diligent heed be takin, that suche to whome the office of preaching is committed, discharge and doe their dueteis; for it is not, nor will not be, the chanting, nor mummilling over of certane psalmes, the reading of chapters for matins,

an even song, or of homileis onlie, be they never so godlie, that feede the soules of the hungrie sheepe. Christ Jesus himself, his holie apostles, and that elect vessel, Paul, doe teache us another lessoun, all commanding us to preache, to preache—and that, to preache Christ Jesus crucifeid. What efficacie hath the living voice above the bare letter read, the hungrie and thristie doe feel to their comfort: but the other maketh for Mr Parson's purpose, who, reteaning in his hand a number of benefices, appointeth suche in his place as are altogether destitute of the gift of preaching. But lett all suche bellie-gods be whipped out of God's holie temple, Phil. ii.; Matt. xx. Fifthlie, Lett none that be appointed to labour in Christ's vineyarde be entangled with civill affaires, and as yee call them the affaires of the realme; except it be, when the civill magistrat, and the minister of the Word, assemble together for executioun of discipline, which is a thing easie to be done, without withdrawing anie persoun frome his charge, if that which is before expressed be observed. For, as tuiching their yeerelie comming to parliament for maters of religioun, it sall be superfluous and vaine, if God's true religioun be once so established, that after it never be called in controversie. And as tuiching executioun of discipline, that must be done in everie citie and shire where the magistrats and ministers are joyned together, without anie respect of persouns; so that the ministers, albeit they lacke the glorious title of lords, and the divelish pompe which before appeared in proud prelats, yitt must they be so stout and so bold, in God's cause, that if the king himself would usurpe anie other authoritie in God's religioun than becometh a member of Christ's bodie, that first he be admonished according to God's Word, and after, if he contemne the same, be subject to the yoke of discipline; to whome they sall boldlie say, as Azariah, the Hie Preest, said unto Uzziah, king of Judah, 'It is not lawfull for thee, Uzziah, to offer incense; but it apperteaneth to the preests, the sonnes of Aaron, who are consecrated to burne it. Passe out, therefore, for thou hath offended, which thing sall not redound to thy glorie,' &c. This is the duetie, I say, of all Christ's faithfull ministers, whensoever anie man, be

he king or emperour, usurpeth to himself authoritie against God, to rebooke him openlie, to resist and againstand him to the uttermost of his power, whome the Lord, by the spirit of his mouth, and power of his Word, sall confound, even as he did the pride of Uzziah, if they be strong and valiant in God's cause. Now, last, (omitting things of no lesse importance to your wisdoms,) For the preservatioun of religioun, it is most expedient that schooles be universallie erected in citeis, and all cheefe touns, the oversight wherof to be committed to the magistrats and godlie learned men of the saids citeis and touns, that of the youth, godlie instructed among them, a seede may be reserved and continued, for the profite of Christ's kirk in all ages. It remaineth breeflie to answere to two things, which may give you occasioun to faint in this, the Lord's work. First, The lacke of worke men to putt things in suche order as is requisite; and, secundlie, The feare of tumult and seditioun within yourselves, or invasioun of forraine nations. In God's name I feare not to affirme, that neither the one nor the other sall hurt you in the end, if ye, with your whole hearts, seeke God's glorie to be promoted, and all sorts of abominatiouns to be rooted out. For if ye pray, with earnest affectioun, he sall indew suche as yee know not with wisdome and knowledge, to rule in his kirk, to the comfort of his flocke. There be moe labourers than the eyes of man see, that profitablie would worke in the Lord's harvest. And as for feare of enemeis, they may, with Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, conspire against Moses and Aaron, with the Moabites and Ammonites against Josaphat, or with proud Senacherib against Ezekias and afflicted Sion. But rather, ere thou sall be confounded, if with a perfyte heart thou secke the Lord thy God, rather, I say, sall the earth open and devoure suche rebells; rather sall thy enemeis everie one murther other, and rather sall the angels of the Lord fight for thy deliverance, ere the worke be hindered, and perish in thy hands."

In Aprile following, he sent frome Deepe, to Mastresse Anna Locke, this letter following:—

"Death, the last enemie, sall be abolished, and then sall we meete to rejoice with our Head, without separatioun."

"Your letters, deere sister, dated at Geneva, the 7th of Februare, receaved I in Deepe, the 17th of Marche. Tuiching my negligence in writting to you at other times, I feare it sall be little amended, except that better occasiouns nor yitt I know be offered; for oft to write where few messingers can be found, is but foolishnesse. My remembrance of you is not yitt so deid, but I trust it sall be fresh eneugh, albeit it be renued by no outward tokin for one yeere. Of nature I am churlish, and in conditiouns different frome manie; yitt one thing I ashame not to affirme, that familiaritie once throughlie contracted, was never yitt brokin on my default. The caus may be, that I have rather need of all, than that anie have need of me. However it be, as tuiching remembrance of you, it cannot be, I say, the corporall absence of one yeere or two that can quenche in my heart that familiar acquaintance in Christ Jesus, which half a yeere did engender, and almost two yeere did nurishe and confirme. And, therefore, whether I write or not, be assuredlie perswaded, that I have you in suche memorie, as becometh the faithfull to have of the faithfull. In answering to your questions, I know I sall be judged extreme and rigorous. But, sister, now is no time to flatter nor to dissemble. Our Captane, Christ Jesus, and Satan, his adversarie, are now at plaine defiance. Their banners be displayed, and the trumpets blow upon either partie, for assembling of their armeis. Our Master calleth upon his owne, and that with vehemencie, that they depart frome Babylon; yea, severelie he threatneth death and damnatioun to suche as, either in forehead or in hand, beare the marke of the Beast. And a portion of his marke are all these dregges of Papistrie which were left in your great Booke of England, anie jote wherof will I never counsell anie man to use. One jote, I say, of these diabolical inventiouns, viz. crossing in baptisme, kneeling at the Lord's table, mummulling or singing of the Litanie, '*A fulgure et tempestate, a subitanea et improvisa morte.*' The whole order of your Booke appeareth rather to be devised for

upholding of massing preests than for anie good instructioun which the simple people can therof receave. Your sacraments were ministred, by the most part, without the soule, and by those who to Christ Jesus were no true ministers; and God graunt that so yitt they be not. Without the soule, I say, they were ministred, becaus they were ministred without the Word truelie and openlie preached; and your ministers before, for the most part, were none of Christ's ministers, but mass-munging preests. They were newlie-created singers or sayers of matins, even song, and of communioun; to church or to purifie weomen, and to burie the deid with, '*Commendo cinerem cineri*,' &c., wherof no point I find injoyned to Christ's ministers, but onlie to preache Christ Jesus crucifeid, and to minister the sacraments in suche simplicitie as from him they had receaved them. Yea, so bound to preache did the apostle confesse himself, that he would not acknowledge himself to be sent to baptize; affirming thereby that the cheefest office of Christ's ministers is to preache the glade tidings of the kingdome, repentance, and remissioun of sinnes, the seales wherof be the Sacraments; and the true ministers of them be onlie those that be appointed to preache, and also doe preache Christ Jesus, and the benefites of his death. But suche were not your ministers, for the most part; for the first entrie to their ministrie was, to offer Christ Jesus for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead, and in that same purpose, as time hath declared, did no small number remaine. And yitt, I thinke that Mr Parson and Mr Vicar sall caus his chaplane mummill the communioun, &c. I appeare to jest with you. Yee aske of me, whether it be lawfull to accompanie these childrein, at the requeist of your freinds, to the kirk, which sall be baptized after the accustomed maner in the dayes of King Edward; and whether the Lord's Supper be truelie ministred, if the receavers be suffered to sit or stand, and the bread being suche as is commounlie used, notwithstanding of the singing of the Tenne Commandements out of tune, and the singing of the Creed, &c., and whether we may be partakers in that Supper or no? These be your questions, and I doe answere you. With Mr Parson's pattering of his constrained

prayers, and with the masse-mounging of Mr Vicar and of his wicked companiouns * * * * * * * * * * *.[1] But consider, sister, what I have affirmed, to witt, that where Christ Jesus is not preached, (marke weill that I say *preached*,) that there hath the Sacrament neither life nor soule: and farther, that I say, none can be a lawfull minister of Christ's Sacrament who first is not a minister of his blessed Word. Now, sister, if with good conscience yee may communicate with that which, in effect, is no sacrament, and if yee may honour him, as Christ's minister, who is but a bastard, yea, Christ's plaine enemie, als oft as he cometh there, to find favour of him, be judge yourself. I know that both yee and others sall find this my judgement somewhat extreme. But, I answere, if anie perishe, I sall be guiltlesse of their blood. The matter is not of so small importance as some suppose. The questioun is, whether that God or man ought to be obeyed in maters of religioun? In mouth, all doe confesse that God is onlie worthie of soveraintie. But after that manie, by the instigatioun of the devill, and by presumptuous arrogancie of carnall wisdome, and worldlie policie, have defaced God's holie ordinance, men feare not to follow what lawes, and commoun consent, mother to all mischeefe, and nurse most favourable to superstitioun, hath established and commanded. But thus continuallie I can doe nothing but hold and affirme all things polluted, yea, execrable, and accursed, which God, by his Word, hath not sanctifeid in his religioun. God grant you his Holie Spirit righteouslie to judge. No man will I salute in commendatioun speciallie, although I beare good will to all that unfainedlie professe Christ Jesus; for to me it is writtin, that my First Blast hath blowin frome me all my freinds in England. My conscience beareth record, that yitt I am in the favour of God, and so I am in the lesse feare. The Second Blast, I feare, sall sound somewhat more sharpe, except that men be more moderat than I heare they are. My booke, as I understand, is writtin against. Assuredlie I feare, that men sall rather destroy than edifie, by suche enterprises. Lett no man be deceaved, as that the qualitie of this time sall affray me to an-

[1] Blank in MS.

swere, although corporall death sould be my rewarde. No, the veritie which I affirme is invincible, and sall triumphe, to the confusioun of all oppugners. England hath refused me; but becaus before it did refuse Christ Jesus, the lesse doe I regarde the losse of that familiaritie. And yitt have I beene a secreit and assured freind to thee, England, in cases which thy self could not have remeeded. God grant that their ingratitude be not punished with severitie, and that ere they be aware. And thus, with sorrowfull heart, I committ you to the protection of the Omnipotent. From Deepe, the 6th of Aprile, 1559."

A PART OF MR KNOX HIS LETTER TO SECRETAR CICILL.

As Mr Knox had forwarned the professours, by letters frome Geneva, of all dangers which he foresaw would ensue upon their enterprise, so, when he came to Deepe, being mindefull of the saune, and resolving with himself what remedie it would please God to offer, he tooke boldnesse to write to Sir William Cicill, the Queene of England's secretarie, with whome he had beene in former time familiarlie acquainted, intending therby to renue acquaintance, and so to open farther of his minde. The letter was dated at Deepe, the 10th of Aprile, 1559. The letter is prolixe. First, He reproveth him for his defectioun frome the knowne truthe once professed, by silence, consenting and subscriving to the erecting of idolatrie, and shedding of the blood of God's servants; exhorteth him to repent for his former defectioun, and to give a proofe of amendement by advancing the Gospell; or ellis threatneth that he sall taste of the same cuppe, which politick heads have drunken before him. Understanding that his requeist of licence to passe through England to his owne native countrie was not onlie rejected, but also the solisters hardlie escaped punishement, and some of his poore flocke hardlie handled, he craveth, that no blame be layed upon anie of them, for anie thing that can be layed to his charge. "But I have, say you, writtin a treasonable booke against the regiment and impyre of weomen. If that be my offence, the poore flocke is inno-

cent, except suche as this day doe fastest crie, Treasoun; for, sir, (in God's presence I writt,) with none in that companie did I consult, before the finisling of the same. Therefore, in Christ's name I require, that the blame may ly upon me alone. The writting of that booke I will not denie. But to prove it treasonable, I think it sall be hard; for, sir, no more doe I doubt of the truthe of anie propositioun in it, than that I doubt that this was the voice of God, which first did pronounce this penaltie against weomen, 'In dolour sall thou beare thy childrein.' It is bruited, that my booke is, or sall be, writtin against. If so be, sir, I greatlie feare that flatterers sall rather hurt nor helpe the mater which they would seeme to meanteane; for, except my errour be plainlie showin, and confuted by better authoritie, than by suche lawes as frome yeere to yeere may, and doe change, I darre not promise silence in so weightie a bussinesse, least that in so doing I sall appeare to betray the veritie, which is not subject to the mutabilitie of the time. And if anie thinke me either enemie to the persoun, or to the regiment of her whome God hath now promoted, they are utterlie deceaved of me. For the miraculous worke of God, comforting the afflicted by an infirme vessell, I doe acknowledge; and the power of His most potent hand raising up whome best pleaseth his mercie, to suppresse suche as fight against his glorie, I will obey, albeit that both nature and God's most perfyte ordinance repugne to that regiment. More plainlie to speeke, If Queene Elizabeth sall confesse that the extraordinarie dispensatioun of God's great mercie maketh that lawfull to her, which both nature and God's law doth denie unto all weomen, then sall none in England be more willing to mainteane her lawfull authoritie than I sall be. But if, God's wondrous workes sett aside, she ground (as God forbid) the justnesse of her title upon consuetude, lawes, or ordinances of men, then I am assured, that as suche foolish presumptioun doth highlie offend God's supreme Majestie, so doe I greatlie feare that her ingratitude sall not long lacke punishement. And this in the name of the eternall God, and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, (before whome you and I sall stand, to mak accompt of all counsell we give,) I require you to

signifie unto her Grace, in my name, adding, that onlie humilitie, and dejectioun of her self before God, sall be the firmitie and stabilitie of her throne, which I know sall be assaulted moe wayes than one. If this ye conceale frome her Grace, I will make it patent to the world, that this farre I have communicated with you, having also farther to speeke, if my judgement may be heard. Alas, sir! is my offeuse (although in that time, and in that mater, I had writtin teme bookes) so haynous that I cannot have licence, by preaching of Christ Jesus, to refreshe those thristie soules which long have lacked the water of life? No man will I presentlie accuse. But I greatlie feare, the leprous have no pleasure to behold their faces in the cleare glasse. Lett none be afrayed that I require to frequent the court, either yitt of anie continuance to remaine in England; but onlie thrist, in passing through to my native countrie, to communicate with you, and some others, suche things as willinglie, I list not, to committ to paper, neither yitt to the credite and knowledge of manie; and then, in the north parts, to offer God's favours to suche as, I suppose, doe mourne for their defectioun. And this, I trust, sould be no lesse profitable to her Grace, and to all godlie within England, than it sall be pleasing to me in the fleshe. This is the thrid time that I have begged licence to visite the hungrie and thristie amongst you; which if now be denyed, as before God I have a testimonie, that so muche I seeke not my self as the advancement of Christ's Evangell, and the comfort of suche as whom I know afflicted, so sall the godlie understand that England, in refusing me, refuseth a freind, how small that ever the power be.

"The mightie Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart, deepelie to consider your duetie unto God, and the estate of that realm in which, by his appointment, yee now serve.

"Yours to command in godlinesse,

"From Deepe, the 10th of Aprile, 1559. JOHNE KNOX."

To this letter was no answere made, for shortlie after Mr Knox made fordward to Scotland by sea.

THE QUEENE OF SCOTS CLAIMETH TITLE TO ENGLAND.

After the death of Marie, Queene of England, Henrie, King of France, caused his sonne, the Daulphine, and Marie, Queene of Scots, to use this title in all their letter-patents, "Francis and Marie, by the grace of God, of Scotland, England, and Ireland, King and Queene;" the armes of England and Scotland to be painted on the walls, buildings, and houshold stuffe, and to be putt on the heralds' coats. The Gwises gloried, that by the title of their neece, they had adjoyned England and Scotland to France, which was mere mockerie. The English ambassader compleaned of the wrong done to his mastresse, with whome the Frenche king had latelie made a league. Notwithstanding the Frenche king died shortlie after, his sonne and successour, Francis the Secund, and Marie, Queene of Scots, by the counsell of the Gwises they continued, till that by the travells of Nicholas Throgmorton, lieger ambassader for England, and at the intercessioun of Montmorancy, who favoured not the Gwises, they left off the armes of England and Ireland altogether, as some write. But others * * * * *.[1]

THE PREACHERS SUMMONED.

How soone that all things belonging to the commoditie of France were granted, and the treatie of peace betwixt France, England, and Scotland was concluded at Chasteau Cambresi, distant six liegues fromc Cambry, the queene regent begamne to degorge the lurking venome of her double heart; to frownc, and looke thrawartlie on all that professed the Gospell. Incontinent she caused the preachers to be summouned. When the professors requeisted her not to molest them, unlesse anie man were able to convict them of false doctrine, she burst furth in open blasphemie, saying, "In despite of you, and your ministers both, they sall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached als true as ever did

[1] Blank in MS.

Sanct Paul." They were greatlie astonished with her proud and blasphemous answere, yitt ceased they not to seeke her favour, and by great importunitie at last obteaned a delay of the summons; for Alexander Erle of Glencairne, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Lowdan, Knight, Shireff of Aire, were sent to reasoun with her, and crave performance of her promises. She answered, "It became not subjects to burthein their princes with promises, further than it pleased them to keepe." They forewarned her plainlie of the inconveniences which were to follow. She, somewhat astonished, said, she would advise.

A POPISH SYNOD.

The bishops continued in their provinciall councell, holdin at Edinburgh, frome the secund of Marche till the day that Mr Knox arrived at Leith. To content the people with some shew of reformatioun, they sett furth somewhat in print, which the people called "The Twopennie Faith." There was muche adoe for cappes, shaven crownes, tippets, long gownes, and suche other trifles. *Item*, That none sould enjoy the office or benefice ecclesiasticall except a preest; that no churcheman nourishe his owne childrein in his owne companie, but that everie one enterteane the childrein of others. *Item*, That none place his owne sonne in his owne benefice. *Item*, That if anie were found in open adulterie, for the furst fault, he sould lose the thrid of his benefice; for the secund, the halfe; for the thrid, the whole. The Bishop of Murray and other prelats said, they would stand to the Canon Law. So might they weill doe, so long as they remained interpreters, dispensators, and makers or disannullers, of the ecclesiasticall lawes.

PERTH EMBRACETH THE GOSPELL.

In the meane time, the toun of Perth embraced the Gospell, which provoked the queene regent to a new furie. She willed the Lord Ruthven, Proveist, to suppresse religioun there. He an-

swered, he could make their bodeis to come to her Grace, and to prostrate themselves before her, till she was satiate of their blood; but to caus them doe anie thing against their conscience, he could not undertake. She said, in great furie, that he was too malapert to give suche an answere, and threatned to caus him and them both repent.

THE PREACHERS AGAIN SUMMONED.

The queene regent solicited Mr James Halyburton, Proveist of Dundie, to apprehend Paul Methven. But he, fearing God, gave secreit advertisement to him, to avoide for a time. She sent suche as she thought most able to perswade, to caus Montrose, Dundie, Sanct Johnstoun, and other suche places as had receaved the Gospell, to communicat with the idol of the masse, and to receave the sacrament at Easter; but they could profite nothing. She was more highlie commoved, and caused summoun againe all the preachers to compeere at Stirline, the 10th of May, 1559. She herself communicat with the idol at Easter, and would know where everie one of her houshold receaved the sacrament. It was thought, that after that day, the devill tooke more strong possessioun of her than before.

A CONVOCATION OF THE PROFESSORS AT PERTH.

The professors used all meanes they could to appease her. When no meane could availe, it was concluded, that the gentlemen of everie shire sould accompanie their preachers to the day and place appointed. The professours of Dundie, and the gentlemen of Angus and Mearnes, went fordward with their preachers to Sanct Johnstoun in a peaceable maner, without armour, mynding onlie to give confessioun with their preachers. Least the assemblie of suche a multitude sould make her affrayed, the Laird of Dun went to Stirline, to certifie her, their intentioun was to give confessioun with their preachers, and to assist them with their just defence.

She, understanding the fervencie of the people, beganne to craft with him. She solicited him to stay the multitude and the preachers, promising to take some better order. He, being a man of tractable nature, and willing to pleasure her in all things not repugnant to God's will, wrote to these that were assembled at Perth, to stay, and not come fordward, shewing what promise and hope he had of the queene's Grace her favour. At the reading of his letters, some smelled the craft; desired all to passe fordward, till a discharge of the former summouns was granted, alledging, that otherwise the processe of rebellioun would be executed against their preachers; and so sould not onlie they, but also all that had accompaneid them, be involved in the like crime. Others alledged that the queene's promise was not to be suspected, nor the Laird of Dun his requeist to be contemned.

MR KNOX ARIVETH AT LEITH, AND COMETH TO PERTH.

Mr Knox embarked at Deepe the 22d of Aprile, and arrived at Leith the 2d of May. The day following, the 3d of May, he writteth to Mastresse Anne Locke these words:—"I am uncertane as yitt what God sall further worke in this countrie, except that I see the battell sall be great, for Satan rageth even to the uttermost, and I am come, I praise my God, in the brunt of the battell. For my fellow preachers have a day appointed to answere before the queene regent, the 10th of this instant, where I intend (if God impede not) also to be present, by life, by death, or ellis by both, to glorifie his godlie name, who thus mercifullie hath heard my long cries. Assist me, sister, with your prayers, that now I shrinke not when the battell approacheth." He stayed but two nights at Edinburgh: frome thence he went straight to Dundie. He craved earnestlie that he might be suffered to assist his brethrein, and to give confessioun of his faith with them, which was graunted. He went with them to Samct Johnstoun, where he beganne to exhort and teache.

THE PREACHERS DENOUNCED REBELS.

The queene regent, perceaving that the preachers compeered not, gave charge, notwithstanding anie requeist made in the contrar, to putt them to the horne, and to inhibite all men, under paine of rebellioun, to assist, comfort, receave, or mainteane them in anie sort. The Laird of Dun withdrew himself, otherwise by appearance he had not escaped imprisonment. The Master of Maxwell, a man, as seemed then, zealous and stout in God's caus, was committed to warde, under colour of another small cryme; but, in truthe, becaus that he had avouched plainlie, he would assist the preachers and the Congregatioun, notwithstanding anie sentence was or sould be unjustlie pronounced against them. The Laird of Dun came to Sanct Johnstoun, and concealed nothing of the queene's craft and falsehoode.

PERTH'S PUBLICK REFORMATION.

Mr Knox had in a sermoun declared how odious idolatrie was in God's presence; what commandements He had givin for destruction of the monuments therof; what idolatrie and abomination is in the masse. After sermoun, which was vehement against idolatrie, a preest, in contempt, would attempt to celebrat masse. When he opened a glorious tabernacle standing beside the high altar, there stood beside certane godlie men, and among others a young boy, who cried out boldlie, "This is intolerable, that when God by his Word hath plainlie damned idolatrie, we sall stand and see it used in despite!" The preest gave the boy a great blow; the boy in great anger taketh up a stone, and throwing it at the preest, hitt the tabernacle, and brake doun an image. Immediatlie after, the whole multitude cast stones, and dispatched the tabernacle and other monuments of idolatrie, before the tenth man within the toun was advertised, for the most part were going to dinner. When the noise of this went through the toun, a multitude, not of gentle-

men or zealous professours, but of rascalls, and the inferiour sort of people, assembled to that church. When they found nothing was further to be done there, they runne without deliberatioun to the Gray and Blacke friers. Howbeit the friers had strong guardes, yitt their gates were incontinent burst up. The first invasioun was made upon the monuments of idolatrie; therafter the people beganne to seeke some spoile. The Gray friers were weill provided. They were but eight persons in convent, and yitt had eight puncheons of salt beefe, (consider the time of yeere, the 11th of May,) wine, beere, aill, beside store of other victualls. Their naprie was fyne; no erle in Scotland had better sheates, blankets, beddes, coverletts. The Blacke friers also were better provided than became men professing povertie. The spoile was permitted to the poore. The preachers had before threatned all men that for covetousnesse' sake sould putt to their hand to suche reformatioun. No honest man was inriched therby the value of a groat; yea, they suffered these hypocrits to take away what they could. The Pryour of Charterhouse was suffered to take with him als muche silver and gold as he was able to beare. Men's consciences were so beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their owne particular profite. Within two dayes, the houses of the Blacke friers, Gray friers, and Charterhouse moonkes, were destroyed, so that the walls onlie of these great buildings remaine. Mr Knox, in his letter to Mastresse Anna Locke, dyted the 23d of June, reporteth that Perth had a little before receaved the order of Commoun Prayers, that the kirk of Dundie was reformed before his arrivall, and publick prayers used in other places, wherupon the preachers were summouned by authoritie to answere as criminall before the civill judge.

THE QUEENE REGENT THREATNETH TO RAZE SANCT JOHNSTOUN.

When the queene regent heard of these proceedings, she vowed to destroy Sanct Johnstoun utterlie, man, woman, and childe; to consume it with fire, and after to salt it, in signe of perpetuall

desolatioun. The professors, thinking suche words might escape her in choler, without settled purpose, becaus she was a woman sett on fire by these hypocrits who flocked to her as ravens to a carioun, returned to their owne houses, leaving Mr Knox to instruct the people, becaus they were young and rude in Christ. But she, sett on fire partlie by her owne malice, partlie by the instigatioun of her freinds of France, and not a little by bribes, which she and Monsieur d'Osell receaved frome the bishops and the preests heere at home, did continue in her rage. First, she sent for the nobilitie, to whome she compleaned that the professours meant nothing but rebellioun. She lamented greevouslie the demolishing of the Charterhouse, becaus it was a king's foundatioun, and there was the tomb of King James the First. The preests and their favourers made the professours at the first odious in the eares of the people, alledging their assembleis to be tumultuous; that they intended not religioun but the subversioun of authoritie, and for that purpose intended to fortifie the toun. The queene's perswasiouns, and these slaunders, procured them manie enemeis at the first, till their innocencie was knowne. Then, incontinent, she sent for her Frenchemen; for that was ever her joy to see Scotishmen dippe in others' blood. No man at that time was more franke against them than was the duke, ledde by that cruell beast the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, the Abbot of Kilwinning and Matthew Hammiltoun of Milburne, two cheefe enemeis to the duke, but in so farre as might stand with their owne profite. These and the like pestilent Papists ceased not to cast faggots in the fire continuallie, crying, "Fordward upon these hereticks! we sall once ridde this realme of them." The professors who had before beene assembled at Sanct Johnstoun, understanding what was intended, some of them repaired to the toun againe, about the 22d day of May, and abode there for the comfort of their brethrein. They fortifeid the toun as they thought might best serve for their just defense. Becaus they despaired not utterlie of the queene's favour, they sent to her this letter following :—

[LETTER FROM THE CONGREGATION TO THE QUEEN REGENT.]

"To the Queen's Grace, Regent, all humble obedience and duetie promised:

"As heeretofore, with jeopard of our lives, and yitt with willing hearts, we have served the authoritie of Scotland, and your Grace, now regent in this realme, in service to our bodeis dangerous and painefull; so now, with most dolorous mindes, for unjust tyrannie proposed against us, we are constrained to declare unto your Grace, that except this crueltie be stayed by your wisdome, we sall be compelled to take the sword of just defense against all that sall persue us for the mater of religioun and for our conscience sake, which ought not, nor may not, be subject to mortall creatures, farther than by God's Word man is able to prove that they have power to command us. We signifie, moreover, to your Grace, that if by rigour we be compelled to seeke the extreme defense, that we will not onlie notifie our innocencie and petitioums to the King of France, to our mastresse, and to her husband, but also to the princes and counsells of everie Christiane realme; declaring unto them, that this cruell, unjust, and most tyrannicall murther intended against touns and multitudes, was and is the onlie caus of our revolt from our accustomed obedience, which, in God's presence, we faithfullie promise to our soverane mastresse, to her husband, and to your Grace, regent, provided that our consciences may live in that peace and libertie which Christ Jesus hath purchassed unto us by his blood; and that we may have his Word truelie preached, and the sacraments rightlie ministred unto us, without which we firmelie purpose never to be subject to mortall man. For better we thinke to expone our bodeis to a thowsand deaths, than to hazard our soules to perpetuall condemnatioun, by denying Christ Jesus and his manifest Veritie; which thing not onlie doe they that committ open idolatrie, but also all suche as seing their brethrein pursued

for the caus of religioun, and having sufficient meanes to comfort and assist them, doe neverthelesse withdraw fromc them their duetifull support. We would not your Grace sould be deceaved by the false perswasiouns of these cruell beasts, the churchmen, who affirme that your Grace needeth not greatlie to regard the losse of us that professe Christ Jesus within this realme. If (as God forbid) yee give eare to their pestilent counsell, and so use against us this extremitie pretended, it is to be feared, that neither yee, neither your posteritie, sall at anie time after this find that obedience and faithfull service within this realme, which at all times yee have found in us. We declare our judgement freelie, as true and faithfull subjects. God move your gentle heart favourablie to interprete our faithfull meaning; farther advertising your Grace, that the self-same thing, together with all things that we have done, or yitt intend to doe, we will notifie by our letters to the King of France; asking of you, in the name of the Eternall God, and as your Grace tendereth the peace and quyettuesse of this realme, that yee invade us not with violence, till we reccave answere from our mastresse, her husband, and their advised counsell there. And thus we committ your Grace to the protectioun of the Omnipotent. *Sic subscribitur*,

"Your Grace's obedient subjects in all things not repugnant to God's will,

"THE FAITHFULL CONGREGATION OF CHRIST JESUS IN SCOTLAND.

"Fromc Sanct Johnstoun, the 22d of May, 1559."

LETTERS TO D'OSELL AND THE FRENCHE CAPTANS.

After the same tenor they wrote to Mousieur d'Osell in Frenche, requiring of him, that by his wisdome he would mitigate the queene's

rage, and the rage of the preests, otherwise that flamme which then beganne to burne would so kindle, that when some men would, it cannot be extinguished; adding further, that he declared himself no faithfull servant to his master, the King of France, if for pleasure of the preests he would persecute them, and so compell them to take the sword of just defense in hand. In like maner, they wrote to other captans and Frenche souldiours in generall, admonishing them, that they had no commandement of their master to fight against naturall Scotishmen; and if they entered in hostilitie and bloodie warre against them, the same would remain among their posteriteis so long as naturall Scotishmen sould have power to revenge suche crueltie. They besought them to consider that they had found them favourable in their most extreme necessiteis, and what horrible ingratitude it were to provoke them to inimitie. These letters were spread in abundance, that some of them might come to the knowledge of men. The queene regent her letter was layed upon her cushioun, in the chappell royall at Stirline, where she was wont to sitt at masse. She putt it up in her pockett. Monsieur d'Osell and the captans receaved theirs, delivered even by their owne souldiours, (for some among them were favourers of the truthe;) who, after reading, beganne to ryve their owne beards. The letters were suppressed to the uttermost of their power, yitt they came to the knowledge of manie.

The rage of the queene and the preests could not be stayed, but will move fordward, when there were but verie few gentlemen in Sanct Johnstoun. The professours assembled, perceaving the extremitie of danger to approache, wrote to the brethrein everie where to repaire toward them for their releefe. They found all men so readie bent, that the worke of God might have beene evidentlie seene. Becaus they would omitt no meanes to declare their innocencie, they formed a letter to those of the nobilitie who then persecuted them, the tenor wherof followeth :—

[LETTER FROM THE CONGREGATION TO THE NOBILITIE OF SCOTLAND.]

"To the Nobilitie of Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same desireth the Spirit of righteous judgement.

"Becaus we are not ignorant that yee, the nobilitie of this realme, who now persecute us, imploy your whole studie and force to mainteane the kingdome of Sathan, superstitioun, and idolatrie, are yitt neverthelesse divided in opinioun, wee, the Congregatioun of Christ Jesus, by you unjustlie persecuted, have thought good in one letter to write unto you severallie. Yee are divided, we say, in opinioun; for some of you thinke that we who have undertaken this interprise, to remove idolatrie and the monuments of the same, to erect the true preaching of Christ Jesus in the bounds committed to our charges, are hereticks, seditious men, and troublers of this commounwealth, and therefore that no punishement is sufficient for us. And so, blinded with this rage, and under pretence to serve the authoritie, yee proclaime warre and destructioun without all order of law against us. To you, we say, neither your blind zeale, neither yitt the colour of authoritie, sall excuse you in God's presence, who commandeth none to suffer death till he be openlie convicted in judgement to have offended against God, and against his writtin law; which no mortall creature is able to prove against us: for whatsoever we have done, the same we have done at God's commandement, who plainlie commandeth idolatrie, and all monuments of the same, to be destroyed and abolished. Our earnest and long requeist hath beene, and is, that in open assemblie it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, whether that these abominatioums named by pestilent Papists, RELIGIOUN, (which they by fire and sword defend,) be the true religioun of Christ Jesus, or not.

"Now, this our humble requeist is denied unto us, and our lives

are sought in most cruell maner. The nobilitie, whose ductie it is to defend innocents, and to bridle the furie and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperours, doe notwithstanding follow their appetites, and arme yourselves against us, your brethrein and naturall countriemen; yea, against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all suche crimes as be layed to our charges. If yee thinke that we be criminall becaus that we dissent frome you in opinioun, consider, we beseeche you, that the prophets under the law, the exemples of Christ Jesus, and of the primitive church after his ascensioun, and of the holie martyrs, how they did disagree frome the whole world in their dayes. Will yee denie but that their actioun was just, and that all these that persecuted them were murtherers before God? May not the like be true this day? What assurance have yee this day of your religioun, which the world that day had not of theirs? Yee have a multitude that agree with you; and so had they. Yee have antiquitie of time, and that they laiked not. Yee have councels, lawes, and men of reputatioun, that have established all things, as yee suppose. But none of all these can make anie religioun acceptable to God, which onlie dependeth upon his owne will reveeled to man in his most sacred Word. Is it not, then, a wounder that yee sleepe in so deadlie a securitie in the mater of your owne salvatioun, considering that God giveth unto you so manifest tokens, that both yee and your leaders have declynned from God? For, if the tree sall be judged by the fruict, (as Christ Jesus affirmeth that it must be,) then, of necessitie it is, that your prelats, and the whole rable of your cleargie, be evill trees. For if adultarie, pride, ambitioun, drunkennesse, covetousnesse, incest, unthankefulnesse, oppressioun, murther, idolatrie, and blasphemie, be evill fruicts, there can none of that generatioun which clame to themselves the title of churchemen, be judged to be good trees; for all these pestilent and wicked fruicts do they bring furth in great abundance. And if they be evill trees, (as yee yourselves must confesse they are,) advise prudentlie with what consciences yee can mainteane them, to occupie rowme and place in the Lord's vineyarde. Doe ye not consider,

that, in so doing, yee labour to mainteane the servants of sinne in their filthie corruptioun; and so, consequentlie, that the devill may raigne, and still abuse this realme by all iniquitie and tyrannie, and that Christ Jesus and his blessed Gospell be suppressed and extinguished? The name and cloke of authoritie which yee pretend will nothing excuse you in God's presence, but rather sall yee beare your double condemnatioun, for that yee burthein God, as if his good ordinance were the caus of your iniquitie. All authoritie which God hath established is good and perfyte, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under the paine of damnatioun. But doe yee not understand, that there is a great difference betwixt the authoritie, which is God's ordinance, and the persouns of these which are placed in authoritie? The authoritie and God's ordinance can never doe wrong, for it commandeth, that vice and wicked men be punished; vertue, and vertuous and just men mainteaned: but the corrupt persoun placed in this authoritie may offend, and most commounlie doeth the contrarie heerof. And is then the corruptioun of man to be followed, by reasoun it is clothed with the name of authoritie? Or sall these that obey the wicked commandement of those that are placed in authoritie be excusable before God? Not so, not so! But the plagues and vengeance of God takin upon kings, their servants, and subjects, doe witnesse to us the plaine contrarie. Pharao was a king, and had his authoritie of God, who commanded his subjects to murther and torment the Israelites, and at last most cruellie to persecute their lives. But was their obedience (blind rage it sould be called) excusable before God? The universall plague doth declare plainelie, that the wicked commander, and these that obeyed, were alike guiltie before God. And if the exemple of Pharao sall be rejected, becaus he was an Ethnick, then lett us consider the facts of Saul. He was a king annointed of God, appointed to raigne over his people. He commanded to persecute David, becaus, as he alledged, David was a tratour, and usurper of the crowne. Likewise, he commanded Achimeleck the High Preest and his fellowes to be slaine. But did God approve anie part of this obedience? Evident it is, that he did not. Thinke

yee, that God will approve in you that which he did damne in others? Be not deceaved; with God there is no suche partialitie. If yee obey the unjust commandements of wicked rulers, yee sall suffer God's vengeance and just punishement with them. Therefore, as yee tender your owne salvatioun, we most earnestlie require of you moderatioun, and that yee stay yourselves, and the furie of others, from persecuting of us, till our caus be tried in lawfull and open judgement. Now, to you that are perswaded of the justice of our caus, that sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, and that also have exhorted us to this enterprise, and yitt have left us in our extreme necessitie, or, at the least, looke through your fingers in this our trouble, as if the mater perteaned not unto you, we say, that unlesse (all feare and worldlie respects sett aside) yee joyne yourselves with us, that, as of God yee are reputed tratours, so sall yee be excommunicated from our societie, and from all participatioun with us in the administratioun of the sacraments. The glorie of this victorie, which God sall give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, sall not apperteane to you; but the fearefull judgement which apprehended Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, sall apprehend you and your posteritie. Yee may perchance contemne and despise the excommunicatioun of the church, now by God's mightie power erected amongst us, as a thing of no force. But yitt, doubt wee nothing but that our church, and the true ministers of the same, have the same power which our Master Christ Jesus granted to his apostles in these words, 'Whose sinnes yee sall forgive, sall be forgiven; and whose sinnes yee sall reteane, sall be reteaned;' and that, becaus they preach, and we beleeve the same doctrine, that is conteaned in his most blessed Word. Therefore, except yee will contemn Christ Jesus, yee neither can despise our threatning, neither yitt refuse us, calling for your just defense. By your fainting, and abstracting your support, the enemeis are incuraged, thinking that they sall find no resistance, in which point, God willing, they sall be deceaved; for, if they were tenne thowsand, and we but one thowsand, they sall not murther the least of our brethrein, but we, God assisting us, sall first committ our lives

into the hands of God for their defense. But this sall aggravat your damnatioun; for yee declare yourselves both tratours to the truthe once professed, and murtherers of us and of our brethrein, frome whome yee withdraw your ductifull and promised support, whome your onlie presence, to man's judgement, might preserve from this danger; for our enemeis looke, not to the power of God, but to the force and strenth of man. When the number is meane to resist them, then rage they as bloodie woolves; but a part equall, or able to resist them by appearance, doth bridle their furie. Examine your owne consciences, and weygh that sentence of our Master, Christ Jesus, saying, 'Whosoever denyeth me, or is ashamed of me before men, I sall denie him before my Father.' Now is the day of his battell in this realme. If yee denie us, your brethrein, suffering for his name's sake, yee also denie Him, as himself doth witnesse in these words, 'Whatsoever yee did to anie of these little ones, that yee did to me; and what yee did not to one of these little ones, that yee did not to me.' If these sentences be true concerning meate, drinke, clothing, and suche things as apperteane to the bodie, sall they not be likewise true in these things that apperteane to the preservatioun of the lives of thowsands, whose blood is now sought for the professioun of Christ Jesus? And thus shortlie leave wee you, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, to the examinatioun of your owne consciences. Yitt once again, of you who blinded by superstitioun persecute us, we require moderatioun till our caus may be tried. Which, if yee will not grant unto us for God's caus, yitt we desire you to have respect to the preservatioun of your commoun countrie, which we cannot sooner betray into the hands of strangers, than that one of us must destroy and murther another. Consider our petitions, and call for the spirit of righteous judgement."

THE PROFESSORS OF THE WEST ASSEMBLED RESOLVE TO ASSIST THEIR BRETHREIN.

These letters being divulgated, some beganne to reasoun, whe-

ther of conscience they might invade them or not; considering they offered due obedience to the authoritie, requiring onlie libertie of conscience, till their religioun was tried by the Word of God. Their letters came with convenient expeditioun in the hands of their brethrein in Cuninghame and Kyle, who assembled at the church of Craigie, where, after reasouning too and fra, Alexander Erle of Glencarne through zeale burst furth in these words, "Lett everie man serve his conscience; I will, by God's grace, see my brethrein in Sanct Johnstoun. Yea, albeit never man sould accompanie me, I will goe, if it were but with a pick upon my shoulder; for I had rather dee with that companie, than live after them." The rest were so encuraged with these words, that all resolved to goe fordward, which they did so stoutlie, that when Lyon Herald, in his coat-armour, commanded all men under the paine of treasoun to returne to their houses by publick sound of trumpet in Glasgow, never man obeyed.

When it was cleerelie understood, that the prelats and their adherents suppressed their petitioun so farre as in them lay, and kindled the furie of all men against them, they thought it expedient to write unto them some declaratioun of their minds, which they did in this forme following:—

[WARNING OF THE CONGREGATIOUN TO THE PRELATS.]

"To the Generation of Antichrist, the Pestilent Prelats, and their shavelings within Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth:—

"To the end that yee be not abused, thinking to escape just punishement, after yee in your blind furie have caused the blood of manie to be shed, this we notifie and declare unto you, that if yee proceed in this your malicious crueltie, yee sall be entreated, wheresoever yee sall be apprehended, as murtherers, and open enemeis to God and to mankinde. Therefore, betimes ceasse from this blind rage. Remove first from yourselves your bands of bloodie men of

warre, and reforme yourselves to a more quiett life; therafter mitigate the authoritie which, without crime committed upon our part, yee have inflammed against us, or elles be ye assured, that with the same measure that yee have measured against us, and yitt intend to measure to others, it sall be measured to you. That is, as yee by tyrannie intend not onlie to destroy our bodeis, but also by the same to hold our soules in boundage of the devill, subject to idolatrie, so sall we, with all force and power which God sall grant unto us, execute jast vengeance and punishement upon you. Yea, we sall beginne that same warre which God commandeth Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace sall never be made till that yee desist from your open idolatrie and cruell persecutioun of God's childrein. And this we signifie unto you in the name of the Eternall God, and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, whose Veritie we professe, and Gospell have preached, and holie Sacraments rightlie ministred, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your idolatrie. Take this for advertisement, and be not deceaved."

THE PROFESSORS RESOLVED TO RESIST.

Notwithstanding all these requeists and advertisements, Monsieur d'Osell and his Frenchemen, with the preests and their bands, marched fordward against Sanct Johnstoun, and approached within tenne myles to the toun. Then the brethrein repaired frome all quarters for their releefe. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mernes, and burgesses of Dundie, were the first that hazarded to resist the enemie. For that purpose was chosin a platt of ground, distant more than a myle from the toun. In the meane time, the Lord Ruthven, Proveist of the toun, a man whome manie judged godlie and stout, in that actioun departed off the toun, first to his owne hous, and after to the queene. His departure discuraged manie; yitt within the space of twelve houres after, they gathered their spirits, comforting one another with the hope they had, not in their owne strenth, but in Him whose veritie they professed.

THEIR ANSWERE TO THE LORDS SENT FROM THE QUEENE.

The day following, that is, the 24th of May, the Erle of Argile, and Lord James, Priour of Sanct Andrewes, came to them to inquire the caus of the convocatioun of the queene's leiges. It was answered, it was onlie to resist the cruell tyrannie intended against that poore toun and the inhabitants. It was asked, if it was their purpose to hold that toun against the authoritie, and the regent. The Master of Lindsay, the Laird of Balvaird, the Laird of Lundie, and other barons of Fife, the Lairds of Dun and Pittarow, with the congregatioun of Angus and Mernes, answered, that if the queene's Grace would suffer the religioun there begunne to proceed, and not trouble their brethrein and sisters that had professed Christ Jesus with them, the toun, themselves, and whatsomever perteaned to them, sould be at the queene's commandement. The Erle of Argile and the Pryour, who were then both professors, beganne to muse, and said plainlie, they were informed by the queene that they meant no religioun, but plaine rebellioun. They answered, they conveened for no other purpose but onlie to assist their brethrein unjustlie persecuted; therefore desired them to report faithfullie their answere, and to intercede that such crueltie be not executed, considering they had offered in their former letters the mater to be tried in lawfull judgement. They promised fidelitie in that behalfe, which they also keeped.

The day after, which was the 25th of May, before that the saids lords departed in the morning, Mr Knox desired to speeke with them, which was granted. He was convoyed to their loodging by the Laird of Balvaird, where he had this harang:—

MR KNOX HIS ORATION TO THE LORDS SENT FROM THE QUEENE REGENT.

"The present troubles (right honourable lords) ought to move the hearts, not onlie of the true servants of God, but also of all

suche as beare anie favour to the countrie and their naturall countriemen, to descend within themselves, and deepelie to consider what sall be the end of this pretended tyrannie. The rage of Satan seeketh the destructioun of all these that within this realme professe Christ Jesus; and they that inflamme the queene's Grace, and you the nobles against us, regarde not who prevaile, provided that they may abuse the world and live at their pleasure, as heeretofore they have done. Yea, I feare that some seeke nothing more than the effusioun of Scotish blood, to the end that their possessioums may be more patent to others. But becaus that this is not the principall point which I have to speeke, omitting the same, to be considered by the wisdome of these to whome the care of the commounwealth apperteaneth, I most humblie require of you, my lords, in my name to say to the queene regent, that we, whome in her blind rage she doth persecute, are God's servants, faithfull and obedient subjects to the authoritie of this realme: that that religioun, which she pretendeth to mainteane by fire and sword, is not the true religioun of Jesus Christ, but is expresslie contrarie to the same; a superstitioun devised by the braine of man, which I offer myself to prove, against all that within Scotland mainteane the contrarie, libertie of tongue being granted to me, and God's writtin Word being admitted for judge. I farther require your honours in my name to say to her Grace, that as oft before I have writtin, so now I say, that this her interprise sall not prosperouslie succeed in the end: and albeit for a time she trouble the sancts of God, the end sall be her confusioun, unlesse betimes she repent and desist; for she fights, not against man, but against the Eternall God, and his invincible veritie. These things I require of you, in the name of the Eternall God, as frome my mouth to say to her Grace, adding, that I have beene and am a more assured freind to her Grace than those that either flatter her, as servants to her corrupt appetite, or elles inflamme her against us, who seeke nothing but God's glorie to be advanced, vice to be suppressed, and veritie to be mainteaned in this poore realme." They promised to report his words so farre as they could. Yea, the Lord Sempill himself, a man sold under

sinne, enemie to God and all godlinesse, did make suche report, that the queene was somewhat offended that anie man sould use suche libertie in her presence.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE WEST MAKE HASTE FOR RELEEFE OF SANCT JOHNSTOUN.

The queene regent immediatlie after sent her Lyon Herald with letters, to charge everie man, straitlie, under paine of treasoun, to avoide the toun, which she proclamed publicklie, upon the Lord's day, the 27th of May. The queene, the duke, and Monsieur d'Osell, were certainlie informed, that the Erle of Glencarne, the Lords Ochiltrie and Boyd, the young Shireff of Air, the Lairds of Cragie-wallace, Cesnok, Carnell, Barr, Gargirth, and the whole congregatioun of Kyle and Cuninghame, were approaching with speed. Their diligence was suche, that albeit the passage by Stirline, and six myles above, was stopped, (for there lay the queene, with her bands, and caused the bridges to be cutt upon the water of Forth, above Stirline,) yitt made they suche expeditioun through deserts and mountaines, that they prevented the enemie, and approached within six myles of the campe, which then lay without the toun, awaiting upon the enemie, before that anie assured knowledge of their comming came to them. The number was judged to amount to twentie-five hundreth men, of which number were twelve hundreth horsemen.

THE APPOINTMENT BETWIXT THE QUEENE AND THE CONGREGATION.

When the queene had besett the wayes, to the end that no advertisement sould come to the brethrein assembled at Sanct Johnstoun of the approaching of their brethrein frome the west, supposing that they, despairing of support, would easilie condescend to some appointment as would please her to require, sent first to crave, that some discreit men of their number might be sent frome them,

to speeke with the duke and Monsieur d'Osell, to the end some reasonable appointment might be had. The duke and Monsieur d'Osell lay then with their armie at Auchterardare, ten myles frome Sanct Johnstoun. She had perswaded the Erle of Argile, and all others in her companie, that the professours at Sanct Johnstoun meant nothing bat rebellioun; therefore promised he to her, that in case they would not stand content with a reasonable appointment, he sould declare himself open enemie to them, notwithstanding that he professed the same religioun with them. The Laird of Dun, the Laird of Innerquhartie, and Thomas Scot of Abbotshall, were sent from the brethrein conveened at Sanct Johnstoun, to heare what conditiouns the queene would offer. The duke and Monsieur d'Osell required that the toun might be made patent, and that all things might be refered to the queene's pleasure. It was answered, that neither had they commissioun so to promise, nor durst they of conscience so perswade their brethrein. But if the queene's Grace would promise, that no inhabitant of the toun sould be troubled for anie such crimes as might be alledged against them, for the late change of religioun, abolishing of idolatrie, and doun-casting of the places of the same; if her Grace would suffer religioun begunne to goe fordward, and leave the toun free from the garisouns of the Frenche souldiours, that they would labour with their brethrein, so that the queene sould be obeyed in all things. Monsieur d'Osell perceaving the danger to be great, if a suddane appointment sould be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyrannie against them, if the congregatioun of the west joyne with them, dismissed the commissioners with faire words, desiring them to perswade the brethrein to quiett concorde. The brethrein at Sanct Johnstoun were so weill affected to peace and concorde, that with one voice they cried out, "Cursed be they that seeke effusioun of blood. Lett us possesse Christ Jesus, and the benefite of the Gospell, and none within Scotland sall be more obedient subjects than we sall be." After that the congregatioun of the west was knowne to come neere, the Erle of Argile, Lord James, and a craftie man, Mr Gawin Hammiltoun, Abbot of Kilwinning,

were sent to finish the appointment. But before they came, the Erle of Glencarne and his companie were come to the toun, to the great comfort of their brethrein. The Erle of Argile and Lord James travelled earnestlie for agreement. All men were willing, but some smelled the craft of the adversareis, to witt, that they meant to keepe no promise longer than they had obteaned their intent. Mr Knox and John Willocke, who came with the Erle of Glencarne, went to the Erle of Argile and Lord James; accused them of breache of promise, in so farre as they had defrauded their brethrein of their duetifull support, in their greatest necessitie. They answered that their hearts were constant with their brethrein, and would defend that caus to the uttermost of their power; but becaus they had promised to labour for concord, and to assist the queene in case they refused reasonable offers, they could doe no lesse of honour and conscience than keepe their promise. Wherefore they required that their brethrein might be perswaded to consent to that reasonable appointment, promising in God's presence, that if one jote therof was brokin by the queene, they would concurre and assist their brethrein in all times to come with their whole power. Wherupon the preachers appeased the multitude, and in the end obteaned all men's consent to the foresaid appointment, but not without difficultie; for manie foresaw the danger: yea, the preachers themselves in sermoun did affirme plainlie, they were perswaded the queene meant no truthe. Yitt to stoppe the mouthes of the adversareis, who did unjustlie burthein them with rebellioun, they most earnestlie required all men to approve the appointment, and so to suffer hypocrisie to disclose itself. The appointment was concluded the 28th of May.

THE BAND SUBSCRIBED BY THE LORDS BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE FROM SANCT JOHNSTOUN.

Before the lords departed was this band following subscribed:—

"At Perth, the last of May, the yeere of our Lord 1559, the congregatioums of the west countrie, with the congregatioums of

Fife, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Mernes, and Montrose, being conveened in the toun of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for furthsetting of his glorie; understanding that there is nothing more necessarie for the same than to keepe a constant amitie, unitie, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become boundin and oblished, in the presence of God, to concurre and assist together in doing all things required of God in the Scripture, that may be to his glorie; and with their whole powers to destroy, and away putt all things that doe dishonour to his name, so that God may be truelie and purelie worshipped.

"And in case that anie trouble be intended against the said congregatiouns, or anie part or member thereof, the whole congregatiouns sall concurre, assist, and conveene together, to the defense of the said congregatioun or persoun troubled; and sall not spaire labour, goods, substance, bodeis, or lives, in maintenance of the libertie of the whole congregatioun, and everie member therof, against whatsoever power which sall intend the said trouble for caus of religioun, or anie other caus depending therupon, or lay to their charge under pretence therof, although it happen to be coloured with anie other outward caus.

"In witnesse and testimonie of which, the whole congregatiouns foresaid have ordeaned and appointed the noble men and persouns underwritten to subscribe these presents.—*Sic subscribitur,*

ARGILE. R. LORD BOYD.
JAMES STUART. OCHILTRIE.
GLENCARNE. MATTHEW CAMPBELL of Taringhame.

THE CONGREGATION DEPARTETH FROM SANCT JOHNSTOUN.

The 29th of May, at two after noone, departed the congregatioun from Sanct Johnstoun, after that Mr Knox, in his sermoun, had exhorted all men to constancie: and to thanke God for that it had pleased him, of his mercie, to stay the rage of the enemie,

without effusioun of blood. He exhorted, likewise, that no brother sould wearie or faint to support suche as should after be likewise persecuted: "For I am assured," said he, "that no part of this promise made sall be keeped longer than the queene and her Frenchemen have the upper hand." Manie of the enemeis were at the sermoun, for after the appointment was made, they had free entrie into the toun, to provide victualls for themselves.

THE QUEENE'S ENTRIE TO SANCT JOHNSTOUN.

The 29th day of May, the queene, the Duke of Chattelerault, the Erles of Atholl, Marshall, the Archbishops of Sanct Andrewes and Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkell and Dumblane, and Monsieur d'Oscll, with their bands of Frenchemen, entered in St Johnstoun. The Frenchemen, in discharging their volie of hacquebutts, directed six or seven shotts upon the faces of these that were lying upon Patrick Murray his staire. All escaped, except a childe of temne or twelve yeeres of age. He being slaine, was careid to the queene's presence. She, understanding that he was sonne to Patrick Murrey, a man fervent in religioun, and one who had susteaned dangers boldlie in that troublesome time, said in mockage, "It is pitie it chanced on the sonne, and not on the father; but seing it hath so chanced, me cannot be against fortune." This was her zeale to justice, and happie entrie to Sanct Johnstoun. Mr Knox, in his letter to Mastresse Anna Locke, dated the 23d of June, reporteth that the queene and her counsell promised likewise that no idolatrie sould be erected, nor alteratioun made in that toun; yitt upon the Lord's day following, the Papists celebrate masses upon tables, wherof some before were used to serve for drunkards, dycers, and carders. The altars had beene so profaned, that they could not easilie be repaired againe; but suche tables were altars holie enough for the preest and his pageant. The queene beganne to rage against all godlie and honest men. Their houses were surcharged with the Frenche. The lawfull magistrats, als weill proveist as bailiffes, were without all order deposed from their authoritie. A wicked man,

voide of God's feare, and destitute of all vertue, the Laird of Kinfawnes, was intruded by her to be proveist, wherat honest men offended left their owne houses, and with their wives and childrein sought amongst their brethrein some resting place for a time. She tooke order, that foure ensignes of souldiours sould remaine in the toun, to mainteane idolatrie, and to resist the congregatioun. Honest and indifferent men asked why she did so manifestlie violat her promise? She answered, she was not bound to keepe promise to hereticks; and further, that her promise was onlie to leave the toun free of French souldiours. It was replied, that all who tooke wages of France were compted Frenche souldiours. She answered, "Princes must not be so straitlie bound to keepe their promises. My self," said she, "would make little conscience to take from all that sort their lives and inheritances, if I might doe it with als honest an excuse." So she left the toun in extreme boundage, leaving four hundred souldiours, Scotishmen, but waged by France, to dantoun the toun.

ARGILE, LORD JAMES, ETC. LEAVE THE QUEENE REGENT.

The Erle of Argile and Lord James, perceaving nothing in the queene but meere tyrannie and falshood, and being mindefull of their former promises, convoyed themselves secreitlie, and their companeis, out of the toun. The Lord Ruthven, the Erle of Menteith, and the Laird of Tullibardin, went with them. They promise to other, in the presence of God, to assist and defend one another against all persouns that sould persue them for religioun, and to defend their brethrein persecuted for the same caus, with their whole force and power. The queene sent a charge to them, under the paine of her highest displeasure to returne. They answered, that with safe consciences they could not be partakers of so manifest tyrannie as was committed by her, and her ungodlie counsell, the prelats. This answer was given the first of June.

THE REFORMATIOUN OF SANCT ANDREWES.

The Erle of Argile and Lord James, in their journey towards Sanct Andrewes, sent missives to the Laird of Dun, the Laird of Pittarow, the Proveist of Dundie, and other professours in Angus, to come to Sanct Andrewes, the 4th of June, to concurre to the worke of reformatioun, which was to be made there. They brought with them, at the appointed day, Mr Knox. After his comming to Fife, he preached the first day at Carraill, the nixt day in Anstruther; mynding the thrid day, that is, upon the Lord's day, to teache in Sanct Andrewes. The bishop hearing that reformatioun was to be made in his cathedral church, thought it time to stirre now, or elles never. He assembled his colleagues and confederat followers, beside other freinds, and came to the toun upon Saturday, at night, accompaneid with an hundreth speares, of purpose to stoppe Mr Knox frome preaching. The two lords and gentlemen foresaid were accompaneid onlie with their owne domesticks; therefore his suddane comming was the more fearefull, the rather, becaus the queene and her Frenchemen were lying at Falkland, within twelve myles to Sanct Andrewes. The lords could not be assured of the toun's assistance, for they had not as yitt professed the truthe. At consultatioun, some advised that the preaching sould be delayed that day, speciallie that Mr Knox sould not preache; for the bishop had vowed he sould not suffer him, considering that, by his procurement, his picture had beene burnt before. He willed a gentleman, named Robert Colvill of Cleish, to tell the lords, that in case Johne Knox presented himself to the preaching place, in his toun and cathedrall church, he sould be saluted with a dossoun of hacquebuts. After long deliberatioun, Mr Knox was called, and his owne judgement asked. When manie perswasiouns were used, to move him to delay for that time, and manie terrours layed before him, in case he interprised suche a thing, with contempt of the bishop, he answered, "God is witnesse that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of anie man; neither minde I at anie

time to present myself to that place, having either respect to my owne privat commoditie, or yitt to the worldlie hurt of anie creature. But to delay to preache to-morrow, unlesse the bodie be violentlie withholdin, I cannot, of conscience; for in this toun and church beganne God first to call me to the dignitie of a preacher, frome which I was reft by the tyrannie of France, and the procurement of the bishops, as yee all weill enough know. How long I continued prisoner, what torment I susteaned in the galeyes, what were the sobs of my heart, is not now time to recite. This onlie I cannot conceale, which moe than one have heard me say, when my bodie was absent from Scotland, that my assured hope was, in open audience, to preache in Sanct Andrewes before I departed this life. Therefore," said he, "my lords, seing God, above the expectatioun of manie, hath brought the bodie to the same place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and frome which, most unjustlie, I was removed, I beseech your honours not to stoppe me to present myself to my brethrein. As for the feare of danger that may come to me, lett no man be solicite, for my life is in the custodie of him whose glorie I seeke. Therefore, I cannot so feare their boast and tyrannie, that I will ceasse from doing my duetie, when God of his mercie offereth the occasioun. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me. I onlie crave audience; which, if it be denyed heere to me, at this time, I must seeke farther, where I may have it." At these words, the lords were fullie content that he sould occupie the place, which he did upon the Lord's day, the 10th of June. He treated of the casting of the buyers and sellers furth of the temple. He applied the corruptioun that then was to the corruptioun in Papistrie; at Christ's fact, to the duetie of those to whome God giveth power and zeale. So the magistrats, the proveist, and bailiffes, and the commonaltie of the toun, for the most part, agreed to remove all monuments of idolatrie, which they did with expeditioun. The bishop departed the same day to Falkland. Mr Knox, in the letter above mentioned, to Mastresse Anna Locke, hath these words:—"At their commandement, I repaired to Sanct Andrewes, where, consultatioun had, it

was concluded that Christ Jesus sould there be openlie preached; that the places and monuments of idolatrie sould be removed, and superstitious habits changed. The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes came to the toun, accompaneid with a great band of warriours, and gave a strait commandement, that no preaching sould be made by me, who was both burnt and horned; assuring the lords, if they suffered me to preache, that twelve hacquebuts sould light upon my nose at once. O burning charitie of a bloodie bishop! But all that boast did little affray me; so did it more incense and inflamme with curage the hearts of the godlie, who with one voice proclamed, that Christ Jesus sould be preached in despite of Satan. And so, that Sunday, and three dayes after, I did occupie the publick place, in the middest of the doctors, who, to this day, are dumbe; even as dumbe as their idols, which were burnt in their presence. The bishop departed to the queene frustrated of his intent, for he had promised to bring me to her, either living or dead."

COWPER MURE.

The hote furie of the bishop so kindled the queene's choler, that without farther delay conclusion was takin to invade Sanct Andrewes, and the two young lords, then slenderlie accompaneid. Posts were sent from the queene with diligence to Cowper, distant onlie six myles from Sanct Andrewes, to prepare loodging and victualls for the queene and her Frenche men. Furriours were sent before, and loodgings assigned. The lords were counselled to prevent them. They sent advertisement to the brethrein, to repaire toward them, which they did with suche diligence, that the wondrous work of God might have beene espyed. For when the lords came to Cowper, at night, they were accompareid but with an hundreth horse, and certane footemen brought frome the coast side, by Lord James; yitt before the nixt day at noone, that is, Tuesday, the 13th of June, their number past three thowsand men.

The Lairds of Ormistoun, Calder, Hattoun, Restalrig, and Colstoun, came from Lothiane, not understanding particularlie how

maters went. The Lord Ruthven came frome Sanct Johnstoun with some horsemen; the Erle of Rothesse, Sheriff of Fife, came with a goodlie companie. The citicens of Dundie and Sanct Andrewes shew themselves both stout and faithfull: Cowper, becaus it stood in greatest danger, assisted with their whole force. God did so multiplie their number, that it appeared men rained frome the clouds. The enemie understanding nothing of their force, assured themselves of victorie. Who had beene in Falkland the night before, might have seene embracing and kissing betwixt the queene, the duke, and the bishop. But Mr Gawin Hammiltoun, gaping for the bishoprick of Sanct Andrewes, was lovinglie embraced by the queene above all others, for he had made a solemne vow, he sould not returne, till he brought these tratours to her Grace, either quicke or dead. They sent before them their ordinance before midnight. They followed themselves before three of the clocke in the morning. The lords being advertised, conveened their companeis earelie. A place was so chosin for their defense, by Mr James Halyburton, Proveist of Dundie, that upon all sides their ordinance might have beaten the enemie, and themselves stand in safetie, if they had beene persued, till they had come to hand strokes. The Lord Ruthven tooke the charge of the horsemen, and ordered them so, that the enemie was never permitted to espie their number: the darkenesse of the day helped also somewhat therto. The enemie supposing to find no resistance, after that they had twise or thrise made semblance to retire, marched fordward with expeditioun, and approached within a myle, before that their horsemen stayed. Yitt they keeped betwixt them and the other partie, a water for their strenth. It seemed to the congregatioun, that either they marched toward Cowper or Sanct Andrewes; therefore their horsemen, and a part of the footemen, marched with the ordinance some space before them, for safetie of the toun. The lords, with the gentlemen of Fife, and so manie of Angus and Mernes as were present, keeped themselves close in a knott, to the number of a thowsand speares. The touns of Dundie and Sanct Andrewes were arrayed in another battell, which came not to the sight of the enemie

till after twelve of the clocke, that the mist beganne to vanishe. Then some of their horsemen past to a hill, frome the hight wherof they might discerne their number. When their number was seene, the horsemen and footemen were stayed incontinent. Posts were sent to the duke and Monsieur d'Osell, to declare their number, and what order they keeped. There were mediators sent to make appointment. But they were not suffered to approache neere to the lords, nor yitt to view the campe, which putt them in great feare. Answere was givin, that as they had offended no man, so they seeke appointment of no man; but if anie would seeke their lives, as they were informed they did, they sould find, if they pleased, resistance. After this answere was reported, were sent againe the Lord Lindsay and Laird of Waughton, to sue for concord and agreement, least innocent blood be shed. It was answered by the congregatioun, that neither had they querell against anie man, nor sought anie man's blood, but were conveened onlie for defence of their lives, unjustlie sought. If the other partie would give sufficient warrant that they and their brethrein sall be free of the tyrannie intended against them, that nothing reasonable sould be denyed upon their part. This answere being reported to the queene regent, lying at Falkland, the duke and Monsieur d'Osell having commissioun frome her, required that assurance might be takin for eight dayes, to the end that indifferent men, in the meane time, might conferre upon some finall agreement. The congregatioun consented, howbeit in number and force farre superiour. Hand-writs were sent from either partie to other. It was promised, that within two or three dayes, some discreit men sould be sent to Sanct Andrewes, to conferre upon a finall agreement; but it was not performed. Mr Knox, in the last letter above mentioumed, hath these words:—"There came from our adversareis an ambassader, desiring speeche and communing, which gladlie of us being granted, after long reasouning, the queene offered a free remissioun for all crimes bypast, so that they would no further proceed against friereis and abbeyes, and that no more preaching be used publicklie. But the lords and the whole brethrein refused suche appointement,

declaring that the feare of no mortall creature sould caus them betray the veritie knowne and professed, nor yitt to suffer idolatrie to be mainteaned in the bounds committed to their charge. The adversareis perceaving, that neither threatning, flatterie, nor deceate, could breake the bold constancie and godlie purpose of the lords, barons, gentlemen, and commouns, who were there assembled to the number of three thowsand, in one day's warning, were content to take assurance for eight dayes, permitting to us freedome of religioun in the meane time."

THE TENOR OF THE ASSURANCE.

"We, James Duke of Chattelerault, Erle of Arran, Lord Hammiltoun, and my Lord d'Osell, lieutenant for the king in these parts, for themselves, their assisters, and partakers, being presentlie with them in companie, by the tenour heerof promitts faithfullie to my lords Archibald Erle of Argile, and James, Commendatare of the Pryorie of Sanct Andrewes, to their assisters and partakers, being presentlie with them in companie, that we and our companie foresaid sall retire incontinent to Falkland, and sall with diligence transport the Frenche men, and other folkes now present with us; and that no Frenche man, nor other souldiours of ours, sall remaine within the bounds of Fife, but so manie as, before the raising of the last armie, lay in Dysart, Kirkaldie, and Kingorne, and the same to ly in the same places onlie, if we sall thinke good; and this to have effect for the space of eight dayes following the date heerof exclusive, that, in the meane time, certane noblemen, by advice of the queene's Grace and the rest of the counsell, may conveene, to talke of suche things as may make good order and quietnesse amongst the queene's lieges. And further, we, nor none of our assisters being present with us, sall invade, trouble, or disquiett the saids lords or their assisters, during the said space.

"And this we bind and oblishe us, upon our loyall fidelitie and honour, to observe and keepe in everie point above writtin, with-

out fraude or guile. In witnesse wherof, we have subscribed these presents with our hands, at Garlebanke, the 13th day of June." Subscribed

"JAMES, Duke.
"L. LIEUTENANT, ETC."

A PURPOSE TO RECOVER PERTH.

After the assurance made, the congregatioun departed first, at the duke's requeist, and returned to Couper, lauding and praising God for his mercie shewed, and therafter, everie man departed to his dwelling-place. The lords, and a great number of the gentlemen, went to Sanct Andrewes, where they stayed certane dayes, waiting for these that sould have beene sent frome the queene to conclude agreement, according to promise. But they, perceaving her deceate, consulted what sould be done for deliverie of Sanct Johnstoun frome the thraldome of souldiours, and how their brethrein exiled frome their owne houses might be restored againe; for under assurance, the queene meant nothing elles but to convoy herself, her ordinance, and Frenchemen, over the water of Forth to Lothiane, and to scatter the congregatioun, which she supposed could not be easilie gathered together againe. It was therefore concluded, that the brethrein of Fife, Angus, Mernes, and Stratherne, sould conveene at Sanct Andrewes the 24th of June. In the meane time, this letter following was sent frome the Erle of Argile and Lord James to the queene regent, whill she was passing over Forth:—

THE ERLE OF ARGILE AND LORD JAMES' LETTER TO THE QUEENE REGENT.

"MADAME,—After our heartlie commendatiouns of service, these sall be to shew your Grace, that, upon the 13th day of June, we were informed, by them that were communers betwixt my lord

duke, Monsieur d'Osell, and us, that we sould have spokin unreverentlie of your Grace; which we beseeche your Grace, for the true service which we have made, and are readie to mak at all times to your Grace, that of your goodness yee will lett us know the sayers therof, and we sall doe the duetie of true subjects to defend our owne innocencie, as we take God to witnesse, of the good zeale and love we beare towards you, to serve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as weill lands as goods; desiring no other thing for our service, but the libertie of our conscience to serve our Lord God, as we sall answere to him. Which your Grace ought and sould give unrequired. Moreover, please your Grace, that my lord duke, and the noblemen being in Stirline, for the time, by your Grace's advice, solicited us to passe to the congregatioun assembled at the toun of Perth, to commune of concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to passe, as your Grace knowes. There is a point that we plainlie see is not observed to us; which is, that no souldiour sould remaine in the toun after your Grace's departure. And suppose it may be interpreted, that it was meant of Frenche souldiours onlie, yitt we tooke it otherwise, like as we doe yitt, that Scotishmen, or anie other natioun taking the King of France his wages, are reputed and holdin Frenche souldiours. Therefore, seing we, of goode will and minde, brought that mater to a point, to your Grace's contentment, it will please your Grace, of your goodnesse, to remove the souldiours and their captans, with others that have gottin charge of the toun, that the same may be guided and ruled freelie, as it was before, by the bailiffes and counsell, conforme to their infeftments graunted to them by the ancient and most excellent kings of this realme, to elect and choose their officers at Michaelmasse, and these to endure the space of one yeere, conforme to the old rite and custome of this realme; which being done by your Grace, we trust the better successe sall follow therupon, to your Grace's contentatioun, as the bearer will declare at more lenth to your Grace, whome God preserve."

REFORMATION OF LINDORES.

Mr Knox, in the letter above mentiouned, maketh mentioun of the reformatioun of Lindores, at this time, in these words following:—"The abbey of Lindores, a place of Blacke monkes, distant from Sanct Andrewes twelve myle, was reformed, their altars overthrowin, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and masse bookes, were burnt in their owne presence, and they commanded to cast away their monkish habite. Diverse channons of Sanct Andrewes have givin notable confessiouns, and have declared themselves manifest enemeis to the Pope, to the masse, and to all superstitioun. Thus farre hath God advanced the glorie of his deere Sonne amongst us." Then he bursteth furth in these words:—"O that my heart could be thankefull for the superexcellent benefite of my God! The long thrist of my wretched heart is satisfeid in abundance that is above my expectatioun; for now, fourtie dayes and moe, hath my God used my tongue in my native countrie, to the manifestatioun of his glorie. Whatsoever now sall follow as tuiching my owne carcase, His holie name be praised. The thrist of the poore people, as weill as of the nobilitie heere, is woundrous great, which putteth me in comfort that Christ Jesus sall triumphe for a space heere, in the north and extreme parts of the earth. We feare that the tyrannie of France sall, under cloke of religioun, seeke a plaine conqueist of us. But potent is God to confound their counsells, and to breake their force. God move the hearts of suche as professe Christ Jesus with us, to have respect to our infancie; and open their eyes, that they may see that our ruine sall be their destructioun."

THE SUMMOUNING AND RANDERING OF PERTH.

To Sanct Johnstoun, beside the gentlemen before expressed, repaired the Erle of Menteith, the Laird of Glenurquhart, and diverse others, who had not presented themselves before for defense of their

brethrein. When the whole multitude was conveened, a trumpeter was sent by the lords, to charge the captans and their bands to avoide the toun, and to leave it free to the right and lawfull inhabitants of the same; and to command the Laird of Kinfawnes, proveist intruded by the queene, and the captans forsaid, to make the gates of the toun patent to all their soverane's lieges, to the end, that as weill true religioun once begunne therin might be mainteaned, and idolatrie utterlie suppressed; as also, the toun might injoy their ancient lawes and liberteis, without oppressioun of souldiours, conforme to their ancient priviledges, and the provisioun conteaned in the contract of mariage made betwixt the nobilitie and parliament of this realme, and the King of France, bearing, that none of our old lawes or liberteis sould be altered: farther, to intimate, that if they resist foolishlie, and thereby happin to committ murther, they sall be used as murtherers. They answered, they would keep and defend that toun, according to their promise made to the queene regent. Whill preparatioun was making for seige and assault of the toun, the Erle of Huntlie, the Lord Areskine, Mr Johne Bannatyne, Justice-Clerk, required that the persute of the toun might be delayed. The Erle of Argile, Lord James, and Lord Ruthven, were appointed to confere with them. They, perceaving nothing but drift of time, without assurance of redresse of former wrongs, answered plainlie, they would not delay their purpose for one houre. Therefore, they willed them to certifie the captans, if by foolish keeping of the toun they slue anie of their brethrein, they sould everie one dee as murtherers. The Erle of Huntlie was highlie offended he could not effectuat suche an appointment as might content the queene and the preests.

After their departure, the toun was againe summoned. But the captans, looking for no suddane assault, and for releefe frome the queene, continued obstinat. So, upon Saturday, the 25th of June, at teme of the clocke at night, the Lord Ruthven, besieging the west quarter, commanded to shoot the first volie. The toun of Dundie, lying on the east side of the bridge, with their ordinance did the like. Then the captans required assurance till the morne

at twelve houres, promissing, if there came no releefe before that time from the queene regent, they sould rander the toun, so that they be suffered to depart, with ensignes displayed. The assaulters seeking onlie the libertie of their brethrein, condescended to their desires, albeit they might have executed crueltie against them, becaus, after favour offered, they had slaine one of their brethrein, and hurt other two, in their resistance. The toun being randered upon the Lord's day, the 26th of June, thankes were givin to God for the great benefites receaved.

THE BURNING OF SKOONE.

Consultatioun was takin what farther was to be done. In the meane time, some zealous men, considering how despitefull the Bishop of Murrey had beene before, how he had threatned the toun with his freinds and souldiours lying at Skoone, thought good to take some order with him, and that hous lying so neere. The lords wrote to him, certifeing him, unlesse he came and assisted them, they would neither spaire him nor save the hous. He answered, he would come and assist them with his forces, and consent with them against the rest of the clergie in parliament. But becaus he was slow in returning his answere, the toun of Dundie, partlie greeved for the slaughter of their citicens, partlie offended at the bishop, becaus by his instigatioun cheefelie was Walter Mill putt to death, they marched fordward. The Proveist of Dundie, and his brother Alexander Halyburton, captane, were sent to stay them, but prevailed not. Mr Knox was sent after; but before he came they were pulling doun the dortour and the idols. Albeit Mr James Halyburton, his brother, and Mr Knox, did what in them lay to stay their furie, yitt were they not able to stay all. They sent for the Erle of Argile and Lord James, who came with diligence to save the abbey and the church. But the multitude finding a great number of idols buried in the church, hid of purpose to be presented to a better day, as the Papists spake, the burgesses and citicens of Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun could not be satisfeid,

till the whole reparatioun and ornaments of the kirk were destroyed. Yitt the lords, when they came, saved the bishop's palace and the church for that night. They brought backe with them those that sought most to worke the bishop a displeasure. The bishop displeased, craved of the lords his band, which he had sent to them not two houres before. It was randered, with advertisement to the messenger, Sir Adame Browne, not to blame them if anie further evill happenned. The bishop's servants beganne that same night to fortifie the place againe, and to use violence to some that were careing away suche baggage as they could come by. Some of the poore, in hope of spoile, and some of Dundie to see what was done, went up to the abbey of Skoone. One of the bishop's sonnes, as was constantlie affirmed, thrust through with a rapper a man of Dundie, becaus he was looking in at the girnell doore. Mr Knox had takin paines to save the girnell in the night before. The bruite being noysed, the inhabitants of Dundie sent to the inhabitants of Sanct Johnstoun, to certifie them, unlesse they assist them to revenge that injurie, they would never after that day concurre with them in anie actioun. The multitude being easilie inflammed, the abbeye and palace were committed to the mercie of the fire. Not a few were offended at them, besides these that were sent to pacifie them, that skarse could they speeke patientlie to anie of Dundie or Sanct Johnstoun. A poore aged matron, seing the flamme of fire ascending, and perceaving manie offended, said in sober maner, "Now I see God's judgements are just, and no man is able to save when He will punishe. According to my remembrance, this place hath beene nothing elles but a denne of whoormoongers. It is almost incredible to beleeve how manie wives have beene defyled, and virgins deflowred, by these filthie beasts which have beene fostered in this denne, but speciallie by that wicked man, the bishop. If all men knew as muche as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended." At her words, manie were pacifeid, and affirmed likewise that it was God's just judgement. The woman dwelt in the toun, neere to the abbey.

So the abbey of Skoone was burnt, howbeit men of good estimatioun laboured for the safetie of it, but in vaine.

STIRLINE AND LINLITHQUO REFORMED.

The queene hearing what was done at Sanct Johnstoun, and fearing what might follow, purposed to send certane bands of Frenche souldiours to Stirline, to stoppe the passage to them that were then on the north side of Forth. But the Erle of Argile and Lord James came secreitlie in the night from Sanct Johnstoun, the night before Skoone was burnt, and came to Stirline with expeditioun, and prevented the Frenche. Before their coming, the rascall multitude destroyed the monastreis; or, as Buchanan recordeth, the lords themselves, after their comming, purged religious places frome monuments of idolatrie, both in Stirline and about. The like was done the thrid day after at Linlithquo.

THE QUEENE REGENT AND HER FACTION FLEE TO DUMBAR.

Howbeit the lords had not great forces with them, either at Stirline or Linlithquo, becaus manie of their confederates were gone home to their owne dwelling-houses, not knowing what was farther to be done for the present, yitt the pride of Papists being abated, and in a maner quite layed doun in so manie touns, suche a feare seazed upon the bands of the Frenche and Scotish souldiours, that with all possible diligence they marched out of Edinburgh to Dumbar, and careid with them all the ordinance they could gett easilie careid in so great haste.

THE REFORMATION OF EDINBURGH.

The Erle of Argile and Lord James entered in Edinburgh the 29th of June, 1559. The Lord Seton, provost, a man without God, without honestie, and often times without reasoun, had di-

verse times before troubled the brethrein. He had takin upon him the protection of the Blacke and Gray friers, and for that purpose lay himself in one of them everie night, and also constrained the honest burgesses of the toun to watche and guarde these monsters, to their great greefe. When he heard of the suddane coming of the lords, he abandonned his charge. The poore made havocke of all goods moveable in the Blacke and Gray friers, and left nothing but bare walls; yea, not so muche as doore or window, so that the lords had the lesse to doe when they came. After their coming, all monuments of idolatrie within the toun, and in places adjacent, were suppressed and removed, and preachers appointed to teache.

MR KNOX'S LETTER TO MASTRESSE ANNA LOCKE.

Upon the same 29th day of June, Mr Knox wrote this letter following to Mastresse Anna Locke :—

"Receaving your letters, dated at Londoun the 16th of Januarie, at the houre expressed, and finding the opportunitie of a messinger at the verie instant to depart, I could not but scrible these few words unto you, immediatelie after I was come fromе the verie preaching place in Sanct Gile's Kirk in Edinburgh. The whole discourse of our proceedings I have writtin to you before. And farther yee sall understand, by this other letter directed to Adame Haliday, which ye may open, and after deliver it. The professers are in Edinburgh. The queene is retired to Dumbar. The fine is knowne unto God. We meane no tumult, no alteratioun of authoritie, but onlie the reformatioun of religioun, and suppressing of idolatrie. The reasoun of Mr Cole, and your acts of parliament, like me both alike; that is, nothing at all. I wrote not onlie against Papisticall preests, but also against dissembled professours, who preferre darknesse to light, and vanitie to the truthe. If your reformatioun be no better than your acts expresse, I repent not of my absence fromе England. I have receaved no letter from you before that last, neither yitt anie knowledge of my brother, Mr Gudman. More trouble than yee see lyeth upon me. As God

worketh heere, ye sall know from time to time. Remember my weakenesse, and call earnestlie, that God, our Father through Jesus Christ, his deere and onlie Sonne, may be glorifeid in his congregatiouns. Rest in Christ, with salutatioun to all faithfull. From Edinburgh, the 29th of June, 1559."

The queene regent caused a bruite to be spread, that the professours sought nothing but her life, and a plaine revolt from lawfull obedience due to their soverans; and charged the Congregatioun to dissolve, and depart out of Edinburgh, as followeth:—

THE CONGREGATION CHARGED BY PROCLAMATION TO DISSOLVE, AND TO DEPART OUT OF EDINBURGH.

"Francis and Marie, by the grace of God, King and Queene of Scots, Daulphine and Daulphinesse of Viennois, to our loved Lyoun King of Armes, etc., our shireffs in that part, conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitute, greeting. Forsomuch as our deerest mother, Marie, Queene Dowager, Regent of our realme, and lords of our secreit counsell, perceaving the seditious tumult raised by one part of our lieges, naming themselves the Congregatioun, who, under pretence of religioun, have putt themselves in armes; and that her Grace, for satisfeing of everie man's conscience, and pacifeing of the saids troubles, had offered unto them to affixe a parliament to be holdin in Januarie nixt to come, or sooner, if they had pleased, for establishing of an universall order in maters of religioun by our advice and estats, and in the meane time to suffer everie man to live at libertie of conscience, without trouble, untill the time that the said order had beene tane by advice of our foresaid estats;[1] and, at last, becaus it appeareth muche to stand upon our burgh of Edinburgh, offered in like maner, to lett the inhabitants therof choose what maner of religioun they would sett up, and use for that time, so that no man might alledge that he was forced to

[1] "This was neither offered nor thought upon till the professors required it."—*Note of the Author.*

doe against his conscience: which offer, the queene's Grace, our said deerest mother, was at all times, and yitt is, readie to fulfill. Nevertheless, the said Congregatioun being of minde to receave no reasonable offers, hath since by open deid declared, that it is not religioun, or anie thing thereto perteaning, that they seeke, but onlie the subversioun of our authoritie, and usurpatioun of our crowne; in manifest witnessing wherof, they daylie receave Englishmen, with messages unto them, and send suche like into England; and, last of all, have violentlie intromitted, takin, and yit withhold the yrons of our coine-hous, which is one of the cheefe points that concerneth our crowne, and suche like have intromitted with our Palace of Halyrudhous. Our will is, therefore, etc., that yee passe to the Mercat Croce of our said burgh of Edinburgh, or anie other publick place within the same, and there, by open proclamatioun, in our name and authoritie, command and charge all and sundrie persons of the said Congregatioun, or yitt being presentlie within our said burgh, others than the inhabitants therof, that they, within six houres nixt after our forsaid charge, depart furth of the same, under the paine of treasoun; and als, that yee command all and sundrie persons to leave their companie, and to adhere to our authoritie, with certificatioun, that suche as doe the contrarie sall be reputed and holdin as manifest traitours to our crowne, etc."

The professours were not a little greeved for the unjust imputations wherewith they were charged, for there was no sentence of the narrative true, except that they stayed the yrons, which was done, becaus daylie there was suche a number of hardheids[1] coined, that their basenesse made all things extreme deere. Therefore, they were counselled, by the wisest of their number, to stay the yrons, till further order might be takin. The lords, to purge themselves of these odious crimes, wrote to her a letter, in forme as after followeth:—

[1] Hardheads, or, as they were sometimes called, Lions, from having the figure of a lion stamped on one side, were coins of mixed metal or copper, of the value of three pennies Scots.

THE LORDS PURGE THEMSELVES OF REBELLION.

"Please your Grace to be advertised, it is come to our knowledge, that your Grace hath sett furth, by your letter openlie proclaimed, that we, called by the name of the Congregatioun, under pretence and colour of religioun, conveene together to no other purpose but to usurpe our soveran's authoritie, and to invade your persoun, representing theirs at this present. Which things appear to have proceeded of sinistrous informatioun made to your Grace by our enemeis, considering that we never minded suche thing; but onlie our minde and purpose was, and is, to promote and sett furth the glorie of God, mainteane and defend the true preachers of his Word, and, according to the same, abolishe and putt away idolatrie and false abuses, which may not stand with the said Word of God; beseeching your Grace to beare patientlie therewith, and to interpone your authoritie to the furtherance of the same, as is the duetie of everie Christian prince and good magistrat. For as to the obedience to our soveran's authoritie in all civill and politick maters, we were, and sall be, als obedient as anie other your Grace's subjects within the realme; and that our conventioun is for no other purpose but to save our preachers and their auditors frome the injurie and violence of our enemeis, which sould be more amplie declared by some of us in your Grace's presence, if yee were not accompaneid with suche as persued our lives, and sought our blood. Thus, we pray Almightie God to have your highnesse in his Almightie tuitioun. At Edinburgh, the secund of Julie, 1559."

THE PETITIONS OF THE CONGREGATION TO THE QUEENE.

For farther purgatioun, it was thought necessarie that their requeists and just petitions sould be made knowne to her Grace and to the people. To that end, after safe conduct was purchassed, they directed unto her two grave men of their counsell, to witt, the Lairds of Pittarow and Cuninghamheid, to whome they gave

commissioun and power to expone their whole purpose and intent, which was none other but that which they had at all times before; to witt, First, that they might enjoy libertie of conscience: Secundlie, that Christ Jesus might be truelie preached, and his holie sacraments rightlie ministred unto them: Thridlie, that unable ministers might be removed from ecclesiasticall administratioun, and that their preachers might be relaxed frome the horne, and permitted to execute their charges without molestatioun, till suche time as, either by a generall councell lawfullie conveened, or by a parliament within the realme, the controverseis in religioun were decided; and for declaratioun, that her Grace was heereto willing that the bands of Frenchemen, an intolerable burthein to the countrie, and fearefull to them, that they durst not in safetie haunt the places where they did ly, sould be sent home to France. Which things if her Grace would grant, she sould have experience of their accustomed obedience.

A COMMUNING BETWIXT THE QUEENE REGENT AND THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CONGREGATION.

To these heads the queene regent answered at the first so pleasantlie, that she putt their commissioners in full hope that all sould be granted. For that purpose, she desired to speeke with some of greater authoritie, promising, that if they would assure her of their ductiful obedience, that she would deny nothing which was required. For her satisfactioun, they sent againe the Erle of Glencarne, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Uchiltrie, and the Laird of Pittarrow, with the same commissioun as of before; but then she beganne to handle the mater more craftilie. She compleaned, that she was not sought in gentle maner; and that they in whome she had putt greatest confidence, had left her in her greatest need. Thus she spent and drived the time. They answered, that by unjust tyrannie devised against them and their brethrein, as her Grace did weill know, they were compelled to seeke the extreme remedie; that, therefore, her Grace ought not to wounder, though godlie

men left that companie, wherin they neither found fidelitie nor truthe.

THE CONGREGATIOUN REFUSETH TO SUFFER THE ERLE OF ARGILE AND LORD JAMES CONFERRE WITH THE QUEENE REGENT.

In the end of this commuuing, which held the 12th day of Julie, she desired to talke privilie with the Erle of Argile, and Lord James, Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, or elles, as she alledged, she could not but suspect, but that they intended some higher purpose than religioun. The duke was perswaded by her and her craftie counsell, that the erle and Lord James had conspired, first to deprive her daughter of her authoritie, and therafter, the duke and his successours of their title to the crowne. By these forged lees. the hearts of manie were inflammed, in so farre that some of their owne number beganne to murmure. Wherupon, they purged themselves by publick proclamatioun, declaring plainlie and simplie what was their purpose; taking God to witnesse, that no suche crimes ever entered in their hearts. The preachers did the like in their publick sermons. After consultatioun, it was concluded, that it was not expedient they sould talke with the queene, or anie apperteaning to her, but in places free of suspicioun, where they sould be equall in number with those that they sould talke with; for her former practises putt all in suspicioun, that some deceate lurked under suche coloured commuuing. She had said before, that if she could by anie meanes sinder these two frome the rest, she was assured shortlie to come by her whole purpose. One, a cheefe man of her counsell, said, that before Michaelmasse day, these two sould lose their heads; therefore all men feared to committ two suche young plants to her mercie or fidelitie.

THE COMMUNING AT PRESTONE.

The queene regent perceaving that her craft could not prevaile, was content that the duke, the Erle of Huntlie, and some others at

her appointment, sould commune with the said erle and pryour, and others whome the Lords of the Congregatioun would appoint, to the number of an hundreth on eache side, of which number eight persons onlie sould meete for conference. The duke, the Erle of Huntlie, the Lords Areskine and Somervell, Mr Gawin Hammiltoun, and the Justice-Clerk, for the one side; the Erle of Argile, Glencarne, the Lord Ruthven, Lord James, Lord Boyd, Lord Uchiltrie, the Lairds of Dun and Pittarrow, for the other side, conveened at Preston, and spent the whole day, without anie certane conclusioun. The queene and her factioun intended, by drift of time, to wearie their companie, which for the most part had beene upon the feilds frome the 10th of May, that they being dispersed, she might the more easilie come to her purpose. She was not altogether deceaved; for the commouns were constrained to scatter for laike of expenses, and gentlemen, partlie for laike of furniture, partlie becaus they saw no appearance of a finall appointment, after so manie communings; therefore they returned for the most part to their dwelling-places to repose themselves,

THE DEMANDS OF THE QUEENE REGENT, AND HER ANSWERES TO THE PROFESSORS' PETITIONS.

The queene in all these communings made some semblance, that she would give libertie of professioun, providing, that whersoever she was, their preachers sould ceasse, and the masse sould be mainteaned. They, perceaving her malitious craft, answered, that as they would not compell her Grace to embrace anie religioun, so could they not of conscience, for the pleasure of anie earthlie creature, putt silence to God's true messingers, or suffer the right administratioun of the sacraments give place to manifest idolatrie: for this requeist being granted, there can be no church established within the countrie but at her pleasure; and by her residence there it may be overthrowne. The Lord Ruthven and the Laird of Pittarrow were sent with this answere to the queene; and farther to require, that her Grace, in plaine words, would signifie to them

what hope they might conceave of her favour for advancement of religioun; and to require that she would remove her Frenchemen, who were a terrour and most greevous burthein to the commoun-wealth; and that she would promise to them, in the word of a prince, that she sould procure that no moe be sent. If she would so promise, they offered, not onlie support according to their power, to furnishe shipps and victuals for their transporting, but also, upon their honours, to take her persoun in their protectioun; and to promise, in the presence of God and the whole realme, to serve her daughter as soverane, herself as regent, als faithfullie and duetifullie as ever they did anie king of Scotland: Moreover, that they sould caus their preachers give reasouns of their doctrine, in her audience, to anie that pleased to challenge. Finallie, that they would submitt themselves to a lawfull parliament, so that the bishops, as the partie accused, and their plaine enemeis, be removed frome judgement. Her answeres were so generall and ambiguous, that her craft was apparent to all men. She had gottin assured knowledge that their companie was scattered, for her Frenchemen haunted daylie among them without molestatioun. Therefore she beganne to disclose her minde, and say, "The Congregatioun hath raigned these two moneths past; me myself will raigne now other two."

THE YRONS STAYED.

After consultatioun in the counsell of the Congregatioun, it was concluded, that the lords, barons, and gentlemen, with their housholds, sould remaine in Edinburgh the winter following, for sattling of the church there. Becaus it was found, that by corrupting of the money, the queene had made unto herself excessive gaine, for mainteaning of her souldiours, to the hurt of the countrie, it was thought necessarie that the yrons of the coine-hous sould be stayed, and all other things therto perteaning, least they sould be transported privilie to Dumbar, at the queen's directioun. In the meantime was she certifeid of the death of the King of France;

yitt was her endured heart nothing moved to repentance.[1] She sent for those of her factioun, made a greevous complaint of the lords, and said, that they had now declared themselves; for what elles could they mean but usurpatioun of the crowne, when they durst putt hands into the coine-house, which is a portioun of the patrimonie of the crowne? She alledged farther, that they had spoiled the coine-house of great summes of money. They answered, by letters sent to her and her counsell, and by publick proclamatioun to the people, that without usurpatioun of anie thing justlie apperteaning to the crowne, they stayed the stamping yrons, becaus the commoun-wealth was greatlie hurt by corrupting the money, and it became them, as borne counsellers of the realme, to procure the profite of the same. They could do no lesse than to stay that for a time which they saw so abused, and like to turne to the detriment of the commoun-wealth. As to the imputatioun of spoile, they remitted themselves to the testimonie of Mr Robert Richartsone, master of the coine-hous, who frome their hand receaved silver, gold, and mettall, als weill coined as uncoined, so as with them remained not the valour of a babie.[2]

THE QUEEN'S FACTION COME FROME DUMBAR TO LEITH.

Notwithstanding of the former declaratioun and purgatioun, the queene regent, partlie by craft, partlie by instigatioun of the Bishops of Sanct Andrewes and Glasgow, moved all that were with her to consent to persue the Congregatioun before they assembled againe; for they were then dispersed, that they might provide furniture for themselves. The certantie heerof comming to the knowledge of the counsell of the Congregatioun, they advertised with diligence the brethrein lying neere; for the enemie marched frome Dumbar upon the Lord's day, and approached within two miles to Edinburgh, upon Moonday, before sunne rising. They assured

1 This was Henry II., who was killed by an accidental wound in the eye, at a tilting match, on the 10th of July, 1559.

2 Value of a halfpenny.

themselves to find no resistance, seeing there were remaining with the lords onlie their owne domesticks, and some few gentlemen. They might have retired; yitt resolved they rather to undergoe the hazard than to abandon their brethrein of Edinburgh; for then the most part of Edinburgh appeared rather to favour them nor the queene's factioun, and offered to them their assistance, which was faithfullie performed by the most part. Leith promised the like, but did not perform the like; for when they were upon the feilds, marching toward Leith for their support, becaus the Frenche marched neere to them, they randered without resistance. This they did, as is supposed, partlie by the instigatioun of some within themselves, partlie by the perswasioun of the Laird of Restalrig. He had before declared himself to be one of the Congregatioun: but that day randered himself, undesired, to Monsieur d'Osell. This suddane and unexpected defectioun of Leith astonished manie. The lords retired to the side of Cragingate. Mediators past betwixt the two parteis. Alexander Areskine often promised that the Frenche sould stay, if they would not joyne with them of Leith; but after Leith was randered, they heard nothing of him but threatning and discomfortable words. The lords' forces encreased to a reasonable number before eight of clocke in the morning. Their enemeis were surprised with suche a feare, that they durst not invade them where they stood: they therefore resolved to passe to the other side of the Water of Leith to Edinburgh, becaus the Lord Areskine, captan of the castell, favoured them, which was unknowne to the lords; for they thought he had beene their freind, or, at least, indifferent. When he saw the lords resolving to fight, he sent the Laird of Rickerton to them, to certifie them, if they suffered not the Frenche to enter in the toun, he would shoote both at them and the toun. This his treasonable dealing abated the courage of manie; for they could not fight, nor stoppe the enemie, but under the mercie of the castell, and ordinance therof.

The Lords of the Congregatioun, finding themselves disappointed of the freindship, or, at least, indifferencie of the captan of the ca-

tell, and that they could not hinder the Frenche frome entering in Edinburgh, they concluded rather to agree to an appointment, although the conditioums they would wishe cannot be obteaned, than to hazard battell betwixt two suche enemeis. The lords and their counsell conceave these articles following, which they desire to be granted:

"1. That no member of the Congregatioun sould be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessiouns, by the queene, her authoritie, nor anie other justice within the realme, for anie thing done in the late innovatioun, till a parliament (which sould beginne the 10th of Januarie) had decided things in controversie.

"2. That idolatrie sould not be erected where it was at that day suppressed.

"3. That the preachers and ministers sould not be troubled in their ministrie, where they were alreadie established; neither yitt stopped to preache, wheresoever they sould chance to come.

"4. That no bands of men of warre sould be layed in garisoun within the toun of Edinburgh.

"5. That the Frenchemen sould be sent away at a reasonable day, and that no other sould be bregat in to the countrie without consent of the whole nobilitie and parliament."

These articles were altered and formed, as after followeth:—

"At the Linkes of Leith, the 24th of Julie, 1559.

"It is appointed in maner following:

"In the *first*, the Congregatioun and their companie, others than the inhabitants of the toun, sall remove themselves furth of the said toun, the morrow, at tenne houres before noone, the 25th of Julie, and leave the same voide and ridde of them and their said companie, conforme to the queene's Grace her pleasure and desire."

"*Item*, The said Congregatioun sall caus the yrons of the coinehous, takin away by them, be randered and delivered to Mr Robert Richartsone, and likewise the queen's Grace her Palace of Halyrudhous, to be left and randered againe to Mr James Balfour, or anie other having her Grace's sufficient power, in the same mater

as it was resolved; and that betwixt the making of these articles and the morne, at tenne of the clocke.

"For observing and keeping of these two articles above writtin, the Lord Ruthven and the Laird of Pittarow entered themselves pledges.

"*Item*, The saids Lords of the Congregatioun, and all the members therof, sall remaine obedient subjects to our soverane lord and ladie's authoritie, and to the queene's Grace, regent in their place; and sall obey all lawes and lovable customes of this realme, as they were used before the moving of this tumult and controversie, excepting the cause of religioun, which sall be heerafter specifeid.

"*Item*, The said Congregatioun, or anie of them, sall not trouble or molest a churche man by way of deid, nor yitt sall make them anie impediment in the peaceable bruiking, injoying, and uptaking of their rents, profites, and dutcis of their benefices; but that they may freelie use and dispone upon the same, according to the lawes and custome of this realme, to the 10th day of Januarie nixt to come.[1]

"*Item*, The said Congregatioun, or anie of them, sall use no wise frome hencefurth anie force or violence, in casting doun of churches, religious places, or apparrell therof, but the same sall stand harmelesse of them till the 10th of Januarie.

"*Item*, The toun of Edinburgh sall, without compulsioun, use and choose what religioun and maner therof they please, to the said day, so that everie man may have freedome to use his owne conscience to the day foresaid.

"*Item*, The queene's Grace sall not interpone her authoritie to molest or trouble the preachers of the Congregatioun, or their ministrie, to them that please to use the same; nor no other of the said Congregatioun, in their bodeis, goods, lands, or possessiouns, pensiouns, or whatsoever other kinde of goods they possesse; nor yitt suffer the clergie, or anie other, either spirituall or temporall jurisdictioun, to trouble them in anie maner of sort, privatlie or

[1] Hence arose this proverb, "Good day, Sir John, till January:" "Welcome, Sir John, till January."—*Note of the Author.*

openlie, for the caus of religioun, or other actioun depending therupon, till the said 10th day of Januarie, within writtin; and that everie man in particular leave, in the meane time, according to his owne conscience.

"*Item*, That no menne of warre, Frenche nor Scots, be layed in daylie garisoun within the toun of Edinburgh; but to repaire therto, to doe their lawfull businesse, and therafter to retire them to their garisouns."

This alteratioun in words and order was made without knowledge and consent of these whose counsell the Congregatioun had used in all causes before. Some perceaving that they began to faint, and would appoint with unequal conditiouns, said, "God hath wonderfullie assisted us in our greatest dangers; he hath stricken feare in the hearts of our enemeis, when they supposed themselves most assured of the victorie. Our case is not yitt so desperate, that we need to grant to things unreasonable. If we doe, it is to be feared that things sall not succeed so prosperouslie as they have done before."

When the appointment was made, the duke and the Erle of Huntlie craved conference with the Erles of Argile, Glencarne, Lord James, and others. They mett at the Quarrell Holes, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh. The duke and Huntlie promised to them, that if the queene brake one jote of the appointment, they sould declare themselves enemeis to her, and freinds to them; "but speciallie," said the duke, "if she removed not her Frenchemen at a certain day." This appointment was subscribed by the duke, Monsieur d'Osell, and the Erle of Huntlie, the 25th of Julie. The day following, after sermon, and after dinner, this proclamatioun following was made at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh:—

THE HEIDS OF THE PROCLAMATION.

"Forasmuche as it hath pleased God, that appointment is made betwixt the queene regent, and us, lords, whole Protestants of this

realme, we have thought good to signifie to you the cheefe heeds of the same; which be these:

"1. That no member of the Congregatioun shall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessioums, by the queen, by her authoritie, nor by anie other justice within this realme, for anie thing done in this late innovatioun, till that a parliament have decided things that be in controversie.

"2. That idolatrie sall not be erected, where it is now at this day suppressed.

"3. That the preachers and ministers sall not be troubled in their ministratioun where they are alreadie established; neither yitt stopped to preach, wheresoever they sall happen to travel, within this realme.

"4. That no bands of men of warre sall be layed in garisoun within the toun of Edinburgh.

"These cheefe heeds of appointment concerning the libertie of religioun, and conservatioun of our brethrein, we thought good to notifie to you by this our proclamation, that in cace wrong or injurie be done by anie of the contrarie factioun, to anie member of our bodie, complaint may be made unto us, to whom we promise, as we will answer to God, our faithfull support, to the uttermost of our powers."

THE CALUMNEIS OF THE PAPISTS ANSWERED.

At this proclamatioun, made with sound of trumpet, the Papists were offended. For, first, They alledged it was done in contempt of authoritie: Secundlie, That they had proclamed more than was conteaned in the appointment: Thridlie, That in their proclamatioun they made no mentioun of anie thing promissed to the other partie. To the first, it was answered, It was no contempt of authoritie to make the truthe manifest; becaus, otherwise, some might pretend ignorance. To the secund, They proclamed nothing but what was agreed upon in word, howsoever the scribes after had altered, both in words and sentences, their articles, as they

were first conceaved; and yitt, if their owne writts had beene weill examined, the self same thing had beene found in substance. To the last, That it was not necessarie, seing they themselves, in that behalfe, were diligent eneugh. And, indeed, within fyfteen dayes after there was not a shaveling in Scotland, to whome tithes, or anie other rents perteaned, but he had, *parcœur*, this article, that the churchmen sould be answered of tithes and rents, and all other duteis; and that no man sould trouble or molest them.

The Lords of the Congregatioun departed frome Edinburgh the 26th of Julie; came first to Linlithquo, and therafter to Stirline, where, after consultatioun, this band following was subscribed:—

THE BAND SUBSCRIBED BY THE LORDS AT STIRLINE.

"We, forseing the craft and slight of our adversareis tending all maner of way to circumvent us, and by privie meanes intending to assaile us everie one, particularlie by faire heghts and promises, therethrough to separate one of us frome another, to our utter ruine and destructioun: For remedie therof, we faithfullie and truelie bind us, in the presence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true religioun, that none of us sall in time comming passe to the queene's Grace dowager, to talke or commune with her, for anie letter or message sent by her unto us, or yitt to be sent, without consent of the rest, and commoun consultatioun therupon; and how soone that either message or writt sould be sent frome her to us, with utter diligence we sall notifie the same, one to another, so that nothing sall proceed therin without consent of us all. At Stirline, the 1st day of August, 1559."

Becaus, heerafter, frequent mentioun will be made of the comfortable support the Congregatioun receaved in their greatest extremitie out of England, the reader sall understand by what meanes it came to passe, that the queene and counsell of England shew themselves so favourable to the Congregatioun. Mr Knox being in Sanct Andrewes, after Couper Muir, entered in discourse with the Laird of Grange. After manie words, Mr Knox burst furth as

followeth:—"If England would forsee their owne commoditie, yea, if they would consider the dangers wherin they stand themselves, they would not suffer us to perishe in this querrell; for France hath decreed no lesse the conquest of England than of Scotland." After long reasoning, it was concluded, that supports be craved of England. For that purpose, the Laird of Grange wrote first to Sir Henrie Percie, and after road from Edinburgh, and spake with him; to whome he made so plaine demonstratioun of the danger appearing to England, that he tooke upon him to write to Secretare Cecill, who, with expeditioun, returned answere backe againe, giving him to understand, that their interprise was not altogether mislyked; but they desired farther resolutioun by the principall lords. The Lords of the Congregatioun wrote a letter to Sir William Cecill, wherin they answere to some questioums conteaned in his letter directed to Sir Henrie Percie, viz.: What the Protestants within this realme doe purpose; to what end they meane to direct their actioums; how they would be able to accomplishe the same; what doubts they have of anie adversarie power; and, finallie, in cace support sould be sent frome England, what amitie would insue therupon, betwixt the two realmes? They answered, their onlie purpose was, as God knoweth, to advance the true religioun; to bridle the furie of these that heretofore have cruellie shed the blood of their brethrein; and to mainteane, to their powers, the libertie of the countrie, and to oppose the tyrannie and thraldome of strangers. As for their abilitie to accomplishe their intentioums, the meanes were unknowne to them; but they hoped, God, who had begunne his worke in them, and, by his power, to that hour, had confounded the faces of the adversareis, would performe the same to his glorie. As for the amitie betweene the two realmes, if the queene and her counsellers could foresee the meanes how the samine[1] might be brought to passe, they assure them of their consent and assistance, and of constancie, to their lives' end, so farre as men might promise; yea, farther, of a charge to be left to their posteritie, that the same amitie might be by them

[1] Same.

keeped inviolated for ever: that their pactioun sall not be like the pactioun of worldlie men, for worldlie profyte; but as they required it for God's caus, so would they incall the name of God, for observatioun of the same. As for anie change in authoritie, it never entered in their thought, till extreme necessitie compelled them therunto. But seing it is now more than evident, that France and the queene regent, with the preests, intend nothing but the supressing of the Gospell, the ruine of the poore countrie, they were resolved to seeke the nixt remedie; committing their caus to God, and the judgement of all godlie and naturall men, and recommending it to their publick prayers. With this letter, Mr Knox wrote another to Secretar Cicill, wherin he desired him to present a letter to the queene, which he had writtin to her. The tenor of his letter to Cicill followeth:—

"With my humble commendatioums, please you, Sir, to deliver this other letter to the queene's Grace. It conteaneth a few and simple words of my confessioun; what I thinke of her authoritie; how it is just, and what may make it odious in God's presence. I heare that there is a confutatioun sett furth against the First Blast. God graunt that the writter have no more sought the favour of this present estate, no lesse the glorie of God, and the stable commoditie of this countrie, than did he who interprised that Blast, to utter his conscience. When I sall have time, which now is somewhat pretious to me, to peruse that worke, I will communicat my judgement with you. The time is now, Sir, that all that either thrist Christ Jesus to raigne in this ile, or yitt the hearts of the inhabitants to be joyned together in love unfaigned, ought rather to studie how the same might be brought to passe, than vainelie to travell for the maintenance of that wherof alreadie we have seene the danger, and felt the smart. If the most part of weomen be wicked, and suche as willinglie we would not sould raigne over us, and if the most godlie, and suche as have rare graces, be yitt mortall, we ought to take heed, least in establishing one judged godlie and profitable to her countrie, we mak an entresse and title to manie, of whome not onlie sall the truthe be impugned, but also sall the coun-

trie be brought in bondage. God give you, and others, favourers of your countrie, eyes to foresee, and wisdome to avoide, the dangers appearing. By diverse letters, I have required license to visite the north parts of England; but as yitt I have receaved no favourable answere. The longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the lesse comfort sall the faithfull there receave; yea, the weaker sall the queen's Grace be. If I were not unto her Grace an unfaigned freind, I would not instantlie[1] begge suche libertie, which, to me, I know, sall neither be profitable nor pleasant in the fleshe. The state of things here commoun I doubt not yee know. Some things I have, as oft I have writtin, which gladlie I would communicate, which I minde not to committ to paper and inke. Find, therefore, the meanes, that I may speake suche a one, as you will credit in all things. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you. I heartlie beseeche you, to have my service humblie commended to the queen's Grace; adding, that whosoever maketh me odious to her Grace, seeketh somewhat besides the glorie of God, and her Grace's prosperitie, therefore cannot be assuredlie esteemed unfained friends. From, &c."

In the letter, itself, to Queene Elizabeth, he denieth not but he wrote the booke against the usurped authoritie and unjust regiment of weomen; but showeth plainlie, that he is not minded to retreate anie principall point and propositioun of the same, till truthe and veritie doe further appeare. That her Grace had no caus to offend, for the booke tuiched not her persoun in speciall; that he did more for her deliverance than anie of these that now accuse him; that he did not invy her regiment, for which he before thristed, and now randered thanks unfainedlie to God. That his booke was not prejudiciall to England, he will not refuse that moderat and indifferent men judge betwixt him and his accusers, whether Papists do most hurt their libertie. "I yitt affirme," sayeth he, "that no woman may be exalted above anie realme, to make the libertie of the same thrall to a stranger." As for his accusers, he might prove, that they were not so faithfull freinds to her Grace, in the day of

[1] Urgently.

her adversitie, nor carefull of their native countrie, as now they would be esteemed. He willeth her to be thankfull to God, who had made that lawfull to her, which nature and law denyed to all weomen. He sayeth plainlie, "Of conscience I am compelled to say, that neither the consent of people, multitude of men, nor processe of time, can establishe a law which God doth not approve." He willeth her to forgett her birth, and all title depending therupon, and to remember how, for feare of her life, she declynned frome Christ, in the day of his battell, and bowed to idolatrie. He willeth her likewise to ground the right of her authoritie, not so muche upon the law, which doth change frome yeare to yeare, as upon the eternall providence of God, who, contrarie to nature, and without her deserts, had exalted her head. If so she would doe, as he glorifeid God for so great a comfort to His afflicted kirk, by so weak an instrument, so would he justifie by tongue and penne her authoritie, as the Holie Ghost hath justifeid the same in Deborah, a "mother in Israel." In end, he signifeith, that he required, by sundrie letters, to visite her realme, which if it be now denyed, he must remitt the caus to God; adding this, for conclusioun, that commounlie it is seene, that suche as refuse the counsell of the faithfull, appeare it never so sharpe, are compelled to follow the deceat of flatterers, to their owne perditioun. This letter was dated the 14th of Julie. It is not extant in the printed historie, becaus the booke was printed in Februar 1586, at Londoun, at which time it was not thought expedient to insert it.

These letters were directed by Alexander Quhytlaw, a man that had oft hazarded himself, and all that he had, for the caus of God, and for his freinds being in danger. Within a day or two after his departure, there was a letter brought frome Sir Henrie Percie to Mr Knox, wherin he craved him to come and meete him at Anwicke, the 3d of August. Secretar Cicill had appointed to have mett him at Stamford. Whill he was preparing himself for his journey, the Frenchemen came out of Dumbar, of purpose to surprize the lords in Edinburgh, as was said before. Mr Knox stayed till God delivered the innocents frome that danger. Then he, and

Mr Robert Hammilton, preacher, were directed frome the lords, with full commissioun and instructioums to lay open their estate. They went frome Pittinweeme by sea, and arived at Holie Iland. Being advertised that Sir Heurie Percie was not in the north, they addressed themselves to Sir James Crofts, Capitan of Berwicke, and Wardane of the East Marches. They shew to him their credite and commissioun. He receiveth them courteouslie, and counselleth them to travell no farther, nor be seene in publick for sundrie causses. First, The queene regent had her spyes in England. Nixt, The queene, and so manie of the counsell that favoured their actioun, would that all things should be secreit, so long as might be. Thridlie, Becaus it was not expedient, in so great raritie of preachers, that they should be long absent frome the lords. He willeth them, therefore, to write their minde, and credite, promising to gett them an answere quicklie. What they could not expresse by letters, he promised to supplie the same not onlie by his penne, but also by his presence, and to informe suche, as would informe the counsell sufficientlie. They followed his advice, for at that time he meant truelie. They remained with him secreitlie, within the castell of Berwick, two days. In the meane time returned Alexander Quhytlaw, with answere to the lords, and to Mr Knox. What were the contents of Mr Knox his letters, which are not extant in the printed booke, may be perceaved by the beginning of Secretare Cicill his letter, which followeth:—

"*Mr Knox non est masculus neque fœmina; omnes enim, ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesus. Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino, et erit Dominus fiducia ejus.* I have received your letters, at the same time that I thought to have seene yourself at Stamford. What is now hitherto the caus of your lett, I know not. I forbear to descend to the bottome of things untill I may confer with such a one as you are. And, therefore, if your chance sall be heerafter to come hither, I wish you furnished with good credite, and power to make good resolutioun. Although my answere to the Lords of the Congregatioun be somewhat obscure, yitt, upon farther understanding, yee sall find the mater plaine. I need to wishe you no

more prudencie than God's grace, wherof God send you plentie. And so I end. From Oxfoord, the 28th of Julie, 1559.

"Yours, as a member of the same bodie in Christ,

"Mr Cicill."

Howbeit Mr Knox receaved his letter at Berwick, yitt would he answere nothing till he had spoken with the lords, whome he found at Stirline, and to whome he delivered the answere sent frome the counsell of England; for Alexander Quhytelaw fell sicke betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh. The answere sent by Mr Cicill was so generall, that manie of their companie despaired of anie comfort to come from that countrie, and therefore resolved to insist no further in their requeists. Mr Knox laboured to perswade them the contrairie; but he could prevaile no farther, but that he sould have libertie to write as he thought best. And so he tooke upon him to answere in forme as followeth, to Secretare Cicill:—

"Two causes impeded me (right worshippfull) to visite you in anie part of England. Former, no significatioun of your minde and pleasure was made unto me; for onlie Sir Henrie Percie willed me to come and speeke with him, which, convenientlie at that time, I could not doe, by reassoun that the Frenchemen, which were the secund caus of my stay, did then most furiously persue us, whill our companie was dispersed. And then durst I not be absent, for diverse inconveniences. Neither did I thinke my presence with you greatlie necessarie, considering that the mater which I most desired was opened and proponed. To the which I would have wished, that a more plaine and special answere sould have beene made; for albeit Mr Quhytelaw by his credit, Mr Kirkaldie by his letter, and I, both by letters, and by that which I had receaved from Sir James Crofts, did labour to perswade them of your good mindes, yitt could not the counsell be otherwise perswaded, but that this alteratioun in France had altered your former purpose. It is not unknowne what favour we three doe beare to England; therefore I wish, that rather your penne than our credite, or anie thing written to anie of us, sould assure the lords and others

(who are now in number but five hundreth) of your good mindes. Unlesse that money be furnished without delay, to pay the soldiours for their service past, and to reteane another thowsand footemen, with three hundreth horsemen, till some stay be had in this danger, these gentlemen will be compelled to leave the feilds. I am assured, as fleshe may be of fleshe, that some of them will take a verie hard life before that ever they compone, either with the queen regent, or yitt with France. But this I darre not promise of all, unlesse in you they see greater forwardnesse. To support us will seeme excessive, and to breake promise with France will appeare dangerous. But the losse of expenses, in my opinion, ought not to be esteemed frome the first payment, neither yitt the danger, from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, that against us they would spend their crowne. So did my eares heare Buttuncourt bragge. But, most assuredlie I know, that unlesse by us they thought to make an entrie to you, that they would not buy our povertie at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money; and some of our number are poore, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a partie in their owne countrie. In this meane time, if ye ly by as neutralls, what will be the end you may easily conjecture. And, therefore, Sir, in the bowells of Christ Jesus, I require you to make plaine answere what the gentlemen heere may trust to, and what the Queene's Majestie will doe, may, without long delay, be putt in execution. Rest in Christ Jesus. From Sanct Johnstoun, the * * day of * * etc."

Answere with expeditioun was returned to this letter, wherin he desired men of credite to be sent from the Lords of the Congregatioun to Berwick to receave money; and promised, that if the lords meant no otherwise than before they had writtin, they sould neither laike men nor money. Heerupon Mr Henry Balnaves, a man of good credite in both the realmes, was directed from the lords to Berwick, and returned quicklie, with als much money as served them till November nixt.

A CONVENTION OF THE LORDS AT GLASGOW.

After that the band was subscribed at Stirline by the lords, the Erle of Argile went to Glasgow, becaus he was to goe to his owne countrie, to pacifie some troubles there raised by the craft of the queene in his absence. He required the Erle of Glencarne, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltrie, and others of Kyle, to meete there, for some order to be takin, that the brethrein be not oppressed; which with one consent they did, and appointed the 10th of September for the nixt conventioun at Stirline. Lord James accompaneid Argile.

THE ERLE OF ARRAN ESCAPETH DEATH OR IMPRISONMENT.

Whill these things were in doing at Glasgow, a servant came with letters from the Erle of Arran to the duke his father, signefeing to him, that, by the providence of God, he had narrowlie escaped from the Frenche king's hands, who had cruellie sought his life, or, at least, to have committed him to perpetuall prisoun. He had uttered his mind somewhat freelie, tuiching the affaires of religioun in France and Scotland, wherat the Guises offended, had destined him to the slaughter. The Cardinall of Lorane had said, in the parliament at Parise, that they sould see shortlie the punishement of one, who sould be a spectacle worthie for princes to behold. When this speeche came to his eares, he called to remembrance, that not long before he had some free communing with the Duke of Guise. When the Frenche king could not gett the erle himself, he committed his younger brother, not lyable to offense, for age, to strait prisoun. These things were furthered by the craft of queene dowager, at what time the duke and his freinds were most readie to further her caus. The duke, after the receate of these letters, craved conference of the Erle of Argile. The erle, against the advice of some that loved him, went from Glasgow to Hammiltoun, where he stayed one night. He declared his judgement to the duke, and to his freinds, speciallie to Mr Gavin Ham-

miltoun. The duke desired the erle and Lord James to write their freindlie and comfortable letters to his sonne, which they did, and thereafter addressed themselves to their journey.

FORGED LETTERS FROM THE KING AND QUEENE OF FRANCE TO LORD JAMES.

The same day that the Erle of Argile and Lord James went from Glasgow, came Buttuncourt from the queene regent with letters, as was alledged, frome the queene and her husband, the King of France, to Lord James, which he delivered with an arrogant countenance, and with manie threatning words. The king in his letter casteth in his teeth the benefites receaved from his father, himself, and his wife, and therefore chargeth him with ingratitude: and therfore challengeth him, that he sould be one of the cheefe mainteanors of tumults and seditioums in the countrie, against that professioun of freindship which he had made to him before; willeth him, therefore, to give a proofe of his good behaviour in time comming, and to reduce all things to their first, and to that obedience which is due to God and him, otherwise he threatneth, that he and his complices sall suffer that which they have deserved. This letter was dated at Parise, the 17th of Julie.

The letter from the queene herself was sharper, and concludeth thus:—"*Vous sentirez la poincture à jamais.*" His credite bare, that the king would spend the crowne of France ere he were not avenged upon suche seditious persouns: that he would never have suspected suche disobedience and defectioun frome his owne sister, as he had found. Lord James answered first by word, and then by writt as followeth:—

LORD JAMES HIS ANSWERE TO THE KING OF FRANCE HIS LETTER.

"Sir,—My duetie remembered: Your Majestie's letters I receaved from Parise, the 17th of Julie last, importing in effect, that your Majestie sould mervell, that I being forgetfull of the graces

and favours showed by the king, of blessed memorie, your Majestie's father, and the queene's Grace, my Soverane, sould declare myself head, and one of the principall beginners of the alledged tumults and seditiouns in these parts, deceaving thereby your Majestie's expectatioun at all times had of me; with assurance, that if I did not declare by contrarie effects my repentance, I, with the rest that had putt, or yitt putteth hand to this worke, sould receave that rewarde which we had deserved and merited. Sir, it greeves me very heavilie, that the crime of ingratitude sould be layed to my charge by your Highnesse; and the rather, that I perceave the same to have proceeded of sinistruous informatioun of them whose part it was not so to have reported, if true service past had beene regarded. And as tuiching the repentance, and declaratioun of the same by contrarie effects, that your Majestie desires I show, my conscience perswadeth me in these proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the ductifull obedience towards your Highnesse, and the queen's Grace, my Soverane, otherwise, it sould not have beene to repent, and sould have beene amended alreadie, according to your Majestie's expectatioun of me. But your Highnesse being truelie informed and perswaded, that the thing which we have done maketh for the advancement of God's glorie, as it doth indeid, without anie derogatioun of the obedience done to your Majestie, we doubt not but your Majestie sall be weill contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandement of the Eternall God, we darre not leave the same unaccomplished. Onlie wishing and desiring your Majestie did know the same, and truthe therof, as we are perswaded in our conscience, and all that are truelie instructed in the eternall Word of our God; upon whome we cast our care for all dangers that may follow the accomplishement of his eternall will, and to whome we commend your Highnesse, beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the Gospell of his eternall truthe, to know your Majestie's ductie toward your poore subjects, God's chosin people, and what yee ought to crave of them again; for then we sould have no occasioun to fear your Majestie's wrathe and indignatioun,

nor your Highnesse's suspicioun of our disobedience; the same God have your Majestie in his eternall safeguarde. At Dumbartan, the 12th of August, 1559."

QUEENE DOWAGER'S CENSURE OF LORD JAMES HIS ANSWERE.

This answere being directed to the queene, our soverane, and Francis, her husband, the queene dowager was bold to open it, as she might very weill, for it was supposed that the former letters were forged heere at home, not weill dyted, and worse translated. When she had read it, she said, "So proud an answere was never given to king, prince, nor princesse." Yitt indifferent men thought he might have answered more sharplie, and not have transgressed the bounds of modestie or truthe. If in plaine words he had affirmed that the greatest benefite which ever he had receaved of them was, to spend in their service that which God by others had provided for him, no man could have convicted him of a lee.

THE PROFESSORS OF EDINBURGH REFUSE TO FORBEARE THE EXERCISE OF RELIGIOUN.

Mr Willocke was requeisted by the brethrein to stay in Edinburgh, when the lords went out of it, least, for laike of ministers, idolatrie sould be erected up againe; for it was thought dangerous that Mr Knox, howbeit he was chosin to be their minister, sould stay at that time. The day after the departure of the lords out of Edinburgh, Mr Willocke preached in the Great Kirk, and exhorted the brethrein to constancie. The duke, and some other of the queen's factioun, were at this and some others of his sermons. This libertie of preaching and resort of people greeved the queene and the Popish factioun. First, they beganne to terrifie the duke with this, that he would be reputed as one of the Congregatioun, if he countenanced the sermons with his presence. Therafter, they craved that masse might be sett up in Sanct Gile's kirk againe, and the people sett at libertie to choose what religioun they would.

alledging that that article was conteaned in the appointment. The duke, the Erle of Huntlie, and Lord Setoun, were sent frome the queene, to solicite everie man to condescend. The duke caried himself as a beholder; the other two were earnest, partlie with perswasioums, and partlie by threatnings. But the brethrein resisted stoutlie, avouching, that of conscience they might not suffer idolatrie to be erected where Christ Jesus was truelie preached, nor the queene or they crave anie suche thing, unlesse the cheefe article of the appointment were violated; for at the time of appointment they injoyed peaceablie the Great Kirk, frome which they could not be removed, till a parliament had decided the controversie. So they went out of the tolbuith frome Huntlie and Setoun. When they could not prevaile that way, they intreated that they would be quiett, and condescend so farre to the queen's pleasure as to choose another place within the toun; or, at least, suffer masse to be said either before or after sermons, in the Great Kirk. It was answered, that, to give place to the devill, who is the cheefe inventer of the masse, for the pleasure of anie creature, they could not. They were in possessioun of that church, which they could not rander, nor yitt suffer idolatrie to be erected, unlesse they were restrained by violence, and then they would seeke the nixt remedie. Then the Erle of Huntlie intreated them to be quiett, and to make no uproare, promising they sould not be molested. They were verie willing; so they continued in the exercise of religioun, and the Lord's Supper was ministred in the verie eyes of the enemeis, to the great comfort of manie afflicted consciences. In the meane time, one part of the Frenchemen were appointed to ly in garrisoun at Leith, the other in the Canogate. This was the first benefite the professors reaped of the appointment.

THE APPOINTMENT VIOLATED BY THE QUEENE REGENT.

After the queene came to the Abbey of Halyrudhous, she caused masse to be said first in her owne chappell, and after in the abbey,

where the altar before was cast doun; discharged the commoun prayers, and forbad to give anie portioun to the young men who read them. She discharged the portions of so manie channons of Cambuskenneth as had forsaken Poperie, and inhibited to answere the Abbot of Lindores of anie part of his living in the north, becaus he had submitted himself to the Congregatioun, and had made some reformatioun in his abbey. By her procurement the pulpit was brokin in the kirk of Leith, and idolatrie erected in it, where before it was suppressed. Her Frenche captans and their souldiours made their commoun deambulatioun in the Great Kirk, talking so loude, that the auditors could not hear perfytlie. Although the minister was often times compelled to crie out against them, and to pray to God to ridde them of suche locusts, they continued in their purpose, devised by the queene to draw the professours of Edinburgh and them to some quarrelling, that there might be some colour of breache of the appointment upon their side. Yitt so they behaved themselves, that no fault could be found, howbeit it was manifest she had violate the appointment in manie points. The Lord Seton, then provcist, without anie occasioun offered, broke a chasse upon Alexander Quhytlaw, as he came frome Preston, accompaneid with Williame Knox, towards Edinburgh, and ceassed not to pursue him till he came to the toun of Ormestoun, suspecting the said Alexander had beene Johne Knox. Till more Frenchemen arrived, the professours brake not one jote of the appointment, except that a horned cap was takin off a proud preest's head, and cutt in foure quarters, becaus he said he would weare it in despite of the Congregatioun.

The queene regent understanding certanlie what forces were to come shortlie from France, ceassed not to inflamme the hearts of the people against the professours, and coloured the necessitie of more forces frome France. To this end, she wrote to the duke as followeth :—

THE QUEENE REGENT'S LETTER TO THE DUKE.

"My Lord and Cousin,—After heartlie commendatiouns: We are informed that the Lords of the Westland Congregatioun intend to mak a conventioun, and assemblie of your kin and freinds upon Gowan Mure, beside Glasgow, on Moonday come eight dayes, the 28th day of August instant, for some high purpose against us; which we can skarslie beleeve, considering they have no occasioun on our part so to do. And albeit yee know the appointment was made against or without our advice, yitt we accepted the same at your desire, and have sensyne made no caus whereby they might be moved to come in the contrarie therof, lyke as we are yitt minded to keepe firme and stable all things promised by you in our behalfe. We thinke, on the other part, it is your duetie to require them, that they violat not their part therof in no wise. And in case they meane anie evill towards us, and so will breake their promise, wee beleeve that yee will, at the uttermost of your power, conveene with us, and compell them to doe that thing which they ought. If they will not, praying you to have yourself, your kin, and freinds, in readinesse to come to us, as yee sall be advertised by proclamatioun, in case the Congregatioun assemble themselves for anie purpose against us, or the tenor of the said appointment, assuring you, without they gather and make first occasioun, we sall not putt you to anie paines in that behalfe; and that yee will advertise us in writt what we may trust to therin, with this bearer, who will show you the fervent minde we beare to have concord with the said Congregatioun, what offers we have made them, and how desirous we are to draw them to the obedience of our soveran authoritie; to whome you sall give credite. And God keepe you. At Edinburgh, the 20th of August, 1559."

THE QUEENE REGENT'S LETTER TO THE BARONS AND GENTLEMEN.

"TRUSTIE FREIND,—After heartie commendatioums: We doubt not but ye have heard of the appointment made beside Leith, betwixt my lord duke, the Erle of Huntlie, and Monsieur d'Osell, on the one part, and the Lords of the Congregatioun on the other, which appointment we have approved in all points, albeit it was takin without our advice, and is minded to keepe all the contents therof for our part. Nevertheless, as we are informed, the saids Lords of the Congregatioun intend shortlie to conveene all suche persons as will assist them, for interprising of some high purpose against us, our authoritie, and tenour of the said appointment, which we cannot beleeve, seing they neither have, nor sall have, anie occasioun givin therto, on our part, and yitt, thinketh it not reasonable, in case they meane anie suche thing; therefore have thought good to give warning to our speciall freinds of the advertisement we have gottin, and among the rest to you, whome we esteeme of that number, praying you to have yourself, your kin, and folkes, in readinesse to come unto us," &c. The rest, word by word, as in the letter to the duke.

THE QUEENE REGENT DELUDETH THE PEOPLE TILL MOE FRENCHE ARIVE.

After that by these letters, and by the deceatefull surmising of her soliciters, she had somewhat stirred up the hearts of the people against the professours, than she beganne to compleane, that they were of minde to invade her persoun; that they would keepe no part of the appointment, and was therefore constrained to crave the assistance of everie man against their unjust persute. Thus practised she craftilie, abusing the simplicitie of the people, that they sould not suddanlie espie for what purpose she brought in her new bands of men of warre, who did arive about the middest of August, to the

number of a thowsand men. The rest were appointed to come after, with Monsieur de la Brosse, and with the Bishop of Amiens. Wise men espyed her deceate, spared not to speeke their judgement liberallie. They foresaw the danger, a plaine conquest intended, and craved remedie in time; for least the people sould stirre, she would not bring in all her forces at once. The greatest part of the nobilitie, and manie of the people, were so inchanted by her treasonable soliciters, that they could not heare nor credite the truthe plainlie spokin. The Frenche, after the arivall of these new bands, beganne to brag, and to divide lands and lordships according to their owne fantaseis; for one was stiled Monsieur d'Argile, another Monsieur le Prior. Some asked rentals and revenues of diverse men's lands.

A PROCLAMATION SET OUT BY THE QUEENE REGENT TO DECEAVE THE PEOPLE.

In the meane time, the queene regent was not ashamed to sett out this proclamatioun following:—

"Forasmuche as we understand, that certane seditious persons have of malice invented and blowin abroad diverse rumors and evill bruites, tending thereby to stirre up the hearts of the people, and so to stoppe all maner of reconciliatioun betwixt us and the subjects, being of the number of the Congregatioun, and, consequentlie, to kindle and nurishe a continuall strife and divisioun in this realme, to the manifest subversioun of the whole estate therof; and amongst other purposes, have maliciouslie devised for that effect, and have perswaded manie, that we have violated the appointment latelie takin, in so farre as anie moe Frenchemen since come in; and that we minde to draw in great forces of men of warre furth of France, to suppresse the libertie of this realme, oppresse the inhabitants therof, and make up strangers with their lands and goods. Which reports are all, God knoweth, most vaine, fained, and untrue. For it is of truthe, that nothing hath beene done on our part since the said appointment, whereby it may be alledged, that anie point ther-

of hath beene contraveened. Neither yitt was, at that time, anie thing communed or concluded to stoppe the sending in of Frenchemen; as may clearlie appeare by the inspectioun of the said appointment, which the bearer heerof hath present to show what number of men of warre be arived. We have suche regard to our honour, and quietnesse of this realme, that in case, in the rowme of everie Frencheman that is in Scotland, there were an hundreth at our command, yitt sould not for that one jote of this promise be brokin, or anie alteratioun made by our provocatioun; but the said proclamatioun truelie and sincerelie sall be observed in everie point, if the said Congregatioun will, in like maner, faithfullie keepe their part therof. Nor yitt meane we to trouble anie man in the peaceable possessioun of their goods and rowmes, nor yitt to enriche the crowne, and farre lesse anie strangers, with your substance. For our deerest sonne and daughter, the king and queene, are by God's providence placed in the rowme where all men of judgement may weill consider, they have no need of anie man's goods; and for ourself, we seeke nothing but duetifull obedience to them, suche as good subjects ought to give to their soverane, without diminutioun of your liberteis and priviledges, or alteratioun of your lawes. Therefore, we have thought good to notifie unto you our good minde forsaid, and desire you not to give care or credite to suche vaine imaginatiouns, wherof, before God, no part entered in our conceate; nor suffer yourselves be thereby led frome your due obedience; assuring you, yee sall ever find with us truthe in promise, and a motherlie love towards you all, behaving yourselves as our obedient subjects. But of one thing we give you warning, that whereas some preachers of the Congregatioun, in their publick sermons, speeke unreverendlie and slanderouslie as weill of princes in generall, as of ourself in particular, and of obedience to higher powers, inducing the people by that part of their doctrine to defectioun frome their duetie, which perteaneth nothing to religioun, but rather to seditioun and tumult, things direct contrarie to religioun; therefore, we desire you to take order in your touns and bounds, that when the preachers repaire thither, they use themselve

more modestlie in these behalfes, and in their preaching not to meddle so much with civill policie and publick governement, nor yitt name us, or other princes, but with honour and reverence, otherwise it will not be suffered. And seing you have presentlie the declaratioun of our intentioun, we desire, likewise, to know what sall be your part to us, that we may understand what to trust for at your hands; whereof we desire a plaine declaratioun in writting, with this bearer, without excuse or delay. At Edinburgh, the 28th of August, 1559."

THE QUEEN'S SEDUCING AGENTS.

This proclamatioun was sent by her messengers through all the countrie. She had her soliciters in everie part, to move men to beleeve her, amongst whome these were the cheefe: Sir Johne Bellendine, Justice Clerk, Mr James Balfour, Officiall of Lothiane, Mr Thomas Scot, and Mr Williame Scot, sonnes to the Laird of Balwerie, Sir Robert Carnegie, and Mr Gawin Hammiltoun. These, for discouraging the hearts of the brethrein, and drawing manie to the queen's factioun against their native countrie, declared themselves enemeis to God, and traitours to the commoun weale. Above all others, Mr James Balfour, of an old professour become now a manifest blasphemer of the truthe, is most to be abhorred.

AN ANSWERE BY LETTER TO THE QUEENE REGENT'S PROCLAMATION.

The answere to this former proclamatioun was made in forme as followeth:—

"To the Nobilitie, Burghes, and Commmaltie of this Realme of Scotland, the Lords, Barons, and other Brethrein of the Christian Congregatioun, wish increase of all wisdome,

with advancement of the glorie of God, and of the commoun wealth.

"The love of our native countrie craveth, the defense of our honours requireth, and the sinceritie of our consciences compelleth us, (deerest brethrein,) to answere some part to the last writting and proclamatioun sett furth by the queen's Grace, regent, no lesse to mak us and our caus odious, than to abuse your simplicitie to your finall destructioun, conspired of old, and now alreadie putt to worke. And first, where she alledgeth, that certane seditious persons have of malice invented and blowne abroad diverse rumours, tending thereby, as she alledgeth, to stirre up the hearts of the people to seditioun, by reasoun that the Frenchemen are creeped in of late in our countrie: true it is, deere brethrein, that all suche as beare naturall love to their countrie, to you, their brethrein, inhabitants therof, to our housses, wives, childrein, the esperance of our posteritie, and shortlie, to our commoun wealth, and the ancient lawes and liberteis therof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth and teares compleane of, the most craftie assaults devised and practised, to the utter ruine of all these things forenamed. And that so manifestlie is gone to work, that even in our eyes, our deerest brethrein, true members of our commoun wealth are most cruellie oppressed by strangers, in so farre as some are banished frome their owne housses: some robbed and spoiled of their substance conquished by their just labours, in the sweare of their browes; some cruellie murthered at the pleasure of these inhumane souldiours; and altogether have their lives in suche feare and dread, as if the enemie were in the middest of them, so that nothing can seeme pleasant unto them which they possesse in the bowells of their native countrie. So neere judged everie man, and not without just caus, the practises used upon their brethrein to approach nixt unto them, their wives, childrein, housses, and substance, which altogether are cast at the feete of strangers, men of warre, to be by them thus abused at their unbridled lust's desire. Now,

if it be seditioun, deere brethrein, to compleane, lament, and powre furth before God the sorrowes and sobs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him for redresse of these enormiteis, (which elles where is not to be found,) and these altogether doe proceed of the unlawfull holding of strange souldiours over the heads of our brethrein; if thus to compleane be seditioun, then, indeed, deere brethrein, can none of us be purged of that crime. For as in verie heart we damne suche inhumane crueltie, with the wicked and craftie pretence thereof, so can we, nor darre we not, neither by mouth speeking, nor yitt by keeping of silence, justifie the same. Neither doe we heere aggravate the breaking of the appointment made at Leith, (which alwise manifestlie hath beene done:) but heerin we remember what oathe we have made to our commoun wealth, and how the duetie we owe to the same compelleth us to crie out, that her Grace, by wicked and ungodlie counsell, goeth most craftilie about utterlie to oppresse the same, and the ancient lawes and liberteis therof, als weill against the King of France his promise, as her owne duetie, in respect of the high promotiouns which she hath receaved thereby, which justlie sould have caused her to have beene indeid that which she would be called, and is nothing lesse in veritie, to witt, a carefull mother over this commoun wealth. But what motherlie care she hath used towards you, yee cannot be ignorant. Have yee not beene, even frome the first entrie of her raigne, ever smitten and oppressed with unaccustomed and more exorbitant taxations than ever were used in this realme? Yea, and how farre was it sought heere, to have beene broght in upon you, and your posteritie, under colour to have been layed up in store for the warres? The inquisitioun to be takin of all your goods, moovable and unmoovable, by way of testament; the seeking of the whole cole and salt of this realme, to be layed up in store and girnell, and she alone to have beene merchant therof, doth teache you by experience some of her motherlie care. Again, what care over your commoun wealth doth her Grace instantlie beare, when even now presentlie, and of a long time bygone, by the ministrie of some who better deserved the gal-

lous than ever did Cochrane,[1] she doth so corrupt the layed[2] money, and hath brought it to suche basenesse, and to suche quantitie of scruffe,[3] that all men who have their eyes open may perceave an extreme beggerie to be brought there-through upon the whole realme, so that the whole exchange and trafficke to be had with forrane natiouns (a thing most necessarie in all commoun wealths) sall thereby be utterlie extinguished. All the gaine receaved thereby is, that she therewith interteaneth strangers above our heads; for brethrein, yee know, that her money hath served for no other purpose in our commoun wealth, this long time bygane. And the impunitie of these wicked ministers, whome latelie we spake off, hath brought the mater to suche a licentious enormitie, and plaine contempt of the commoun wealth, that now they spaire not to breake doun, and convert the good and starke[4] money, coined in our soveran's lesse age, into this their corrupted scruffe, and baggage of hardheids and non-sounts,[5] most alike as she and they had conspired to destroy all the whole good coine of this realme, and, consequentlie, that commoditie of this commoun wealth. Besides all this, their clipped and rouged sousses, which had no passage thir three yeeres bypast in the realme of France, are by commandement made to have course in this realme, to gratifie thereby her new-comed souldiours. All these things together are done without the consent or advice of the nobilitie and counsell of this realme, and manifestlie there-through against our ancient lawes and liberteis. Thridlie, her last and most weightie proceedings more fullie declare the motherlie care her Grace beareth to our commoun wealth and us, when in time of peace, without anie occasioun of forraine warres, thowsands of strangers are layed heere and there upon the neckes of the poore members of this commoun wealth, their idle belleis fed upon the poore substance of the com-

[1] The chief favourite of James III., who, with the other royal favourites, was hanged over the bridge of Lauder by the Scottish nobles, headed by Archibald, Earl of Angus, surnamed *Bell-the-Cat*. Cochrane, on account of his superior share of the royal favour, was hanged on a higher elevation than the rest.

[2] Metal. [3] Dross, alloy. [4] Full-valued.

[5] A derisive term for base coin in general.

munaltie, conquished by their just labours, in the painfull sweate of their browes. This to be true, Dumbar, Northberwick, Trauent, Prestounpannes, Mussilburgh, Leith, Cannogate, Kingorne, Kirkaldie, Dysert, with the depaupered soules that this day dwell therin, can testifie; whose oppressioun, as doubtlesse it is entered in before the justice-seate of God, so ought it justlie to move our hearts, to have pitie and compassioun upon these our poore brethrein, and at our powers to provide remedie for the same. And albeit her strangers had beene furnished with money, as you know weill they were not, yitt can their heere lying be no wise but most hurtfull to our commoun wealth, seing the fertilitie of this realme hath never beene so plentifull, that it was able of anie continuance to susteane itself, and the inhabitants therof, without support of forraine countreis; farre lesse able, beside the same, to susteane thowsands of strangers, wherewith it is burthenned, to the dearthing of all vivers, as the murmure and complaint of Edinburgh this day doth testifie. But to what end the commoun wealth is thus burthenned, the end doth declare: for shortlie were they brought to the feilds against our soveran's true leiges, even us, your brethrein, who (God knoweth) sought nought elles but peace of conscience under protectioun of our soverane, and reformatioun of these enormiteis; for no other cause but that we would not renounce the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and subdue our neckes under the tyrannie of that wicked Man of Sinne, the Roman Antichrist, and his forsworne shavelings, who at that time most tyrannicallie oppressed our soules with hunger of God's true Word, and reft our goods and substances, to waste the same upon their foule lusts and stinking harlotts. But (O deere brethrein) this was not the cheefe intent, and finall scope of her proceedings, as these dayes doe weill declare. For had not God putt into our hearts to withstand that oppressioun with weapons of most just defense, thow, O Sanct Johnstoun and Dundie, had beene in no better state than your sister Leith is this day. For though we in verie deed (God is witnesse) meant then nothing but in the simplicitie of our hearts the maintenance of true religioun, and safetie of our brethrein,

professours of the same, yitt lay there another serpent lurking in the breast of our adversareis, as this day (praise to God) is plainlie opened to all that list to behold; to witt, to bring you and us both under the perpetuall servitude of strangers. For we, being appointed, as yee know, tuiching religioun, to have reasouned in the counsell at the day affixed, and no occasioun made to break the same on our side, (as is weill knowne,) yitt came there furth writtings and complaints, that this day and that day we were prepared to invade her Grace's persoun, when in verie truthe there was never suche thing thought, as deed hath declared. But becaus she was before resolved to bring in Frenchemen to both our destructions, that yee sould not stirre therewith, she made you to understand that these bands came for safetie onlie of her owne persoun. O craft, brethrein! O subtiltie! But behold the end! They are come, yitt not so manie, no, not the sixt part that she desired, and looked for. And how? not onlie with weapons to defend her Grace's person, but with wives and childrein to plant in your native rowmes, as they have alreadie begunne in the toun of Leith, the principall port and staple of this realme, the girnell and furniture of the counsell, and seate of justice. And heere will they dwell, whill they re-enforce them with greater number of their fellow-souldiours, to subdue them the rest, if God withstand not. And yitt her Grace feared nor shamed not to write, if they were an hundreth Frencheman for one Scotish man, yitt they sould harme no man. Tell thou now, Leith, if that be true! If this be not a craftie entrie to a manifest conqueist, forethought of old, judge you, deere brethrein; thus to fortifie our touns, and to lay so strong garrisouns therin, without anie consent of the nobilitie and counsell of this realme; yea, expresse against their minde, as our writting sent to her Grace beareth record. If this be not to oppresse the ancient lawes and liberteis of our realme; and farther, to take the barn-yards now gathered in, the girnells replenished, the housses garnished, and to sitt doun therin; and by force to putt the just possessioums and ancient inhabitants therefrome, with their wives, childrein, and servants, to shift for themselves in begging, if they

have no other meanes, they being true Scotish men, members of our commoun wealth, and our deere brethrein and sisters, borne, fostered, and brought up in the bowells of our commoun and native countrie: if this be not the manifest declaratioun of their old intent and minde, to our whole Scotish natioun, lett your owne conscience, brethrein, be judge heerin. Was all Leith of the Congregatioun? I thinke not; yitt were all alike served. Lett this motherlie care, then, be tried by the fruicts therof, first, by the great and exhorbitant taxatiouns used upon you, and yitt ten times greater preassed at, as yee know; secundlie, the utter depravatioun of our coine, to conquishe therby money to interteane strangers, Frenche souldiours above you, and to make them strongholds, least you sould sometime expell them out of your native rowmes; thridlie, by the daylie re-enforcing of the said Frenche souldiours in strenth and number, with wives and childrein, planted in your brethrein's houses and possessiouns. Indeed, her Grace is, and hath beene, at all times carefull to procure by her craft of faire words, faire promises, and sometimes faire budds,[1] to allure your simplicitie to that point, to joyne yourselves to her souldiours to daunt and oppresse us, that you, the remnant, (we being cutt off,) may be an easie prey to her slights, which God of his infinite goodnesse hath now discovered to the eyes of all that list to behold. But credite the workes, deere brethrein, if yee will not credite us; and lay the exemple of forraine natiouns, yea, even of our brethrein, before your eyes, and procure not your owne ruine willinglie. If you tender true religioun, you see how her Grace beareth her plaine enemie thereto, and mainteaneth the tyrannie of these idle belleis, the bishops, against God's church. If yee be not perswaded of our religioun, yitt cast not away the care you ought to have of your commoun wealth, which you see manifestlie and violentlie ruinated before your eyes. If this will not move you, remember your deere wives, childrein, and posteritie, your ancient heretages and housses, and thinke weill these strangers will regarde no more your right therunto than they have done to your brethrein of Leith, whenever occasioun sall serve. But if you pur-

[1] Bribes.

pose (as we doubt not but all these that either have witt or manhead will declare, and prove indeid) to bruike your ancient rowmes and heretages, conquered most valiantlie, and defended by your most noble progenitors against all strangers, invaders of the same, as the Frenche intend plainlie this day; if yee will not be slaves to them, and have your lives, your wives, your childrein, your substance, and whatsoever is deere unto you, cast at their feete, to be used or abused at the pleasure of strange souldiours, as yee see your brethrein at this day before your eyes; if yee will not have experience heerof, some day, in your owne persons, (as we suppose the least of you all would not gladelie have, but rather would choose with honour to dee in defense of his native rowme, than live and serve so shamefull a servitude,) then, brethrein, lett us joyne our forces, and both with witt and manhead resist their beginnings, or elles our liberteis heerafter sall be deere bought. Lett us be surelie perswaded when our neighbour's housse be sett on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Lett no man withdraw himself herefrome. And if anie would be so unhappie and mischeevous, (as we suppose none to be,) lett us altogether repute, hold, and use him as he is indeid, for an enemie to us, and to himself, and to this commoun weele.

"The eternall and omnipotent God, the true and onlie revenger of the oppressed, be our comfort and protector, against the furie and rage of the tyranns of this world, and speciallie frome the unsatiable covetousnesse of the Gwisian's generatioun. Amen."

Beside this their publick letter, another answere was made to the heads of the proclamatioun, the summe wherof is this:—

ANOTHER ANSWERE TO THE PROCLAMATIOUN.

"It is no seditioun to speeke the truthe in all sobrietie, and to compleane when we are wounded. Our commoun wealth is oppressed; we and our brethrein are hurt by the tyrannie of strangers. We feare boundage, seing multitudes of cruell murtherers

are daylie brought into our countrie without our knowledge, counsell, or consent. It cannot be denied, but that to bring in moe Frenchemen is to violate the appointment. The heaping of strangers upon strangers above us, of ungodlie and idle souldiours, can be nothing elles but an occasioun to famishe our poore brethrein, speciallie being interteaned, as they are, by the queene and Monsieur d'Osell. If their wages be payed out of France, then are they both traitours to the king and counsell; for the poore commouns have susteaned them with the sweate of their browes, since the contracting of the peace, and somewhat before. The cruell murther and oppressioun used by these whome now she fostereth, is a sufficient argument what is to be looked for when her forces sall be multipleid. Our preachers pray for all princes in generall, and the magistrats of our native realme in particular. They teache, that princes and magistrats ought to be honoured even for conscience sake, so that they command nothing repugnant to God's Word. Moreover, they affirme, that if wicked persons, abusing the authoritie established by God, command things manifestlie wicked, that suche as may and doe bridle these inordinat appetites of princes, cannot be accused as resisters to the authoritie, which is God's good ordinance. To bridle the furie and rage of princes, in free kingdoms and realmes, they affirme, it apperteaneth to the nobilitie, sworne and borne counsellers of the same; and also to the barons and people, whose wills and consents are to be required in all great and weightie maters of the commoun wealth. Which if they doe not, they declare themselves criminall with their princes, and so be subject to the same vengeance which they deserve; for that they pollute the seate of justice, and doe, as it were, make God author of iniquitie. Thus, in generall, speeke they of princes. Of your Grace, in particular, one of them said, 'Manie now a dayes will have no other religioun nor faith than the queene and the authoritie have. But is it not possible, that the queene be so farre blinded, that she will have no other religioun nor no other faith than may content the Cardinal of Lorane? And may it not likewise be possible, that the cardinall be so corrupt, that he will admitt

no religioun which doth not establishe the Pope in his kingdome? We cannot forbid our preachers to reprehend that which the Spirit of God, speeking in the prophets and apostles, hath reprehended before them. Eliah did personallie reprove Achab and Jesabell of idolatrie, of avarice, murther, and suche like. Isaias called the magistrats of Jerusalem, in his time, companions of theeves, princes of Sodome, bribe-takers, and murtherers. Jeremie said, the bones of King Jehoiakim sould wither with the sunne. Christ called Herod a foxe. Paul called the High Preest a painted wall; and prayed to God that he would strike him, becaus, against justice, he commanded him to be smittin."

MR KNOX TO MASTRESSE ANNA LOCKE.

Mr Knox wrote a letter frome Sanct Andrewes, the secund of September, to Mastresse Anna Locke, wherin, beside informatioun of things past, he hath these words:—

"I have beene in continuall travell since the day of appointment, and notwithstanding the fevers have vexed me the space of a moneth, yitt have I travelled through the most part of this realme, where (all praise be to his blessed Majestie) men of all sorts and conditiouns embrace the truthe. Enemeis we have manie, by reasoun of the Frenchemen who are latelie arrived, of whom our parteis hope goldin hills, and suche support as we be not able to resist. We doe nothing but goe about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strenth, hoping victorie by his power alone. Christ Jesus is preached even in Edinburgh, and his blessed sacraments rightlie ministred in all congregatiouns, where the ministrie is established: and they be these; Edinburgh, Sanct Andrewes, Dundie, Sanct Johnstoun, Brechin, Montrose, Stirline, Aire. And now, Christ Jesus is begunne to be preached upon the south borders, nixt unto you, in Jedburgh and Kelso, so that the trumpet soundeth over all, blessed be our God. We laike labourers, alas! and yee and Mr Wood have deceaved me, who, according to my requeist and expectatioun, hath not advertised my brother, Mr Gudman."

THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATIOUN CONVEENE TO STIRLINE.

The most part of the Lords of the Congregatioun repaired to Stirline the 10th day of September, as was before appointed. The Erle of Arran, after he had saluted his father, came, with the Erle of Argile and Lord James, to this conventioun. Some good men compleaned of the tyrannie used against their brethrein, and that moe Frenchemen were brought in, to oppresse the countrie. After consultation certane dayes, the cheefe lords went with Arran and the Erle of Argile to Hammiltoun, to consult with the duke. In the meane time were they certifeid that the Frenchemen had begunne to fortifie Leith. As this did more evidentlie discover the queen's craft, so did it deepelie greeve the hearts of the noblemen there conveened; heerupon, with one consent they write to her as followeth:—

"At Hammiltoun, the 29th of September, 1559.

"Please your Grace. We are crediblie informed that your armie of Frenchemen sould instantlie beginne to plant in Leith, to fortifie the same, of minde to expell the ancient inhabitants therof, our brethrein of the Congregatioun. We mervell not a little that your Grace sould so manifestlie breake the appointment made at Leith, without anie provocatioun made by us and our brethrein. And seing the same is done without anie maner of consent of the nobilitie and counsell of this realme, we esteem the same not onlie oppressioun of our poore brethrein, indwellers of the said toun, but also verie prejudiciall to the commoun wealth, and plaine contrarie to our ancient lawes and liberteis. Therefore we desire your Grace to cause the same work interprised be stayed, and not to attempt so rashlie, and so manifestlie against your Grace's promises, against the commoun wealth, the ancient lawes and liberteis therof; which things, beside the glorie of God, are most deere unto us, and onlie our intent: otherwise, assuring your Grace, we will compleane to the whole nobilitie and communaltie of this realme, and most

earnestlie seeke for redresse thereof. Thus recommending our humble service unto your Highnesse, your Grace's answere most humblie we desire, whome we comitt to the eternall protection of God.

"By your Grace's humble and obedient servants.

"At Hammiltoun, day and yeere foresaid."

This letter was subscribed by the lord duke, the Erles of Arran, Glencarne, and Menteith, the Lords Ruthven, Uchiltree, Boyd, and by diverse others, barons and gentlemen.

THE QUEENE LABOURETH TO DRAW THE DUKE TO HER FACTIOUN.

The queene regent would not answere by writt, but she sent Sir Robert Carnegie and Mr David Borthwick, with a letter of credite. These two, amongst manie, she abused, and by them corrupted the hearts of the simple. They travell with the duke, to bring him to the queen's factioun. Their aime was to perswade the duke to putt all in the queen's will. It was answered, that no honest man durst commit himself to the mercie of suche throt-cutters as she had about her. If she would remove them, and be advised by a counsell of naturall Scotish men, permitting religioun to have free passage, then sould none in Scotland be more willing to serve her Grace, than sould the Lords and Brethrein of the Congregatioun be. La Brosse, and Nicholas Pelve, Bishop of Amiens, had arived shortlie before. It was bruited, they were directed as ambassaders; but they brought with them moe souldiours. What was the effect of their negociatioun time did declare. At the same time, the duke and the lords wrote to the Lord Areskine, captan of the castell of Edinburgh, as followeth:—

THE LORDS' LETTER TO THE LORD ARESKINE.

"My Lord and Cousine,—After our heartilie commendatiouns: this present is to advertise you, that we are crediblie informed, that

the armie of Frenchemen instantlie in this realme, without anie advice of the counsell or nobilitie, hath fortifeid, or elles shortlie intendeth to fortifie, the toun of Leith, and to expell the ancient inhabitants therof; wherby they proclame to all that will open their eares to heare, or eyes to see, what is their intent. And seing the faithfulnesse of your antecessors, and speciallie of your father, of honorable memorie, was so recommended and experimented to the estats and counsellers of this realme, through affectioun they perceaved in him towards the commoun wealth therof, that they doubted not to committ to his keeping the key, as it were, of the counsell, justice, and policie of this realme, the castells of Edinburgh and Stirline, we cannot but beleeve, you will rather augment the honorable favour of your hous, by stedfast favour and loyaltie to your commoun wealth, than through the subtile perswasiouns of some, (which care not what after sall become of you and your hous, and at the present would abuse you, to the performance of their wicked interprises and intentiouns against our commoun wealth,) utterlie destroy the same. And, heerfore, seing we have writtin to the queen's Grace, to desist frome that interprise, otherwise that we will compleane to the nobilitie and communaltie of the realme, and seeke redresse therof; we likewise beseeche you, as our tender freind, brother, and member of the said commoun wealth, that you in no wise meddle nor assent to that ungodlie interprise against the commoun wealth, and likewise, that yee would save your bodie, and the jewells of this countrie committed to you, and your predecessors' loyaltie and fidelitie towards your native countrie and commonn wealth, if yee thinke to be reputed hecrafter one of the same, and that yee would be rather brother to us than to strangers. For we doe gather by the effects the secreits of men's hearts, otherwise unsearchable to us. Thus we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warne you of the danger, if yee suffer yourself to be inchanted with faire promises, and craftie counsellers. For lett no man flatter himself. We desire all man to know, that though he were our father, (seing God hath opened our eyes to see his will,) be he enemie to the commoun wealth which is now as-

saulted, and we with it, and all true members therof, he sall be knowne as he is indeid, enemie to us, our lives, our housses, babes, heretages, and whatsoever is conteaned within the same. For as the shippe perishing, what can be safe that is within, so the commoun wealth being betrayed, what particular member can live in quietnesse? And, therefore, in so farre as the said castells are committed to your credite, we desire you to show your faithfulnesse and stoutnesse, as yee tender us, and whatsoever apperteaneth to us. And seing we are assured, that yee will be assaulted both with craft and force, as now by warning we helpe you against the first, so against the last, yee sall not misse in all possible haste to have our assistance. Onlie show yourself a man. Save your persoun by wisdome, strenthen yourself against force, and Almightie God assist you both against the one and the other, and open the eyes of your understanding to see and perceave the craft of Satan and his supposts. At Hammilton, the 29th of September.

"By your Brethrein."

THE LORDS INFORME THE COUNTRIE OF THE QUEENE REGENT'S PROCEEDINGS.

The duke and lords understanding that the fortificatioun of Leith proceeded, appointed their whole forces to conveene at Stirline, the 15th day of October, that frome thence they might marche fordward to Edinburgh, to redresse the outrages committed by the Frenche in the countrie so oppressed by them, that the lives of all honest men were bitter unto them. The lords directed letters to divers parts of the countrie, making mentioun what dangers were imminent, if the Frenche were suffered to plant themselves in this countrie; how they had craved of the queene regent to send away her Frenchemen, and yitt she augmented their number daylie; and how they had brought their wives and barnes with them, which was a plaine declaratioun of the conqueist.

The queene regent perceaving that her craft beganne to be espied, sent furth her pestilent posts forenamed to all parts of the

countrie, to perswade everie man that she had offered all kinde of reasoun, and that nothing was intended but a plaine revolt frome the authoritie. She tempted everie man in particular, als weill these of the Congregatioun as these that were neutralls. She sent the Justice-Clerk to the Lord Ruthven. Large promises were made to him, if he would leave the Congregatioun, and joyne to her factioun. Mr Johne Spence of Condie was sent, the 30th of September, to Lord James, Pryour of Sanct Andrewes, with a letter and credite, as followeth:—

1. "Yee sall say, that her great favour toward you moveth her to this.

2. "That she now knoweth, that the occasioun of your departing frome her was, the favour of the Word, and of religioun, with the which, albeit she was offended, yitt knowing your heart, and the hearts of other lords firmlie fixed therupon, she will beare with you in that behalfe, and at your owne sights she will sett fordward that caus at her power, as may stand with God's Word, the commoun policie of this realme, and the prince's honour."

(Note, good reader, what venome lurketh heere. For plaine it is, that the policie which she meant, and the prince's honour, will never suffer Jesus Christ to raigne in this realme.)

3. "To say, that the occasioun of assembling of these men of warre and fortifeing of Leith is, that it was given her to understand, that it was not the advancement of the Word and of the religioun which they sought at this time, but rather a pretence to overthrow or alter the authoritie of your sister, of the which she beleeveth still that yee are not participant; and considering the tendernesse betwixt you and your sister, she trusted more in you, in that behalf, than in anie living."

(But before the Erle of Arran arrived, and that the duke departed frome her factioun, she ceased not continuallie to crie that the pryour sought not onlie to deprive his sister, to make himself king, but also to defraude the duke and his

hous. Now, foreseing a storme, she beganne to seeke a new winde.)

4. "She farther offered to send away the men of warre, if the former suspicioun could be removed. She lamented the troubles that appeared to follow, if the mater sould stand long in debate. She promised her faithfull labours for reconciliatioun, and required the like of him. She required farther faith, honour, and kindnesse towards his sister, and to advertise what he desired, with promise that he sould obteane what he desired."

THE LORD JAMES HIS ANSWERE TO THE LETTER AND CREDITE.

"PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—I receaved your Highnesse's writting, and have heard the credite of the bearer. But finding the businesse of such importance, that dangerous it were to give haistie answere, and your petitiouns suche, that with my honour, I cannot answere them privatlie by myself, I have thought good to delay the same, till I may have the judgement of the whole counsell. This point I will not conceale frome your Grace, that amongst us there is a solemne oath, that none of us sall traffick with your Grace secreetlie, neither yitt that anie of us sall make addresses for himself particularlie; which oath, for my part, I purpose to keepe unviolated to the end. But when the rest of the noblemen sall conveene, I sall leave nothing that lyeth in my power undone, which may make for the quietnesse of this poore realme, provided that the glorie of Christ Jesus be not hindered by our concord. And if your Grace sall be found so tractable as now yee offer, I doubt not to obteane of the rest of my brethrein suche favour towards your service, as your Grace sall have just occasioun to stand content; for God I take to record, that in this actioun I have neither sought, neither yitt seeke, anie other thing than God's glorie to encreasse, and the libertie of this poore realme to be mainteaned. Farther, I have shewed to your messinger what things have misliked me in your proceedings, even frome suche a heart as I would wishe to God you and all men sould know. And this, with heartie

commendatioums of service to your Grace, I heartilie committ your Highnesse to the eternall protectioun of the Omnipotent. At Sanct Andrewes, the first of October, 1559.

"Your Grace's humble and obedient,

"J. St."

This answere being returned, she raged, as hypocrisie useth when it is pricked; and perceaving that she could not worke what she would, at the hands of men particularlie, she sett furth the proclamatioun following:—

THE QUEENE REGENT'S SLANDEROUS PROCLAMATION.

"Forasmuche as it is understood by the queen's Grace, that the Duke of Chatterelault hath latelie directed his missives unto all parts of this realme, making mentioun, that the Frenchemen, latelie arived with their wives and childrein, are begunne to plant themselves in Leith, to the ruine of the commoun wealth, which he and his partakers will not passe over with patient beholding, desiring to know what will be everie man's part; and that the fortificatioun of Leith is a purpose devised in France, and that, therefore, Monsieur de la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens are come to this countrie; a thing so vaine and untrue, that the contrarie therof is knowne to all men of free judgement: therefore, her Grace, willing that the occasioun whereby her Grace was moved so to doe be made patent, and what have beene her proceedings since the appointment last made on the Linkes beside Leith, to the effect that, the truthe of all things being made manifest, everie man may understand how unjustlie that will to suppresse the libertie of this realme is layed to her charge, hath thought expedient to make this discourse following.

"First, Although after the said appointment, diverse of the said Congregatioun, and that not of the meanest sort, have violentlie brokin the points therof, and made sundrie occasioums of new cumber, the same was in a part winked at, and overlooked, in hope

that they in time would remember their duetie, and absteane frome suche evill behaviour. Which conversioun her Grace ever sought, rather than anie punishement, with suche care and solicitude, by all meanes, that in the meane time nothing was provided for her owne securitie. But, at last, by their frequent messages to and from England, their intelligence was then perceaved. Yitt her Grace trusted the Queene of England (lett them seeke as they please) will doe the office of a Christian princesse, in time of a sworne peace, through which force was it to her Grace, seing so great defectioun of great personages, to have recourse to the law of nature. And like as a small bird being persued, will provide some nest, so her Grace could doe no lesse in cases of persute, but provide some sure retreate for herself and her companie: and to that effect, choosed the toun of Leith, becaus it was her deerest daughter's propertie, and no other persoun could claime title or entresse thereto; and also, becaus, in times before, it had beene fortifeid. About the same time that the seeking support of England was made manifest, arived the Erle of Arran, and adjoyned himself to the Congregatioun, upon further promises than the pretended querell of religioun, that was to be sett up by them in authoritie, and so to pervert the whole obedience. And as some of the Congregatioun, at the same time, had putt to their hands, and takin the castell of Broughtie, put furth the keepers therof, immediatlie came frome the said duke to her Grace, unlooked for, a writting, beside manie other, compleaning of the fortificatioun of the said toun of Leith, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants therof, brethrein of the same Congregatioun wherof he then professed himself a member. And albeit that the bearer of the said writting was an unmeete messinger in a mater of suche consequence, yitt her Grace directed to him two persons of great credite and reputatioun, with answere, offering, if he would caus amenes to be made for that which was committed against the lawes of the realme, to doe farther than could be craved of reasoun; and to that effect, to draw some conference, which, for enlaike of him and his colleagues, tooke no end. Neverthelesse, they, continuallie since, continue in their do-

ings, usurping the authoritie, commanding and charging free burghes to choose proveists and officers of their naming, and to assist them in the purpose they would be at; and they will not suffer provisioun to be brought, for sustentatioun of her Grace's housse. A great part have so plainlie sett aside all reverence and humanitie, that everie man may know, that it is not mater of religioun, but a plaine usurpatioun of the authoritie. And no doubt but simple men of good zeale in former times therewith falslie have beene deceaved. God, who knoweth the secreits of all hearts, weill knoweth, and the world sall see by experience, that the fortificatioun of Leith was devised for no other purpose but for recourse to her Highnesse and her companie, in case they were persued. Wherefore, as good subjects, that have the feare of God in their hearts, will not suffer themselves by such vaine perswasioums to be led away from their due obedience, but will assist in defense of their soveran's querrell, against all suche as sall persue the same wrongfullie, therefore, her Grace ordeaneth the officers of armes to passe to the mercat croces of all the head burghes of this realme, and there, by open proclamatioun, command and charge all and sundrie the lieges therof, that none of them tak in hand to putt themselves in armes, nor tak part with the said duke or his assisters, under the paine of treasoun."

Manie judged the narratioun of the queene regent to have beene true; others understood the same to be utterlie false. But becaus the lords desired all men to judge in their caus, they sett out the declaratioun subsequent:—

THE LORDS' ANSWERE TO THE PROCLAMATIOUN.

"We are compelled, unwillinglie, to answere the greevous accusations most unjustlie layed to our charge by the queene regent and her perverse counsell, who ceasse not, by all craft and malice, to make us odious to our deerest brethrein, naturall Scotish men, as if we intended no other thing but the subversioun and overthrow of all just authoritie, when (God knoweth) we sought nothing but

that suche authoritie as God approved by his Word be established, honoured, and obeyed amongst us. True it is, that we have compleaned, and continuallie must compleane, till God send redresse, that our commoun countrie is oppressed with strangers; that this inbringing of souldiours, with their wives and childrein, and planting of men of warre in our free touns, appeareth to us a readie way to conquest. And we most earnestlie require all indifferent persons to judge betwixt us and the queene regent in this caus, to witt, whether our complaint be just or not. For, for what other purpose sould she thus multiplie straugers upon us, but onlie in respect of conquest, which is a thing not of late devised by her, and her avaricious hous? We are not ignorant that six yeeres agoe the questioun was demanded of a man of honest reputatioun, what number of men was able to daunt Scotland, and to bring it to the full obedience of France? She alledgeth, that 'to say that the fortificatioun of Leith is a purpose devised in France, and that for that purpose were Monsieur de la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens sent to this countrie, is a thing so vaine and untrue, that the contrarie is notorious to all men of free judgement.' But evident it is, whatsoever she alledgeth, that since their arrivall, Leith was begunne to be fortifeid. She alledgeth that she, seing the defectioun of great personages, was compelled to have recourse to the law of nature, and like a small bird persued, to provide for some sure retreate to herself and her companie. But why doth she not answere, for what purpose she did bring in her new bands of men of warre? Was there anie defectioun espied before their arrivall? Was not the Congregatioun under appointment with her? Which, whatsoever she alledgeth, she is not able to prove that we have violated in anie cheefe point, before that her new throt-cutters arrived, yea, before that they beganne to fortifie Leith, 'a place,' sayeth she, 'most convenient for her purpose;' as, indeid, it is, for receaving strangers at her pleasure: for if she had feared the pursuite of her bodie, she had the Inche, Dumbar, and Blackenesse, forts and strenths alreadie made. Yea, but these could not so weill serve her turne as Leith, becaus it was her 'daughter's propertie.

and none other could have title unto it, and becaus it had beene fortifeid of before.' That all men may know the just title her daughter and she had to the toun of Leith, we sall in few words declare. It is not unknowne to the most part of this realme, that there hath beene an old hatred and contentioun betwixt Edinburgh and Leith; Edinburgh continuallie seeking to possesse the libertie which, by donatioun of ancient kings, they have long injoyed, and Leith, on the contrarie, aspiring to a libertie and freedome in prejudice of Edinburgh. The queene regent, a woman that could make her profite at all hands, was not ignorant how to compasse her owne mater. Therefore, secreetlie, she gave advertisement to some of Leith, that she would make their toun free, if that she might doe it with anie colour of justice. By which promises, the principall men of the toun travelled with the Laird of Restalrig, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whome the superioritie of Leith apperteaned, to move him to sell his whole title and right to the queene soverane, for certane summes of money, which the inhabitants of Leith payed with a large taxatioun; more to the queene regent, in hope to be made free, in despite and defraude of Edinburgh. Which right and superioritie, when she had gottin, and when the money was payed, the first fruicts of their libertie they now eate with bitternesse; to witt, that strangers sall possesse their toun. This is the just title which her daughter and she might claime to that toun. And where she alledgeth that it was fortifeid before, we aske, if that was done without consent of the nobilitie and estats of the realme, as now she and her craftie counsellers doe, in despite and high contempt of us, the lawfull and borne counsellers of this realme? How farre we have sought support of England, or of anie other prince, and how just caus we had and have so to doe, we sall shortlie make manifest to the world, to the praise of God's holie name, and to the confusioun of all those that slaunder us in so doing. For this we feare not to confesse, that as in this our interprise against the devill, idolatrie, and the mainteaners of the same, we cheeflie and onlie seeke God's glorie to be notifeid unto man, sinne to be punished, and vertue to be mainteaned, so

where power faileth of our selves, we will seeke it wheresoever God sall offer the same. And yitt, in so doing, we are assured neither to offend God, neither yitt to doe anie thing repugnant to our dueteis. We heartilie praise God, who moved the heart of the Erle of Arran to joyne himself with us, his persecuted brethrein. But how malicious a lee it is, that we have promised to sett him up in authoritie, the issue sall declare. God we take to record that no suche thing hath entered into our hearts; neither yitt hath the said erle, neither anie to him perteaning, moved unto us anie suche mater; which, if they sould doe, yitt are we not so slender in judgement, that, inconsideratelie, we would promise that which after we would repent. We speeke and write to the praise of God's glorie, the least of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawfull authoritie, than she or her counsell doth practise the office of suche as worthilie may sitt upon the seate of justice; for we offer and we performe all obedience which God hath commanded. For we neither denie toll, tribute, honour, nor feare to her nor her officers: we onlie bridle her blind rage, in the which she would erect and mainteane idolatrie, and would murther our brethrein who refuse the same. But she doth utterlie abuse the authoritie established by God, she profaneth the throne of his Majestie on earth; making the seate of justice, which ought to be the sanctuarie and refuge of all godlie and vertuous persons, unjustlie afflicted, to be a denne and receptacle of theeves, murtherers, idolaters, whoormoongers, adulterers, and blasphemers of God, and all godlinesse. It is more than evident what men they are, and long have beene, whome she, by her power, mainteaneth and defendeth; and also what hath beene our conversatioun, since it hath pleased God to call us to his knowledge whome now, in her furie, she cruellie persecuteth. We denie not the taking of the hous of Broughtie; and the causses being considered, we thinke that no naturall Scotishman will be offended at our fact. When assured knowledge came unto us that the fortificatioun of Leith was begunne, everie man beganne to enquire, what danger would ensue to the rest of the realme, if the Frenche sould plant themselves in diverse places; and what were the places

that might most annoy us. In conclusion, it was found, that the taking of the said hous by Frenchemen sould be destructioun to Dundie, and hurtfull to Sanct Johnstoun, and to the whole countrie; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, which we did, for preservatioun of our brethrein and commoun countrie. It is not unknowne what enemeis these two touns have, and how gladelie would some have all good order and policie overthrowne in them. The conjectures that the Frenche were of minde shortlie to have takin the same place are not obscure. Whatsoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we, as said is, have prevented the danger. And would God that power had beene in this same maner to have closed their interprise at Leith! for what trouble this poore realme sall indure, before that these murtherers and unjust possessors be removed frome the same, the issue will declare. If her accusatioums against my lord duke's Grace, and that we refused conference, be truelie and simplie spokin, we will not refuse the judgement of these verie men whome she alledgeth to be of suche reputatioun. They know that the duke's Grace did answere, that if the realme might be sett at libertie frome the boundage of these men of warre, which presentlie did oppresse it, and were so fearefull to him and to his brethrein, that they were compelled to absent themselves frome the places where she and they made residence, that he and the whole Congregatioun sould come, and give all duetifull obedience to our soverane, her daughter, and to her Grace, as regent for the time. But to enter in conference, so long as she keeped above him and his brethrein that fearefull scourge of cruell strangers, he thought no wise man would counsell him. And this his answere we approve; adding, further, that she can make us no promise which she can keepe, nor we can credite, so long as she is forced with the strenth, and ruled with the counsell of France. We are not ignorant that princes thinke it good policie to betray their subjects, by breaking of promises, be they never so solemnlie made. We have not forgottin what counsell she and Monsieur d'Osell gave to the duke, against those that slue the cardinall, and keeped the castell of Sanct Andrewes; and was this: that what

promise they list to require, sould be made unto [them;] but als soone as the castell were randered, and things brought to suche passe as was expedient, that he sould chope the heads frome everie one of them: to which the duke answered, that he would never consent to so treasonable an act, but if he promised fidelitie, he would faithfullie keepe it. Monsieur d'Osell said in mockage to the queene, in Frenche, 'That is a good, simple nature, but I know no other prince that so would doe.' If this was his judgement in so small a mater, what have we to suspect in this our caus? For the question is, not of the slaughter of one cardinall, but of the just abolishing of all tyrannie which that Roman Antichrist hath usurped above us; of the suppressing of idolatrie, and of the reformatioun of the whole religioun, by that vermine of shavelings utterlie corrupted. Now, if the slaughter of a cardinall be a sinne irremissible, as they themselves affirme, and if faith ought not to be keeped to hereticks, as their owne law speeketh, what promise can she, that is ruled by the counsell and commandement of a cardinall, make to us, that can be sure? Where she accuseth us, that we usurpe authoritie; we command and charge free burghes to choose proveists and officers of our naming, &c.; we will that the whole burghes of Scotland testifie, in that case, whether we have used anie kinde of violence, but lovinglie exhorted suche as asked our support, to choose suche to office as had the feare of God before their eyes, loved equitie and justice, and were not noted with avarice and brybing. But wounder it is, with what face she can accuse us of that wherof we are innocent, and she so openlie criminall, that the whole realme knoweth her iniquitie in that case. Hath she not compelled the toun of Edinburgh to reteane a man to be their proveist,[1] most unworthie of anie regiment in a weill ruled commoun wealth? Hath she not enforced them to take bailiffes at her appointment; and some of them so meete for their office in this troublesome time, as a sowter is to stirre a shippe in a stormie day? She compleaneth, that we will not suffer provision to be made for her hous. In verie deed, we unfainedlie repent, that before this we

[1] Lord Seton.—*Author's note.*

tooke not better order, that these murtherers and oppressors, whome she intendeth to nourishe for our destructioun, had not beene disappointed of their great provisioun of victualls, which she and they have gathered, to the great hurt of the whole countrie. But, as God sall assist us in times comming, we sall doe diligence somewhat to frustrat their devilish purpose. What both she and we intend, we doubt not but God (who cannot suffer the abuse of his owne name long to be unpunished) sall one day declare, and to him we feare not to committ our caus. Neither yitt feare we at this present to say, that against us she maketh a malicious lee, where she sayeth, that it is not religioun we goe about, but a plaine usurpatioun of the authoritie. God forbid that suche impietie sould enter in our hearts, that we sould make his holie religioun a cloke and cover of our iniquitie! Frome the beginning of this controversie, it is evidentlie knowne, what have beene our requests; which, if the rest of the nobilitie and commmaltie of Scotland will caus to be performed unto us, if then there appeare in us anie signe of rebellioun, lett us be reputed and punished as traitours. But, while strangers are brought in to suppresse us, our commoun wealth, and posteritie; while idolatrie is mainteaned, and Christ Jesus his true religioun despised; while idle belleis and bloodie tyranns, the bishops, are mainteaned, and Christ's true messingers persecuted; while, finallie, vertue is contemned, and vice extolled, while that we, a great part of the nobilitie and commmaltie of this realme, are most unjustlie persecuted, what godlie man can be offended, that we sall seeke reformatioun of these enormiteis, yea, even by force of arms, seing that otherwise it is denyed to us? We are assured, that neither God, nor nature, nor anie just law, forbiddeth us. God hath made us counsellers, by birth, of this realme; nature bindeth us to love our owne countrie, and just lawes command us to support our brethrein unjustlie persued; yea, the oath that we have made to be true to this commoun wealth compelleth us to hazard whatsoever God hath given us, before that we see the miserable ruine of the same. If anie thinke it is not religioun which now we seeke, we answere, that it is nothing elles but the zeal to

true religioun which moveth us to this interprise. For as the enemie doth craftilie foresee, that idolatrie cannot be universallie mainteaned unlesse we be utterlie suppressed, so doe we consider, that the true religioun, the puritie wherof we openlie require, cannot universallie be erected, unlesse strangers be removed, and this poore realme purged of these pestilences which before have infected it. And, therefore, in the name of the Eternall God, and of his Sonne Jesus Christ, whose caus we susteane, we require all our brethrein, naturall Scotishmen, presentlie to consider our requeists, and, with judgement, to discerne betwixt us and the queene regent and her factioun; and not to suffer themselves to be abused by her craft and deceate, that either they sall lift their weapons against us, their brethrein, who seeke nothing but God's glorie, either yitt that they abstract from us their just and ductifull support, seing that we hazard our lives for preservatioun of them and us, and of our posteritie to come; assuring suche as sall declare themselves favourers of her factioun, and enemeis unto us, that we sall repute them, whensoever God sall putt the sword of justice in our hands, worthie of suche punishement as is due for suche as studie to betray their countrie into the hands of strangers."

MR ROBERT LOCKHART TRAVELLETH BETWIXT THE QUEENE REGENT AND THE CONGREGATIOUN.

This their answere was spread in some places, but not universallie. In the meane time, the queene's posts ranne with all possible expeditioun, to draw men to her devotioum. Mr Robert Lockhart, a man weill thought of for his professioun, yitt not so wise to dresse suche affaires as was requisite, offered to travell betwixt the queene regent and the Congregatioun. The queene, knowing his simplicitie, was glade to employ him for her owne advantage. He could not be perswaded but the queene meant sincerelie, that she would advance religioun to the uttermost of her power. He promised in her name that she would putt away her Frenchemen, and would be ruled by the counsell of naturall Scotishmen. When it was an-

swered, "If she were so minded, she could find fitter mediators," he feared not to affirme, that he knew more of her minde than all the Frenche or Scotish that were in Scotland; yea, than her owne brethrein that were in France. He travelled with the Erle of Glencarne, the Lords Uchiltree and Boyd, the Laird of Dun, and the preachers, to whome he had certane secreet letters which he would not deliver, unlesse they would make a faithfull promise that they sould never reveele the contents. It was answered, they could make no suche promise, by reasoun they were sworne one to another, and all of one bodie, that they sould have no secreet intelligence nor dresse with the queene regent, but that they sould communicat with the great counsell whatsoever she proponed to them, or they did answere to her, as by this answere, writtin by Mr Knox to the queene regent, may be understood.

MR KNOX HIS LETTER TO THE QUEENE REGENT.

"My duetie humblie premissed: Your Grace's servant, Mr Robert Lokhart, most instantlie hath required me and others, to whome your Grace's letters, as he alledged, were directed, to receave the same in secreit maner, and to give him answere accordinglie. But becaus some of the number that he required were and are upon the great counsell of this realme, and, therefore, are solemnelie sworne to have nothing to doe in secreit maner, neither with your Grace, neither yitt with anie other that cometh frome you, or from your counsell, and so they could not receave your Grace's letters upon suche conditions as the said Mr Robert required, therefore thought he good to bring to your Grace againe the saids letters, closed. Yitt, becaus, as he reporteth, he hath made unto your Grace some promise in my name, at his requeist I am content to testifie by my letter and subscriptioun, the summe of that which I did communicate with him. In Dundie, after manie words betwixt him and me, I said, that albeit diverse sinistruous reports had beene made of me, yitt did I never declare anie evident tokin of hatred or inimitie against your Grace. For if it be the office of a

verie freind, to give true and faithfull counsell to them whome he seeth runne to destructioun for laike of the same, I could not be proved enemie to your Grace, but rather a freind unfained. For what counsell I had givin to your Grace, my writtings, als weill my letter and additioun to the same now printed, as diverse others which I wrote frome Sanct Johnstoun, doe testifie. I farther added, that suche an enemie was I unto you, that my tongue did both perswade and obteane, that your authoritie and regiment sould be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till you declare yourself open enemie to this commoun wealth, as now, alas! yee have done. This I willed him, moreover, to say to your Grace, that if yee, following the counsell of flattering men, having no God but this world and their bellie, proceed in your malice against Christ Jesus, and his religioun, and true ministers, that yee sould doe nothing elles but accelerat and hasten God's plague and vengeance upon yourself and your posteritie; and that yee, if ye did not change your purpose hastilie, sould bring yourself in suche extreme danger, that when yee would seeke remedie, it sould not be so easie to be found as it had beene before. This is the effect and summe of all that I said at that time; and willed him, if he pleased, to communicate the same to your Grace. The same yitt again I notifie unto your Grace, by this my letter, writtin and subscribed at Edinburgh, the 6th day of October, 1559.

"Your Grace's to command in all godlinesse,

"JOHNE KNOX.

"*Postscriptum*.—God move your heart yitt in time to consider, that yee fight not against men, but against the Eternall God, and against his Sonne Jesus Christ, the onlie Prince of the kings of the earth."

THE PROFESSORS ALMOST DIVIDED BY SUBORNED SEDUCERS.

Mr Robert Lokhart was so offended, that he would not deliver his letter, and alledged they were injurious to the queene regent if

they suspected anie craft in her. It was answered by one of the preachers, that time would declare whether he or they were deceaved. This was the end of his travell for that time, after that he had troubled the consciences of manie godlie and quyet persons: for he, and others her hired posts, ceassed not to blow in the eares of everie man, that the queene regent was heavilie dealt with; that she required nothing but obedience to her daughter; that she was content true religioun sould goe fordward; that all abusses sould be abolished. Manie, and speciallie the brethrein of Lothiane, beganne to murmure, and suspect that they sought another thing than religioun, and so ceassed to assist them, certane dayes after they were come to Edinburgh. Thus were the professors seduced by the pestilent posts forenamed, speciallie Mr James Balfour.

The duke and the Lords of the Congregatioun marched with their forces frome Stirline to Edinburgh, the 16th of October. After consultatioun in counsell, they sent to the queene regent this advertisement following:—

THE SECUND ADVERTISEMENT OF THE LORDS SENT TO THE QUEENE REGENT.

"It will please your Grace to reduce to your remembrance how, at our last conventioun at Hammiltoun, we required your Highnesse in most humble maner to desist frome the fortifeing of this toun of Leith, then enterprised and begunne; which appeared to us, and yitt doth, an entrie to a conqueist, and overthrow to our liberteis, and altogether against the lawes and customes of this realme, seing it was begunne, and yitt continueth, without anie advice and consent of the nobilitie and counsell of this realme. Wherefore now, as of before, according to our duetie to our commoun wealth, we most humblie require your Grace to caus your strangers and souldiours depart the said toun of Leith, and make the same patent, not onlie to the inhabitants, but also to all Scotish men, our soveran ladie's lieges: assuring your Highnesse, that if, refusing the same, ye declare thereby your evill minde towards the commoun wealth and libertie of this realme, we will, as be-

fore, move and declare the causse to the whole nobilitie and communaltie of this realme. And according to the oath which we have sworne, for maintenance of the commoun weale in all maner of things to us possible, we will provide remedie; therefore requiring most humblie your Grace's answere in haste with the bearer, becaus, in our eyes, the act continuallie proceeds, declaring a determinatioun of conquest which is presumed by all men, and that not without caus. Thus, after our commendatioun of service, we pray Almightie God to have your Grace in his eternall tuitioun."

These letters receaved, the messinger was threatned, and deteaned a whole day, and after dismissed without anie other answere, but that she would send an answere when she thought expedient. In the meane time, becaus the duke was still slaundered of usurpatioun of the authoritie, he was compelled, with sound of trumpet, at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, to make his purgatioun, the 19th of October, as followeth:—

THE DUKE HIS PURGATION.

"Forasmuche as my Lord Duke of Chattelerault, understanding the false reports made by the queene regent against him, that he and his sonne, my Lord Arran, sould pretend usurpatioun of the crowne and authoritie of this realme, when, in verie deed, he nor his said sonne never once minded suche things; but onlie in simplicitie of heart moved, partlie by the violent persute of religioun, and the true professours therof, partlie by compassioun on the commoun wealth, and poore communaltie of this realme oppressed with strangers, he joyned himself to the rest of the nobilitie, with all hazard to support the common caus of the one and of the other; hath thought expedient to purge himself and his said sonne, in presence of you all, as he had done in presence of the counsell, of that said crime of old, even by summons, layed to his charge, the secund yeere of the raigne of our soverane ladie; which malice hath continued ever against him, most innocent of that crime, as experience beareth witnesse; and plainlie protesteth, that neither he nor his said sonne sueth, nor seeketh anie pre-eminence either

to the crowne or authoritie, but als farre as his puissance may extend, is readie, and ever sall be, to concurre with the rest of the nobilitie, his brethrein, and all others whose hearts are tuiched to mainteane the commoun causes of religioun and libertie of their native countrie, plainlie invaded by the said regent and her said souldiours, who onlie doe forge suche vaine reports, to withdraw the hearts of true Scotish men frome the succour they ow, of boundin duetie, to their commoun weale oppressed. Wherefore, exhorting all men that will mainteane the true religioun of God, or withstand this oppressioun, or plaine conqueist interprised by strangers upon our native Scotishmen, not to credite suche false and untrue reports, but rather to concurre with us, and the rest of the nobilitie, to sett your countrie at libertie, expelling strangers out of the same. Which doing, yee sall shew yourselves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was established for maintenance of the commoun wealth, and true members of the same."

The 21st of October, Robert Forman, Lyoun Herald King of Armes, came frome the queene regent to the lords, with a letter of credite and instructions amplie sett doun by Buchanan, and translated by Holinshed, as followeth:—

THE HERALD'S CREDITE.

"First of all, yee sall shew unto them, that nothing could happin unto us more contrarie to our opinioun, than that there sould be anie other having authoritie heere besides my daughter, and her husband, my sonne-in-law, upon whom all our authoritie doth depend: that the former acts of the nobilitie, and this present requeist, or rather commandement, doth weill declare, that they acknowledge no other superioritie; and that their demands, or rather threatnings, with what shew of words so ever they be cloked, are sufficientlie eneugh knowne to us as no new things. Againe, yee sall require of the Duke of Chattelerault, that he call to minde what he hath promised to us by his words, and to the king by his letters, which was, that he would not onlie hearken unto the king's

commandement, but also worke, that his sonne, the Erle of Arran, sould not at all joyne with these tumults of the countrie; whether the things which he now doth are the performance of his promises. To their letters also yee sall answere, that we have openlie shewed our endevoure to bring things to quiet; that we will graunt to anie thing which may not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight with their duetie towards their king and queene; and that I did never so muche as once thinke of the overthrow of their lawes and liberteis, and muche lesse so muche as dreame of conquering the kingdome by violence. For to whom, or for whom, sould I seeke the kingdome, when my daughter doth alreadie possesse it? Tuiching the defense and fortifeing of Leith, yee sall aske them this: Whether that we at anie time have attempted anie thing that way, before that they, with manie assembleis, and at lenth with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie shew, that they would shake off the lawfull governement; and before that they had their pleasure, troubled the whole publick estate, (unknowne to us, who hold the place and authoritie of the cheefest governour,) strenthened their factioums with strong citeis, and made league and covenant with our ancient enemeis? And, to omitt other things, what caus can they in the end bring furth, that it was lawfull for them to reteane an armie at Edinburgh, to invade the governours of these affaires, and that it is not lawfull for us at Leith, for our owne defense and safetie, to have anie other guarde about us? Truelie, they seeke this therin, that we sould labour to shunne their furie (as hitherto we have done) by continuall and daylie change of places. Is there anie thing in their letters that mentioneth their duetie to the right magistrat? Doth there ly open anie way for the restoring of concord? Or doe they show anie tokin, that they would have these seditioums pacifeid, and that they would all things sould be reduced to their former estate? Let them cloke this with what colour they will of publick commoditie, yitt it is manifest, that they thinke and seeke nothing lesse; for if they had onlie stayed upon a concord, we have often shewed them a way therunto. Neither are they ignorant, that these Frenche

had by commandement of their king beene long before dispatched out of Scotland, unlesse their doings had beene the caus of their stay. Wherefore, if they will yitt now offer anie honest conditions which may induce us to hope, and that (the majestie of the gouvernement alwayes saved sound) may declare that they will modestlie and obedientlie obey their superiours, we will refuse no meanes to restore a concord and quiett amongst them and us, nor omitt anie thing that may tend to the publick commoditie. Neither are we alone so affected towards them, but also their king and queene, who hath sent to them a worthie Knight of the Order of Scallopshell, and one of the cheefe of the ecclesiasticall order, with letters and commandements tuiching the same, whome they did so contemne, as that they would not vouchsafe them answere, no, not so muche as hearing. Wherefore you sall demand and command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of what conditioun so ever, that they depart in sunder, or otherwise that they sall not be keeped together, unlesse it be by streuth of armes;" (or, as Buchanan's words doe beare, "under the pain of rebellioun.")

A CONSULTATIOUN WHAT COURSE TO BE TAKIN WITH THE QUEENE REGENT.

Manie of her pretexts were alreadie answered by the lords, in their declarations and answeres to her proclamations. It did not appeare that La Brosse, Knight of the Order of the Cockill, and the Bishop of Amiens, did seeke peace, but threaten warre. The Bishop of Amiens had brought with him three doctors of Sorbone, to dispute, if need required. But that was not their cheefe purpose, for La Brosse had brought with him two thowsand souldiours. Therefore they were not heard, least the lords sould seeme to have beene compelled to accept conditiouns answerable to their minde. But seing they would crave peace among weapons, they would provide for the like. Alwise the answere received, the credite heard, the conceaved malice espied, it was concluded, after consultatioun, that the herald sould be staved till farther determinatioun

was takin. The whole nobilitie, barons, and burgesses then present, were commanded to convene in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, the same day, the 21st of October. The whole mater was opened up by the Lord Ruthven. It was propouned, whether she that so contemptiblie refused the humble requeist of the borne counsellers of the realme, being but regent, ought to be suffered so tyrannicallie to impyre above them. It was thought expedient the judgement of the preachers sould be craved. Johne Willocke, who before had susteaned the burthein of the church in Edinburgh, was first desired to speeke his minde. First, he affirmed, that albeit magistrats be God's ordinance, having of him power and authoritie, yitt is not their power so largelie extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his Word. Secundlie, that as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrats, so are the magistrats commanded to give some ductie to their subjects; so that God by his Word hath prescribed the office of the one and the other. Thridlie, that albeit God hath appointed magistrats lieutenants on earth, and hath renowned them with his owne title, calling them Gods, that yitt he did never so establishe anie, but for a just caus they might have beene deprived. Fourthlie, that in deposing of princes, and these that have beene in authoritie, God did not alwayes use his immediat power, but sometimes he used other meanes, which His wisdome thought good, and justice approved. As by Asa, He removed Maacha, his owne mother, frome honour and authoritie, which before she had used; by Jehu, He destroyed Joram, and the whole posteritie of Achab; by diverse others He hath deposed from authoritie these whome before He had established by his owne Word. Heerupon he concluded, that sith the queene regent denyed her cheefe ductie to the subjects of this realme, which was, to minister justice to them indifferentlie, to preserve their liberteis frome invasioun of strangers, and to suffer them to have God's Word freelie and openlie preached among them; seing, moreover, that the queene regent was an open and obstinat idolatresse, a vehement mainteaner of all superstitioun, and utterlie despised the counsell and requeists of the nobilitie, he could see no reasoun why

they, the borne counsellers, the nobilitie and barons of the realme, might not justlie deprive her from all regiment. Heerafter was the judgement of Mr Knox required, who, approving the sentence of his brother, added: First, that the iniquitie of the queene regent, and her misorder, ought in no wise to withdraw neither their hearts nor the hearts of other subjects frome obedience due to their soverans. Secundlie, that if they deposed the queene regent rather of malice and privat invy, than for the preservatioun of the commoun wealth, and for that her sinnes appeared incurable, that they sould not escape God's just punishment, howsoever she had deserved rejectioun frome honours. Thridlie, he required, that no sentence sould be pronounced against her, but so that, upon knowne and open repentance, and upon her conversioun and submissioun to the nobilitie, place sould be granted to her of regresse to the same honours frome which, for just causses, she justlie might be deprived. The voices of everie man by himself being required, as he would answere to God, there was none among the whole number that did not with his tongue consent to the act of suspensioun, which was committed to writt, and registred as followeth:—

THE ACT OF SUSPENSION OF THE QUEENE REGENT'S REGIMENT.

"At Edinburgh, the 21st day of October, 1559, the nobilitie, barons, and burgesses conveened to advise upon the affaires of the commoun wealth, and to aide, support, and succour the same, perceaving and lamenting the interprised destructioun of their said commoun weale, and overthrow of the libertie of their native countrie by meanes of the queene regent, and certane strangers, her privie counsellers, plaine contrarie to our soveran lord and ladie's minde, and direct against the counsell of the nobilitie, to proceed by little and little even to the uttermost, so that the urging necessitie of the commoun weale may suffer no longer delay, and earnestlie craveth our support. Seing, therefore, that the said queene regent (abusing and overpassing our soveran lord and ladie's commissioun, givin and graunted to her) hath in all her proceedings pur-

sued the barons and burgesses within this realme, with weapons and armour of strangers, without anie processe and order of law, they being our soveran lord and ladie's true lieges, and never called nor convict of anie crime in anie lawfull judgement. As, first, at Sanct Johnstoun, in the moneth of May, she assembled her armie against the toun and inhabitants, never called nor convict of anie crime, for that they professed the true worship of God, conforme to his most sacred Word. And, likewise, in the moneth of June last, without anie lawful order or calling going before, invaded the persons of sundrie noblemen and barons with force of armes conveened at Sanct Andrewes, onlie for caus of religioun, as is notoriouslie knowne, they never being called nor convict of anie crime. Again, layed garrisouns the same moneth upon the inhabitants of the said toun, oppressing the queen's true lieges, for feare of which her garrisouns, a great part of the inhabitants therof fled frome the toun, and durst not resort again to their housses and heritages, untill they were restored by armes, they, notwithstanding, never being called nor convict in anie crime. And, further, that same time did thrust in upon the heads of the inhabitants of the said toun, proveist and bailiffs, against all order of electioun, as latelie in this last moneth of September she had done in the touns of Edinburgh and Jedburgh, and diverse other places, in manifest oppressioun of our liberteis. Last of all, declaring her evill minde toward the nobilitie, communaltie, and whole natioun, hath brought in strangers, and daylie intendeth to bring in greater forces, intending a manifest conquest of our native rowmes and countrie, as the deed itself declareth, in so farre as she, having brought in the said strangers without anie advice of counsell and nobilitie, and contrare to their expresse minde sent to her Grace in writt, hath placed and planted her said strangers in one of the principall touns and ports of the realme; sending continuallie for greater forces, minding thereby to suppresse the commoun weale and libertie of our native countrie, to make us and our posteritie slaves to strangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to commoun wealths and free countreis, so is it verie prejudiciall to our soveran ladie, and her heyres what-

soever, in case our soveran lord decease without heyres of her Grace's persoun. And to performe these her wicked interprises, conceaved (as appeareth) of inveterate malice against our whole countrie and natioun, caused without anie consent or advice of the counsell and nobilitie, to coine leyed money, so base and of suche quantitie, that the whole realme sall be epauperated, and all traffieke with forraine natioums everted thereby. And againe, her Grace placeth and mainteaneth, against the pleasure of the counsell of this realme, a stranger in one of the greatest offices of credite in this realme; that is, in keeping of the great seale therof, whereby great perells may be engendred to the commoun weale and libertie therof. And further, latelie sent the great seale furth of this realme, by the said stranger, against the advice of the said counsell, to what effect God knoweth; and hath also, by his meanes, altered the old law and custome of our realme, ever observed in the graces and pardons granted by our soverans to all their lieges, being repentant of their offenses committed against their Highnesse, or the lieges of this realme; and hath introduced a new captious stile and forme of the said pardons and remissioums, according to the practises of France, tending thereby to draw the said lieges of this realme by processe of time into a deceavable snare; and farther sall creepe in the whole subversioun and alteration of the remanent lawes of this realme, contrarie to the contents of the appointment of mariage. And als peace being accorded among the princes, reteaneth the great armie of strangers, after commandement sent by the King of France to retire the same, making excuse that they were reteaned for suppressing the attempts of the lieges of this realme, albeit the whole subjects therof of all estats is, and ever have beene, readie to give all duetifull obedience to their soverans, and their lawfull ministers, proceeding by God's ordinance. And the same armie of strangers not being payed in wages, was layed by her Grace upon the neckes of the poore commumaltie of our native countrie, who were compelled by force to defraude themselves, their wives, and childrein, of that poore substance which they might conquishe with the sweate of

their browes, to satisfie their hunger and necessiteis, and quite the same, to susteane the idle belleis of their strangers, through the which in all parts rose suche heavie lamentatioun and complaint of the communaltie, accusing the counsell and nobilitie of their sleuth; that as the same oppressioun, we doubt not, hath entered in before the justice-seate of God, so hath it moved our hearts to pitie and compassioun. And for redressing of the same, with other great offenses committed against the publick weale of this realme, we have conveened heere, as said is, and as often times before have most humblie, and with all reverence, desired and required the said queene regent to redresse the said enormiteis, and speciallie to remove her strangers fronie the neckes of the poore communaltie, and to desist from interprising of fortificatioun of strenths within this realme, against the expresse will of the nobilitie and counsell of the same. Yitt we being conveened the more strong, for feare of her strangers, whome we sall presume no other thing, but with armes to persue our lives and possessioums, besought her Grace to remove the feare of the same, and to make the toun patent to all our soveran lord and ladie's lieges, the same in no wise would her Grace graunt. But when some of our companie in peaceable maner went to view the toun, there was both great and small munitioun shott at them. Seing, therefore, that neither accesse was graunted, nor yitt her Grace would joyne herself to us, to consult upon the affaires of our commoun wealth, we being borne counsellers of the same, by the ancient lawes of the realme, but fearing least the judgement of the counsell would reforme, as necessitie required, the forsaid enormiteis, she refused all maner of assistance, and by force and violence intendeth to suppresse the liberteis of our commoun weale, and us, the favourers of the same. We, therefore, so manie of the nobilitie, barons, and proveists of our burghs as are tuiched with the care of the commoun weale, (unto the which we acknowledge our selves not onlie borne, but also sworne protectors and defenders, against all and whatsoever invaders of the same;) and moved by the forsaid notorious proceedings, and with the lamentable complaint of the oppressioun of our communaltie, our

fellow-members: perceaving farther, that the present necessitie of our commoun weale may suffer no delay, being conveened, as said is, presentlie in Edinburgh, and rypelie advised, taking the feare of God before our eyes, for the causses forsaid, which are notorious, with one commoun consent, and vote everie man in order, his judgement being required in name and authoritie of our soverane lord and ladie, suspend the said commissioun granted by our said soverane to the said queene dowager; discharging her of all administratioun of authoritie she hath, or may have thereby, till the nixt parliament, to be sett by our advice and consent. And that, becaus the said queene, by the forsaid faults notorious, declareth her self enemie to our commoun weale, abusing the power of the said authoritie, to the destructioun of the same. And, likewise, we discharge all members of her said authoritie fromc hencefurth; and that no coine be coined from hencefurth without expresse consent of the said counsell and nobilitie, conforme to the lawes of this realme, which we mainteane; and ordeane this to be notifeid and proclamed by Officers of Armes, in all head burghs within this realme of Scotland. In witnesse of which, with our commoun consent and free vote, we have subscribed this present act of suspensioun with our hands, day, yeere, and place foresaid. *Sic subscribitur*,

"By us, the Nobility and Commouns of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland."

After that this act of suspensioun was proclamed by sound of trumpet at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, the herald was dismissed with this answere following:—

THE ANSWERE OF THE LORDS TO THE QUEENE REGENT.

"Please your Grace,—We receaved your answere, and heard the credite of Lyoun King of Armes, whereby we gathered sufficientlie your perseverance in evill minde toward us, the glorie of God, our commoun weale, and libertie of our native countrie. For

safetie of the which, according to our duetie, we have, in our soveran lord and ladie's name, suspended your commissioun, and all administratioun of policie which your Grace may pretend thereby, being most assuredlie perswaded, that your proceidings are direct contrarie to our soverane lord and ladie's will, which we ever esteeme to be for the weale, and not for the hurt, of this our commoun wealth. And as your Grace will not acknowledge us, our soverane lord and ladie's lieges, for your subjects and counsell, no more will we acknowledge you for anie regent or lawfull magistrat unto us, seing, if yee have anie authoritie by reasoun of our soveran's commissioun granted unto your Grace, the same for most worthie reasouns is worthilie suspended by us, in the name and authoritie of our soverans, whose counsell we are of in the affaires of this our commoun weale. And forasmuche as we have determined, with hazard of our lives, to sett that toun at libertie wherin yee have most wrongouslie planted your souldiours and strangers, for the reverence we owe to your persoun, as mother to our soverane ladie, we require your Grace to transport your person therefrom, seing we are constrained, for the necessitie of the commoun weale, to show the same by armes, being denyed of the libertie therof by requisitiouns made of before. Attoure,[1] that your Grace will caus depart with you out of the said toun, anie persoun having commissioun of ambassadrie, if anie suche be, or lieutenantship from our soverans, together with all Frenche souldiours that are within the same, whose blood we thrist not, becaus of the old amitie and freindship betwixt the realme of France and them; which amitie, by occasioun of the mariage of our soverane ladie to the king of that realme, sould rather encreasse than decresse. And this we pray your Grace and them both to doe within the space of twentie-foure houres, for the reverence we owe to your persons. Thus recommending our humble service to your Grace, we committ your Highnesse to the eternall protectioun of God. At Edinburgh, the 24th of October.

"Your Grace's humle servitaires."

[1] Moreover.

LEITH SUMMONED.

The day following, the Lords of the Congregatioun summouned the toun of Leith, by sound of trumpet, desiring the Scots and Frenche within, in their soveran and the counsell's name, to desist frome fortifeing and mainteaning that toun, and to mak it free and patent to all and sundrie our soveran ladie's lieges, within the space of twentie-foure houres. Defiance being givin, there was skirmishing without great slaughter; preparatioun of scales and ledders. The scales were appointed to be made in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh. The hearers, in time of sermon, were greatlie troubled. The preachers, offended at this and other misorders, affirmed that God could not suffer suche contempt of his Word to be long unpunished, and feared not to say, that they feared the successe of that interprise sould not be prosperous, becaus the beginning appeared to bring with it some contempt of God and his Word.

SUBORNED MEN BEWRAY THE SECREETS OF THE LORDS, AND PROCURE DISORDERS AMONG THEIR SOULDIOURS.

The queene regent had among them her spyes, who did not onlie signifie unto her what was their estate, but also what was their counsell, purposes, and devices. Some of their owne counsell were muche suspected, for by Mr James Balfour, Officiall of Lothian his boy, a missive was intercepted, which he was careing to the queene regent, reveeling things knowne but to verie few. So their determinatioums and purposes were often times overthrowne and changed. The duke was terifeid by his freinds, and manie were troubled by his feare. The men of warre, for the most part, were men without God or honestie. They made a mutinie, becaus they laiked a part of their wages. They did the like before at Linlithquho, where they made a proclamatioun, that they would serve anie man, to suppresse the Congregatioun, and sett up masse again. They invaded my Lord Argile's Hieland men, and slue one of the princi-

pall boyes of his chamber. He, notwithstanding, so behaved himself in pacifeing the tumult, that manie woundered as weill at his owne wisdome and courage, as at the obedience of his companie. The ungodlie souldiours continued, notwithstanding, in their misorders. They mocked the Laird of Tullibardin, and other noblemen, who exhorted them to quietnesse. All these troubles were devised by the queene and her counsellers, and putt in executioun by tratours among themselves.

MEANES DEVISED FOR MONEY TO THE SOULDIOURS.

To pacifie the souldiours, a collectioun was aimed at. But beaus some were poore, some niggard, a sufficient summe could not be obteaned. It was thought expedient, therefore, that everie nobleman sould coine his silver warke, to supplee the present necessitie. David Forresse, Johne Hart, and others, who before had charge of the coine-hous, promised their furtherance. But when the mater came to the verie point, the said Johne and others of his factioun conveyed themselves away, and tooke with them the instruments serving for that purpose. Whether this was done through the falshood and feeblenesse of the said Johne, or the practising of others, it is uncertane. It was therefore concluded, by some few in secreit, that Sir Rawfe Sadler, and Sir James Crofts, then having charge of Berwick, sould be tried if they would support them with a reasonable summe. The Laird of Ormiston was directed unto them. Yitt was their counsell disclosed to the queene regent. The Erle Bothwell was appointed to ly in waite for him. He came upon him unawares, wounded him in the head, and tooke him; for neither could he gett his led horse, nor his steele bonnet. With him was takin the summe of foure thowsand crownes, which the forenamed had sent.

CRICHTON CASTELL SPOILED.

The lords hearing that Ormeston was surprised, and fearing that he was either slaine, or to be delivered to the queene, were muche greeved. The Erle Bothwell had sent three dayes before Mr Michael Balfour his servant to them to Edinburgh, to purchase licence to come and speeke with them, which was granted, after that he had promised that, in the mean time, he sould not molest them, or anie belonging to them, till his answere was givin, whether he would joyne with them or not. He made some semblance that he would leave the queene, and joyne with them; and yitt, in the meane time, he traterouslie wounded and spoiled the gentleman. The Erle of Arran, Lord James, and the Master of Maxwell, with the most part of the horsemen, went out to seeke him if they might apprehend him. He being advertised, fled out of Crichton, and tooke with him the money, as Johne Somervell, captan of the castell, confessed, after he had randered the castell. The noblemen committed the hous to the custodie of Captane Forbesse, tooke up an inventare of all the movables, and gave a charge that all sould be furth comming till the erle answered whether he would make restitutioun before the going doun of the sunne the nixt day following. But he, lifted up in his owne conceate with the discomfiture of the citicens of Dundie, in their absence, refused restitutioun. Within two dayes after, his hous was spoiled, wherin was nothing of importance but his evidences,[1] and some clothes. But after this time the lords despaired of anie safe convoy of money.

THE FIRST DISCOMFITURE OF THE CONGREGATIOUN.

The same day that the lords went out, that is, the last of October, the proveist and burgesses of Dundie, together with some souldiours, went out of Edinburgh towards Leith, and careid with them some great ordinance. The duke, the Erle of Glencarne,

[1] Title-deeds.

and the rest of the noblemen, were gone to sermon. The Frenchemen being advertised by one named Clerk, that the most part of the horsemen were absent with some of the lords, and that the rest of the lords were at dinner, saillied out, and came with speed to the great ordinance. After some little resistance, the burgesses being deserted by the ungodlie souldiours, were forced to retire, and leave the cannons to the Frenche, who persued them to the middest of the Cannogate, and to the foote of Leith Wynde. The maimed, the aged, the weomen and childrein, found no greater favour in their furie, than did the strong man that made resistance. When upon the first alarmme, all men made haste for releefe of their brethrein, and might easilie have saved them, a shout was raised among themselves, as if the Frenche had beene entered at Leith Wynde, not without some shew of treasoun. Heerupon, the horsemen, and some of those who ought to have putt order to others, road over their poore brethrein. The crie riseth; the feeble, among whome was the Justice-Clerk, Sir John Ballendine, fled without anie stay. With great difficultie could they be kept in at the West Port. Mr Gawin Hammiltoun cried aloud, "Drinke now as yee have brewed!" The Frenche perceaving the fray, persued to the middest of the Cannogate, to no great number. In the meane time, the rest retired with the ordinance. The Erle of Argile and his men were the first that stayed the fleing, and caused open the port, which was shutt. Lord Robert Stewart, Abbot of Halyrudhous, saillied furth first; after him followed manie, and persued after the Frenche. At last, the duke went furth. Then, no man was bussier than Mr Gawin Hammiltoun. The Frenche burnt a bake-hous in the Cannogate, and tooke some spoile frome the poore. They slue a drunkin preest, Sir Thomas Sklatter; an aged man, a woman giving sucke, and a sucking childe, and ten souldiours of the lords' side. Captane Mewat, Mr Charles Geddesse, servant to the Master of Maxwell, and some others, were takin. The castell that day shott a shott at the Frenche, whereby the captan declared himself to be a freind to the lords, and an enemie to the Frenche; but he suddanlie repented of weill-doing. The queene, sitting upon the ram-

peir at Leith, welcomed her victorious souldiours. One brought a kirtle, another a petticoate, the thrid a pott or a panne. Of invy, more than womanlie laughter, she asked in Frenche, "Where bought yee your ware? I thinke yee have bought it without money." This was her motherlie care she had of the poore subjects! After this discomfiture and disappointment of money, with great difficultie could men be reteaned in the toun; yea, some of great account resolved with themselves to desist frome that interprise. Manie conveyed themselves away secreetlie: these that abode, verie few excepted, appeared to be destitute of counsell and curage. The Master of Maxwell, a man both stout and wittie, desired that suche order might be takin, that either they might remaine to the terrour of the enemie, or that they would withdraw themselves, with their ordinance and banner displayed. But they being dashed, never abode three or foure together in one opinioun, the space of twentie-foure houres. The queen's practisers did then sett themselves on worke. They moved the Lairds of Cesfurd and Phernihirst, who once had joyned themselves with the lords, to withdraw themselves and their freinds. They dealt after the same maner with the Erle of Morton, who promised to joyne with them, but had not as yitt done it openlie. They intised the captan of the castell to deny them support in case they were persued.

THE SECUND DISCOMFITURE.

Upon Moonday, the 5th of November, the Frenche sailied out of Leith earlie in the morning, to intercept the victualls which were careid to Edinburgh. These within the toun were so divided in opiniouns, that neither they did take heed when the Frenche sailied furth, nor followed them with suche expeditioun as was requisite. The souldiours could skarse be drivin out at the ports. The Erle of Arran, Lord James, and a certane number with them, made haste. Manie honest men followed with suche expeditioun, that the Frenche retired somewhat affrayed. The Frenche at Leith, perceaving their fellowes in danger, sailied out. The Erle

of Arran and Lord James, being more fordward than circumspect, compelled the captans, as was alledged, to bring their souldiours so neere, that either they must hazard battell with the whole companeis of the Frenche, or elles retire to a verie narrow corner; for their souldiours had approached neere to Restalrig. The one part of the Frenche marched toward the sea, on the north, the other frome Leith to Edinburgh, and yitt so, that the lords could not fight with either of the companeis before they joyned together. They purposed to retire toward the toun with expeditioun, least the other companie sould have invaded the toun before they could come to defend, or elles to have cutt them off frome the entrie at the Abbey of Halyrudhous; as apparentlie they had done, if the Laird of Grange and Alexander Quhytlaw, with a few horsemen, had not stayed both their horsemen and their footemen. The other companie of the Frenchemen, which was neerest them, sent furth with speed three or foure hundreth skirmishers. The lords' companeis were enclosed betwixt the myre of Restalrig and the parke ditche, so that they could not avoide their shott. The horsemen followed, and slue diverse. Their owne horsemen road over diverse of their owne footemen. So through narrownesse of the place no resistance was made. The Erle of Arran and Lord James lighted among the footemen; exhorted them to keepe good order, and to have respect to the safetie of their brethrein, whom, by fleing, they exponed to murther. Captan Alexander Halyburton, a man fearing God, stayed with certan of his souldiours, till he was shott and takin. After he was knowne, he was deadlie wounded. He was brought in to the toun, where he gave a notable confessioun of his faith, and thanked God he had spent his blood in defense of so just a caus. There were slaine, beside, to the number of twentie-foure or threttie men, poore for the most part. The Laird of Pitmillie, the Laird of Phairnie, younger, the Master of Buchan, George Lowell of Dundie, Johne Dumbar, lieutenant to Captan Mowat, and some others of lower estate, were takin prisoners; Captan David Murrey was hurt in the leg.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE CONGREGATIOUN OUT OF EDINBURGH.

William Matlane of Lethington, younger, secretarie to the queene, perceaving himself to be suspected as one that favoured the Congregatioun, and to stand in danger of his life if he sould remaine at Leith, beaus he spaired not to utter his minde in controverseis of religioun, he conveyed himself out of Leith a little before Alhallow Eve, and randered himself to Mr Kirkaldie, Laird of Grange. He assured the lords there was nothing but craft and falshood in the queene. He travelled to reteane the lords together, and shew the danger might ensue upon their departure. The Erle of Arran and Lord James offered to stay, if anie reasonable companie would stay with them. But feare and dread had seazed almost upon all, for manie did steele away; yea, some of the greatest resolved they would not stay. Lord Areskine, captan of the castell, would promise no freindship, but said plainlie, he must needs declare himself freind to these that were able to support and defend him. This answere was givin to Lord James. Those who before had determined to susteane the uttermost, so that the castell would stand their freind, were discuraged, and abandonned the toun. The lamentatioun of the brethrein of Edinburgh was pitifull. The wicked then begaune to spew furth their venome. The godlie would have preferred death to life at God's pleasure. The lords, to avoide danger, concluded to depart at midnight. The duke sent his ordinance before him. The rest were left to the care of the captan of the castell, als weill that which apperteaned to Lord James, as that which apperteaned to Dundie. The wicked railed upon them with their despitefull tongues, calling them tratours and hereticks, everie one inciting another to cast stones at them. One cried, "Alas that I might see!"—another, "Fy! advertise the Frenche, for we sall helpe them now to cutt the throat of these hereticks." So the cogitations of manie men's hearts were then revecled.

The lords, after their departure out of Edinburgh, stayed not

till they came to Stirline the day following; for it had beene concluded before, that there consultatioun sould be takin what was nixt to be done in so desperat an estate.

MR KNOX HIS SERMON AT STIRLINE BEFORE THE LORDS.

The nixt Wednesday, which was the 7th of November, Mr Knox preached in Stirline. Mr Willocke had departed to England, as was before appointed. He treated in his sermoun upon the fyft, sixt, seventh, and eight verses of the eightyeth Psalme. He had begunne the Psalme in Edinburgh before, as it were, foreseing their calamitie, wherof he did forwarne them not obscurelie; and had admonished them plainlie, that he was assured troubles sould come, and therefore exhorted all men to prayers. He intreated the first three verses in Edinburgh, to the comfort of manie. This Psalme, he said, was composed by David himself, who, in the spirit of prophecie, foresaw the miserable estate of God's people, after the departure of the ten tribes. It was not, said he, without caus that Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, were speciallie named, and not Judah; to witt, becaus the calamitie came first upon them, and they were translated frome their owne inheritance. Judah yitt possessed the kingdome. He confessed, that justlie they were punished for idolatrie committed. But he affirmed, that amongst them there remained some true worshippers of God, for whose comfort were the prophets sent, als weill to call them to repentance, as to assure them of deliverance, and of the promises of God to be performed to them. He divided the Psalme into three parts: in a prayer; the ground wherupon the prayer was founded; the lamentable complaints and vow which they made to God. Upon the first two parts he observed, first, that the felicitie of God's people may not be measured by anie externall appearance; for often it cometh to passe, that the same people to whome God becometh not onlie Creator, but also Pastor and Protector, is more severelie intreated, than those natioums where ignorance and contempt of God raigneth. Secundlie, that God never made his ac-

quaintance and league with anie people by his Word, but there he had some of his elect, who, albeit they suffered for a time in the middest of the wicked, yitt in the end they found comfort, and felt by experience that God's promises are not made in vaine. Thridlie, that these prayers were dyted unto the people by the Holie Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of their trouble, to assure them, that God, by whose Spirit the prayer was dyted, would not contemne the same in the middest of their calamiteis. The thrid part, conteaning the lamentable complaint, he treated in Stirline, in presence of the duke and the whole counsell. He declared wherefore God sometimes suffered his chosin flocke to be exponed to mockage, dangers, and appearand destructioun; to witt, that they may fecle the vehemencie of God's indignatioun; that they may know how little strenth is in themselves; that they may leave a testimonie to the generatioun following, als weill of the malice of the devill against God's people, as of the mervellous work of God, in preserving his little flocke by farre other meanes than man can espie. In explaining of these words, "How long sall thou be angrie, O Lord, against the prayer of thy people?" he declared, how dolorous and fearfull it was to fight against that tentatioun, that God turneth away his face from our prayers; for that was nothing elles but to apprehend and conceave God to be armed to our destructioun; which tentatioun no fleshe can abide nor overcome, unlesse the mightie Spirit of God interpone himself suddanlie. He gave for exemple the impatience of Saul, when God would not heare his prayers. The difference betwixt the elect and reprobat in that tentatioun he declared to be this, that the elect, susteaned by the secreit power of God's Spirit, did still call upon God, albeit he appeared to contemne their prayers, "which," said he, "is a sacrifice most receptable to God, and is, in a maner, even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as Jacob did, in wrastling with the angell." "But the reprobat," said he, "being denyed of their requeists at God's hand, doe either cease to pray, and altogether contemne God, who strictlie commandeth us to call upon him in the day of our adversitie, or elles they seeke counsell at the devill,

for that which they see they cannot obteane fromе God." He declared how hard it was to this our corrupt nature, not to rejoice, and putt confidence in ourselves, when God giveth victorie; and, therefore, how necessarie it was that man by affliction sould be brought to the knowledge of his owne infirmitie, least that he, being puffed up with vaine confidence, mak an idol of his owne streuth, as did King Nebuchadnezzar. He did dispute upon the nature of the blind world, which, in all ages, hath insolentlie rejoiced when God did chasten his owne childrein, whose glorie and honour, becaus the reprobat can never see, therefore they despise them, and the wondrous worke of God in them. "Yitt," said he, "the joy and rejoicing of the world is but meere sorrow, becaus the end of it tendeth to suddane destructioun, as the ryotous banketing of Baltasar declareth."

Applying these heads to the time and persons, he said, "If none of God's childrein had suffered before us the same injureis that presentlie we susteane, these our troubles would appeare intolerable: suche is our tender delicacie and self-love of our owne fleshe, that these things which we lightlie passe over in others, we can greatlie compleane of, if they tuiche ourselves. I doubt not but some of us have ofter than once read this Psalme; as also, that we have read, and heard the travell and troubles of our ancient fathers. But which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and tentatioums, did so descend into ourselves, that we felt the bitternesse of their passioums? I thinke none. Therefore hath God brought us to some experience in our owne persons. But yitt, becaus the mater may appeare obscure unlesse it be more particularlie applyed, I cannot of conscience but use this plainnesse, as God sall grant unto me. Our faces are this day confounded; our enemeis triumphe: our hearts have quaked for feare, and yitt they remaine oppressed with sorrow and shame. But what sall we thinke to be the verie caus that God hath thus dejected us? If I sall say, our sinnes and former unthankfulnesse to God, I speeke the truthe. But yitt, I speeke more generallie than necessitie requireth. For when the sinnes of men are rebooked in generall, seldome it is that man de-

scendeth within himself, accusing and damning in himself that which most displeaseth God. But rather he doubteth that to be a caus, which before God is no caus indeid. As for exemple, the Israelites, fighting against the tribe of Benjamin, were twise discomfited, with the losse of fourtie thowsand men. They lamented and bewailed both first and last. But we find not that they came to the knowledge of their offense and sinne, which was the caus wherefore they fell by the edge of the sword, but rather they doubted that to have beene a caus of their misfortune which God had commanded; for they asked, 'Sall we goe, and fight anie more against our brethrein, the sonnes of Benjamin?' By which questioun it is evident, that they supposed the caus of their overthrow was, becaus they had lifted the sword against their brethrein and naturall countriemen. But the expresse commandement of God which was givin to them did deliver them from all crime in that caus. Yitt no doubt but there was some caus in the Israelites, wherefore God gave them so over in to the hands of these wicked men, against whom he sent them by his owne expresse commandement, to execute his judgements. Suche as doe weill marke historie, and the estate of that people, may easilie see the caus why God was offended. All the whole people had declyned frome God. Idolatrie was mainteaned by commoun consent of the multitude; and as the text sayeth, 'Everie man did that which appeared good in his owne eyes.' In this meane time, the Levite compleaned of the villanie that was done to himself and to his wife, which, oppressed by the Benjamites of Gibeah, died under their filthie lusts; which horrible fact inflammed the hearts of the whole people to tak vengeance upon that abominatioun. And therin they offended not. But in this they failed, that they goe to execute judgment against the wicked, without anie repentance or remorse of conscience for their owne former offenses and defectioun frome God. And, farther, becaus they were a great multitude, and the other farre inferiour to them, they trusted in their owne streuth, and thought themselves able eneugh to doe their purpose, without anie invocation of the name of God. But after that they had twise

proved the vanitie of their owne strenth, they fasted and prayed; and being humbled before God, they receaved a more favourable answere, and assured promise of the victorie.

"The like may be amongst us, albeit suddanlie we doe not espie it. To the end that everie man may the better examine himself, I will divide our whole companie into two sorts of men. The one are these, that frome the beginning of this trouble have susteaned the commoun danger, with their brethrein: the other be these who be joyned to our fellowship. In the one and the other, I feare that just caus sall be found wherefore God sould have thus humbled us. Albeit this seeme strange at the first hearing, yitt, if everie man sall examine himself, as his conscience dyteth him, I doubt not but he sall subscribe to that which I say. Let us beginne at ourselves who longest have continued in this battell. When we were a few number in comparisoun of our enemeis,—when we had neither erle, nor lord, a few excepted, to comfort us, we called upon God, and tooke him for our protector, defense, and onlie refuge. Amongst us was heard no bragging of our multitude, of our strenth, nor policie. We did onlie sob to God, to have respect to the equitie of our caus, and to the cruell persute of the tyranfull enemie. But since that our number hath beene thus multipleid, and cheefelie, since my lord duke's Grace with his freinds have beene joyned with us, there was nothing heard but, 'This lord will bring us so manie hundreth speares,'—'This man hath credite to perswade suche a countrie,'—'If this erle be ours, no man in suche bounds will trouble us.' Thus the best of us all, who before felt God's potent hand for our defense, have of late dayes takin flesh for our arme. But wherein yitt had my lord duke's Grace and his freinds offended? It may be, that as we have trusted in them, so they have putt too muche confidence in their owne strenth. But, granting it be not so, I see a caus most just, why the duke and his freinds sould thus be confounded amongst the rest of their brethrein. I have not yitt forgottin what was the dolour and anguishe of my owne heart, when at Sanct Johnstoun, Cowper Mure, and Edinburgh Craigs, these cruell murtherers, that now have putt us to this

dishonour, threatned our destructioun, my lord duke's Grace and his freinds at all the three journeys were to them a great comfort, and to us a great discuragement. For his name and authoritie did more affray and astonishe us than the force of the other; yea, without his assistance, they could not have compelled us to appoint with the queene, upon so unequall conditioums. I am uncertane if my lord's Grace have unfainedlie repented of that his assistance to these murtherers unjustlie persuing us. Yea, I am uncertane if he hath repented for the innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs, which was shed through his default. But lett it be that so he hath done, (as I heare that he hath confessed his offense before the Lords and Brethrein of the Congregatioun,) yitt I am assured that neither he nor his freinds did feele, before this time, the anguishe and greefe of hearts which we felt, when in their blind furie they persued us. Therefore hath God justlie permitted both them and us to fall in this confusioun at once: us, for that we putt our trust and confidence in man; them, that they might feele in their owne hearts, how bitter was the cuppe which they made others to drinke before them. [It] resteth that both they and we turne to the Eternall, our God, who beateth doun to death, to the intent he may raise up againe, to leave behind the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance, to the praise of his own name. If we doe this unfainedlie, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusioun, and feare, sall be turned to joy, honour, and boldnesse, than that I doubt that God gave victorie to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after that twise with ignominie they had beene repulsed and driven backe. Yea, whatsoever sall become of us and our mortall carcases, I doubt not but this caus, in despite of Satan, sall prevaile in this realme of Scotland; for as it is the eternall truthe of the Eternall God, so sall it once prevaile, howsoever for a time it be impugned. It may be, that God sall plague some for that they delite not in the truthe, albeit for worldlie respects they seeme to favour it; yea, God may take some of his deerest childrein away, before their eyes see greater troubles. But neither sall the one nor the other so hinder

this actioun, but in the end it sall triumphe." He exhorted all men to amendment of life, prayers, and the works of charitie.

THE LORDS DIVIDE THEMSELVES IN TWO COMPANEIS.

This sermoun erected wonderfullie the hearts of the hearers. After dinner, the lords went to counsell. Mr Knox was called to invocate the name of God. In the end it was concluded, that William Matlane of Lethington, younger, sould be sent to the Queene of England, to mak knowne to her their estate. A conventioun was appointed to be holdin at Stirline, the 16th day of December following. Order also was takin, that the duke, the Erle of Glencarne, Lord Boyd, Lord Uchiltrie, and their freinds, sould remaine together at Glasgow, for the comfort of the brethrein in these quarters: that the Erle of Arran, Lord James, the Erle of Rothesse, the Master of Lindsay, and their adherents, sould remaine together in Fife, for the same caus: that advertisements be sent from the one companie to the other, as need required. Mr Knox was appointed to direct letters for these that were in Fife; Mr Henrie Balnaves for these that stayed at Glasgow.

THE PRACTISES OF THE ENEMIE AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE LORDS.

After the dolorous departing of the lords from Edinburgh, neither man nor woman durst be seene in the toun, for the furie of the Frenche. The housses of the honestest burgesses were givin to the Frenche, for a part of their rewarde. The Erle Bothwell, by sound of trumpet, proclamed the Erle of Arran tratour, with manie more reprochefull words. The Frenche made their faggots, with other preparatiouns, to take the castell either by force or treasoun; but God so wrought with the Lord Areskine, captane, that neither the queene by flatterie, nor the Frenche by treasoun, could prevaile.

Mr Knox, in a letter writtin to Mastresse Anna Locke, dated at Sanct Andrewes the last of December, hath these words following:—

"What support sould come to us by consent of counsell and authoritie, I am uncertane. But suppose that it sall be greater than yitt is bruited, that ought not to stay the liberall hands of the godlie to support us privatlie; for the publick support of an armie sall not make suche as now be superexpended able to serve without privat support. I will make the matter more plaine by one exemple. I know one man,[1] that since the 10th of May hath spent in this actioun thretteene thowsand crownes of the sunne, beside his victuals, and other fruicts of the ground. His treasure being now consumed, he cannot without support susteane the number which before he brought to the feild. If he, and suche others that are in like conditioun with him, sall be absent, or yitt if their numbers sall decay, our enemeis sall seeme to prevaile in the feild; and therefore desired I some collectioun to be made, to the end that the present necessitie of some might have beene releeved. If the mater perteaned not to my native countrie, I would be more vehement in perswasioun. But God sall support, even how, when, and by whom it sall please his blessed Majestie."

M.D.LX.

R. MELVILL RETURNETH FROM ENGLAND.

Robert Melvill, who went to London with William Matlane, Secretare, in December, returned to the Lords of the Congregatioun, with certan articles to be answered. The lords assembled at Stirline, and returned answere with diligence. The articles are sett doun in the contract which was made after at Berwick.

[1] Lord James.—*Note in MS.*

THE FRENCHE OPPRESSE THE PARTS OF FIFE.

The Frenche, advertised of their meeting, marched to Linlithquho, spoiled the duke's hous, and wasted his lands of Kinneill, and frome thence went to Stirline. The duke, the Erle of Argile, Glencarne, and their freinds, went to Glasgow, the Erle of Arran and Lord James to Sanct Andrewes, for it was thought good the lords sould keepe their owne bodeis safe. The Frenche went frome Stirline to Fife, at which they had greatest indignatioun. Their purpose was to have fortifeid the toun, the castell, and the abbey of Sanct Andrewes. When they came to Bruntiland, they beganne to fortifie. As soone as they came frome Stirline, the Erle of Arran and Lord James went frome Sanct Andrewes to Cowper. There they beganne to assemble their forces. They sent some souldiours to Kingorne, to whome resorted diverse on the cost-side, to resist the begimnings. But the lords had given expresse charge, that they sould hazard nothing till they themselves were present. For that end was the Lord Ruthven, a stout man, and of long experience, sent to them. The Erle of Sutherland was in his companie, sent frome the Erle of Huntlie, as was alledged, to comfort the lords in their distresse; but others whispered, that he was sent by the queene regent. The men of warre and the rascall multitude seing some Frenchemen were to land, comming from Leith, purposed to stoppe them, not considering the enemeis approaching frome Bruntiland; rushed doun the bray unadvisedlie, and skirmished with the Frenche at their landing, not taking heed to the enemie approaching by land, till the horsmen charged them upon their backs, and the whole bands came directlie upon them. So they were forced to retire with losse of six or seven men. Paul Lambert, a Dutche man, and a religious Frenche boy, were takin. In the meane time, the Lord Ruthven came with his companie to the head of the bray; sent some of the companie to breake their horsemen, and drove them backe, so that no further hurt was done to the footemen. In that encounter the Erle of Sutherland was shott in the arme. The Frenche tooke Kingorne, and desisted

from fortification of Bruntiland. They hanged the Dutcheman and the Frenche boy over the steeple of Kingorne.

THE FRENCHE SPOILE THEIR OWNE CONFEDERATS.

The Frenche lying at Kingorne spaired neither Papist nor Protestant in the countrie about, yea, not their owne confederats, Seyfeild, Balmowto, Balwerie, Wemes, and other enemeis to God, and tratours to their countrie. They spaired neither sheepe, oxen, ky, nor horse. Some say, they defiled their wives and daughters. Two of them suffered greater domage than all the gentlemen that professed the Gospell in Fife, except the Laird of Grange, whose hous they overthrew with gunpowder; for the professours had conveyed their substance out of the way. The queene regent, proud of this small victorie and oppressioun, burst furth into her blasphemous railing, and said, "Where is now Johne Knox his God? My God is now stronger than his, yea, even in Fife." She sent in haste to France, to certifie that thowsands of hereticks were slaine, and therefore desired that some of her noble freinds might be sent thither.

MR KNOX HIS SERMON AT COWPER.

The lords being offended with the rashnesse of the rascall multitude, called for their souldiours to Cowper. Mr Knox repaired to them in their greatest dejectioun, and made a comfortable sermon to them, upon the danger wherin the disciples stood when they were in the middest of the sea, and Jesus upon the mountaine. He exhorted them not to faint, but to row against contrarious blasts, till Jesus Christ sould come: "For I am als assuredlie perswaded," said he, "that God sall deliver us frome this extreme trouble, as I am assured that this is the Gospell of Jesus Christ which I preache unto you this day. The fourthe watche is not yitt come. Abide a little: the boate sall be saved, and Peter, who hath left the boate, sall not drowne, I am assured, albeit I cannot

assure you by reason of this present rage. God grant that yee may acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have seene his deliverance." In that sermoun he comforted manie. Yitt the Erle of Arran was offended, for in his discourse upon the manifold assaults that the church of God had susteaned, he brought for exemple the multitude of strangers who persued Josaphat, after he had reformed religioun; the feare of the people, yea, and of the king himself at the first. "But," said he, "Josaphat was after stout; and to make manifest his courage and confidence in God, he comforted his people and souldiours; he came furth in the middest of them, and spake lovinglie unto them. He keeped not himself enclosed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and made them glade with his presence, and godlie comfort." These and the like sentences the Erle of Arran construed as spokin in reproache of him, becaus he keeped himself more close and solitarie than manie men would have wished.

ARRAN AND LORD JAMES LY AT DYSERT.

After these things it was determined that the Erle of Arran and Lord James sould ly at Dysert with the souldiours, and some companeis of horsemen, becaus the Frenche intended to forrage the countrie about. They skirmished almost everie day, yea, some dayes frome morning till night. The Frenche were foure thowsand souldiours, beside their favourers and confederates; the lords had never together five hundreth horsemen, and an hundreth souldiours. And yitt, for everie horse the Frenche lost foure souldiours. The said erle and Lord James lay in their clothes twentie-one dayes. Their bootes were never drawin off all this time.

GRANGE SENT A DEFIANCE TO D'OSELL.

William Kirkaldie of Grange, the day after his hous was demolished, sent a defiance to Monsieur d'Osell, and the rest of the Frenche, declaring, that to that houre he had used the Frenche

favourablie; he had saved their lives, when he might have suffered their throats to have beene cutted. But now, seing they had mett him with suche rigour, willed them not to looke for the like favour againe. As for Monsieur d'Osell, he bade say to him, he knew he would not gett him to skirmish with, becaus he knew he was but a coward. But it might be, he sould quite him a comound[1] either in Scotland or France.

THE SLAUGHTER OF A FRENCHE CAPTAN AND FYFTIE OF HIS BAND.

The Master of Lindsay and William Kirkaldie of Grange escaped manie dangers. The Master had his horse slaine under him; the laird was almost betrayed in his owne hous at Halyards. Yitt did they never relent, but waited night and day upon the Frenche, who usuallie came out of Kingorne in companeis, to seeke their prey. Captan L'Abast came furth with his hundreth, and beganne to spoile. When they were come frome Kingorne more than a myle, the Master of Lindsay and the Laird of Grange breake off with their horsemen. The Frenche perceaving, drew to Glennis-house. Some tooke the hous, others defended the court and yards. The assailants had nothing but speares, and were therefore compelled to light on foote. The Frenche were within dykes, and everie one had his hacquebutt. Robert Hammilton, David Kirkaldie, and sundrie others, were hurt. The Laird of Grange, perceaving manie of his companie to faint, and to beginne to recoole, said, "Fy! lett us never live after this day, or it be said, that we sall recoole for Frenche skybalds."[2] So the Master of Lindsay and he rushed in at the gate, and others followed. The Master of Lindsay strooke at the captan's harneiss with his speare, but stumbled almost upon his knees for fiercenesse. But recovering suddanly, he fastened his speare, and drave the captan backeward. The captan would not be takin, and therefore was slaine, and fyftie of his companie with him. These that were in the hous, and some

[1] Requite him in full. [2] Rapscallions.

others, were saved, and sent to Dundie, to be keeped in strait custodie. The Frenche were more circumspect after in straying abroad.

MARTIGUES' TWO SHIPS TAKIN.

To furnishe the Frenche with victuals, was appointed Captan Cullane, with two shippes, who travelled betwixt the south shore and Kingorne for that purpose. For his reward, it was permitted to him to spoile Kingorne, Kirkaldie, Dysert, so farre as he might. Two shippes were appointed to be sent out of Dundie, to defend these quarters, with Andrew Sands, a stout and fervant man in the cause of religioun, and another companioun with him. At the same verie time, Monsieur Martigues and his companie landed at Leith in two shippes. Andrew Sands and his companioun striking saile, and making shew as if they would cast anker beside them, boorded them both, and careid them to Dundie. They gott some horses in them, and muche harneis, and some other trifles. The coffers were takin out before, when they landed at Leith.

THE FRENCHE RETURNE OUT OF FIFE AFTER SIGHT OF THE ENGLISH SHIPS.

The Frenche offended heerat, vowed to destroy Sanct Andrewes and Dundie. So upon Moonday in the morning, the 23d of Januare, they marched frome Dysert. For the snow lay deepe in the high wayes, and becaus of their shippes and victuals, it behoved them to keepe the cost. About noone they espied some shippes. Monsieur d'Osell tooke them to have beene Frenche shippes; so the souldiours triumphed, and shot their volie for salutatioun. They marched fordward to Kincraig. Soone after, the English shippes seazed upon Captan Cullane and his shippes. After came Mr Alexander Wood, who had beene in the Admirall, and assured Monsieur d'Osell that they were English men, forerunners of a greater number to follow. There might have beene seene ryving of beards, and suche despitefull words heard, as cruell

men use to spew furth when God bridleth their furie. Wearinesse and the night-time constrained them to loodge there. Skarse were they content to suppe anie, or gott little to suppe upon, becaus the shippes wherin their victuals were, were takin, and the ordinance which they intended to have placed in Sanct Andrewes. The Laird of Wemes' cariage, sent to them with furnishing, was stayed by the way. They durst not stray abroad to seeke provisioun; therefore, carelie in the morning they returned towards Kingorne, and made greater expeditioun in one day in comming backe, than in two marching fordward. The storme, which had continued neere the space of a moneth, brake in the meane time. William Kirkaldie of Grange cutt the bridge of Tillibodie; but the Frenche made a bridge over the water at Dowan, of the timber takin off the roofe of a parish kirk. They came to Stirline, and frome thence to Leith. They spoiled, as they might, in suche haste, both Papists and Protestants by the way. One with a reide cloke, and a guilded murrioun, (whether a captan or commoun souldiour, we cannot tell,) not content with the bread a poore woman offered to him in Quhytside, would have her meale, and her salt beefe, wherewith she was to susteane her poore childrein. Stouping down in the tub, she turned up his heeles, and his head went doun, where he ended his life.

THE ADMIRAL'S AND QUEENE OF ENGLAND'S ANSWERE TO THE QUEENE REGENT.

The queene regent being advertised of the arrivall of the English, sent to Mr Winter, Vice-admirall, to aske the caus of their arrivall in these parts. He answered, he had beene abrod in the seas seeking pyrats, and was arived in Forth to waite upon them. The true caus was, to stoppe the Frenche that were to come frome landing at Leith; and to hold them in who were there alreadie in garisoun. The queene regent sent Novall, the King of France his oratour, to the Queene of England, to requeist her to recall the ships, and be mindefull of the peace concluded betwixt the Frenche

and the English. She answered, she minded no warre, yitt could she not but be jealous of the troupes of Frenche souldiours landing continuallie in Scotland.

A PART OF MR KNOX HIS LETTER TO MASTRESSE ANNA LOCKE.

Mr Knox, in a letter writtin to Mastresse Anna Locke, hath these words:—"The Frenche, as before I wrote unto you, have persued us with great furie. But God hath so bridled them, that since the fyft day, when they putt to flight the men of Kingorne, Kirkaldie, and Dysert, they have had of us (all praise be to our God) no advantage. They lost in a morning, a lieutenant, the boldest of their companie, and fortie of their bravest souldiours, diverse of them being tane, and diverse slaine in skirmishing. They have done greatest harme to suche as did best interteane them; for frome them they have takin sheepe, horse, and plenishing. Our freinds, and foes to them, did continuallie remove frome their way all moveables that to them apperteaned. They have cast doun to the ground the Laird of Grange's principall hous, called the Grange, and have spoiled his other places. God will recompence him, I doubt not; for in this caus, and since the beginning of this last trouble speciallie, he hath behaved himself so boldlie, as never man of our natioun hath deserved more praise. He hath beene in manie dangers, and yitt God hath delivered him above man's expectatioun. He was shot at Lundie, right under the left pape, through the jacke, doublet, and sarke, and the bullet did sticke in one of his ribbes. Mr Whytlaw hath gottin a fall, by the which he is unable to beare armour. But, God be praised, both their lives be saved. I remained all the time in Sanct Andrewes with sorrowfull heart; and yitt, as God did minister his Spirit, comforting the afflicted; who, albeit they quaiked for a time, yitt doe now praise God, who suddanlie diverted frome them that terrible plague devised for them by the ungodlie. The Frenche men approached within six miles, and yitt at a sight of certan of your ships, they retired more in one day than they advanced in two. We have

had wonderfull experience of God's mercifull providence; and for my owne part, I were more than unthankfull, if I sould not confesse, that God hath heard the sobs of my wretched heart, and hath not deceaved me of that little sparke of hope which his Holy Spirit did kindle and foster in my heart. God give me his grace to acknowledge his benefite receaved, and to make suche fruict of it as becometh his servant."

After that the queene and counsell of England had concluded to send an armie to Scotland by land, to expell the Frenche, the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the north, to be General Lieutenant. The duke required some of the lords, having commissioun from the rest, to meete him at suche day and place as pleased them to appoint. This advertisement came first to the lords at Glasgow, which being read and considered, it was concluded that they would meete at Carlill. This was done by the procurement of the Master of Maxwell, who heerin sought his owne ease. Heerupon letters were directed fromc the lords at Glasgow to Lord James. Mr Knox answered as followeth:—

MR KNOX HIS LETTER TO THE LORDS AT GLASGOW.

"To the Lord Duke's Grace, and other Lords at Glasgow.

"After humble commendation of my service: Albeit I have writtin ofter than once to Mr Henrie Balnaves, what things have misliked me in your slow proceedings, als weill in supporting your brethrein who manie dayes have susteaned extreme danger in these parts, as in making provisioun how the enemie might have beene annoyed, who lay in few number nigh to your quarters in Stirline, and in making likewise provisioun how the expectation of our freinds who long have waited for your answere, might be satisfeid; albeit, I say, that of these things I have before compleaned, yitt of verie conscience I am compelled to signifie unto your honours, that unlesse of these and other enormiteis I sall see some redresse, I am assured that the end sall be suche as godlie men sall mourne, that a good caus sall perishe for laike of wisdome and diligence. In my last

letters to Mr Henrie Balnaves, I declared that your speciall freinds in England wounder that no greater expeditioun is made, the weight of the mater being considered. If the fault be in my lord duke and his freinds, I wrote also that the greatest losse sould be his and theirs in the end. And now, I cannot ceasse both to wounder and lament, that your whole counsell was so destitute of wisdome and discretioun, as to charge this poore man, the pryour, to come to you to Glasgow, and therafter to goe to Carlill, for suche affaires as are to be intreated. Was there none amongst you who did foresee what inconveniences might ensue his absence frome these parts? I ceasse to speake of the dangers by the enemie. Your freinds have lyin in this Firth now fyfteene dayes bypast. What was their former travell is not unknowne. They have never receaved comfort of anie man, except of him onlie, more than they had lyin upon the coast of their mortall enemie. Doe yee not consider, that suche a companie sall need comfort and provisioun frome time to time? Remove him, and who abideth, that carefullie will travell in that, or anie other weightie mater, in these parts? Did yee not further consider, that he had begunne to medle with the gentlemen who had declared themselves unfreinds heretofore; and also, that order would have beene takin for suche as have beene neutralls? Now, by reasoun of his absence, the one sall escape without admonitioun, and the other sall be at their former libertie. I am assured that the enemie sall not sleepe, neither in that nor other affaires, to undermyne you and your whole caus, and specialllie to hurt this part of the countrie, to revenge their former follie. If none of these former causes sould have moved you to have considered, that suche a journey, at suche a time, was not meete for him, neither yitt for them that must accompanie him, yitt discreit men would have considered, that the men who have lyin in their jacks, and travelled on their horses continuallie the space of a moneth, required some longer rest, both to themselves and to their horses, before they had beene charged to suche a journey, than yitt they have had. The pryour may, for satisfactioun of your unreasounable mindes, enterprise the purpose. But I am as-

sured, he sall not be able to have six honest men in all Fife to accompanie him. How that either standeth with your honour, or with his safetie, judge yee yourselves. But yitt, wounder it is, that yee did not consider to what paine and fashrie yee sall putt your freinds in England, speciallie the Duke of Norfolk and his counsell, whome yee sall caus travell the most wearisome and troublesome way that is in England. In my opinioun, whosoever gave you counsell, either laiked right judgement in things to be done, or elles had too muche respect to his owne ease, and too small regard to the travell and danger of their brethrein. A commoun caus requireth a commoun concurrence, and that everie man beare his burthein proportionallie. But prudent and indifferent men espie the contrarie in this caus, especiallie of late dayes; for the weakest are most grevouslie charged, and they to whome the mater most belongeth, and to whome justlie greatest burthein is due, are exempted, in a maner, both from travell and expenses. To speeke the mater plainlie, wise men doe wounder what my lord duke's freinds doe meane, that they are so slacke and backward in this caus. In other actions they have beene judged stout and fordward, and in this, which is the greatest that ever he or they had in hand, they appeare destitute both of grace and of courage. I am not ignorant that some that are most inward of his counsell are enemeis to God, and therefore cannot but be enemeis to this caus. But wounder it is, that he and his other freinds sould not consider, that the losse of this godlie interprise sall be the rooting out of them and their posteritie of this realme. Considering, my lords, that by God's providence yee are joyned with the duke's Grace in this commoun caus, admonishe him plainlie of the danger to come: will him to be aware of the counsell of those who are plainlie infected with superstitioun, pride, and the venome of particular profite. Which, if he doe not, at your admonitioun, he sall smart before he be aware: and if yee ceasse to putt him in minde of his duetie, it may be, that for your silence yee sall drinke some portion of the plague with him. Take my plaine speeking as proceeding from him

who is not your enemie, being also uncertane when I sall have occasioun to write heerafter. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ assist you with the spirit of wisdome and fortitude, that to his glorie and to your lordships' commoun comfort yee may perform that thing which was once godlie begunne. Amen.

"Your lordships to command in godlinesse,

"J. K.

"From Sanct Andrewes, the 6th of Februarie, 1560."

Upon the receate of this letter, after consultatioun it was concluded, that they would visite the Duke of Norfolke at Berwicke.

The inhabitants of Fife being delivered of the tyrannie of the Frenche, gave solemne thanks to God in Sanct Andrewes. Soon after, the Erle of Arran and Lord James apprehended the Lairds of Wemes, Seyfield, Balgonie, Durie, and others their assisters; but they were sett at freedome shortlie, upon suche conditions as they never minded to keepe. Mr James Balfour, the greatest practiser, who had drawin away the band of Balfoures, escaped. The English shippes daylie encreassed in number, till they were able to command the Firth. The queene regent and the Frenche beganne to execute their rage in the parts of Lothiane lyin neerest to Edinburgh. Little favour found the place of Adinstoun at their hands, notwithstanding the good service done to them by Mr David Borthwicke, owner.

COMMISSIONERS SENT FROM THE LORDS TO BERWICK.

In the middest of Februarie were directed to England, fromc the duke's Grace and the Congregation, Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, the Master of Lindsay, Mr Henrie Balnaves, and the Laird of Pitarrow. They went all by sea, except the Master of Maxwell, to Berwick. There, the Duke of Norfolk, lieutenant, accompaneid with a great number of the gentlemen of the north, and some also of the south, mett them. He had full

power and commissioun to contract with the nobilitie of Scotland, as they did, upon suche conditiouns as are specifeid in the contract, the tenor wherof followeth :—

THE CONTRACT AT BERWICK.

"James Duke of Chattelerault, Erle of Arran, Lord Hammilton, secund person of the realme of Scotland, and apparant to the crowne; the counsell, nobilitie, and principall estats of the same, to all and sundrie to whose knowledge these presents sall come, greeting. We have weill considered, and be fullie perswaded, in what danger, desolatioun, and miserie, the long inimitie with the kingdome of England hath brought our countrie heertofore; how wealthie and floorishing it sall become, if these two kingdoms, as they be joyned in one iland, by creatioun of the world, so may be knitt in a constant and assured freindship. These considerations, grounded upon a most infallible truthe, ought no lesse to have moved our progenitors and forefathers than us. But the present danger hanging over our heads, by the unjust dealing of these of whom we have alwayes best deserved, have caused us to weygh them more earnestlie than they did. The misbehaviour of the Frenche monsters heere hath, of late yeeres, beene so great; the oppressioun and crueltie of the souldiours, the tyrannie and ambitioun of their superiours and rulers, so greevous to the people; the violent subversioun of our libertie, and conquest of the land, wherat they have by most craftie and subtile meanes continuallie pressed, so intolerable to us all; that at last, when we could not obteane redresse by humble sutes and earnest supplications presented to the queene dowager, who, both for ducteis sake, and place she doth occupie, ought to have beene most carefull of our estate, we have beene by verie necessitie constrained, not onlie to assay our owne forces, but also to implore the Queene's Majestie of England her aide and support; which her Majestie hath most gentlie granted, upon certane covenants specifeid in a treatie past at Berwick betwixt the Duke of Norfolk's good Grace, lieutenant for her Majestie, on the

one part, and certan of our commissioners on the other part, wherof the tenor followeth :—

"At Berwick, the 27th day of Februarie, the yeere of our Lord 1559,[1] It is appointed, and finallie contracted betwixt the noble and mightie Prince Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Erle Marishall of England, and Lieutenant to the queene's most excellent Majestie of the said realme in the north, in name and behalfe of her Highnesse on the one part, and the Right Honourable Lord James Stewart, Patrik Lord Ruthven, Sir Johne Maxwell of Terregles, Knight, William Matlane of Lethington, younger, Johne Wishart of Pittarrow, and Mr Henrie Balnaves of Halhill, in name and behalfe of the noble and mightie Prince James Duke of Chattelerault, secund person of the realme of Scotland, and the remanent lords of his part, joyned with him in this caus, for maintenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberteis of their countrie, in forme as after followeth :—

"That is to say, that the queene's Majestie having sufficientlie understood, als weill by information sent frome the nobilitie of Scotland, as by the proceedings of the Frenche, that they intend to conquere the realme of Scotland, suppresse the libertie therof, and unite the same to the crowne of France perpetuallie, contrarie to the lawes of the same realme, and the pacts, oathes, and promises of France; and being therto most humblie and earnestlie required by the said nobilitie, for and in the name of the whole realme, sall accept the said realme of Scotland, the said Duke of Chattelerault being declared by act of parliament in Scotland to be heyre apparant to the crowne therof, and the nobilitie and subjects therof, into her Majestie's protectioun and maintenance, onlie for preservation of the same in their owne freedoms and liberteis, and from conquest during the time that the mariage sall continue betwixt the Queen of Scots and the Frenche king, and a yeere after. And for expelling out of the realme suche as presentlie and apparentlie goe about to practise the said conquest, her Majestie sall,

[1] "According to the old accompt."—*Note of the Author.*

with all speed, send into Scotland a convenient aide of men of warre, on horse and foote, to joyne with the power of the Scotish men, with artillerie, munitioun, and all other instruments of warre meet for that purpose, as weill by sea as by land; not onlie to expell the present power of Frenche within that realme, oppressing the same, but also to stoppe, als farre as convenientlie may be, all greater forces of Frenche to enter therin, for the like purpose; and sall continue her Majestie's aide to the said realme, nobilitie, and subjects of the same, untill the time the Frenche, being enemeis to the said realme, be utterlie expelled hence; and sall never transact, compone, nor agree with the Frenche, nor concord anie league with them, except the Scots and the Frenche sall be agreed, that the realme of Scotland may be left in a due freedome by the Frenche; nor sall leave the maintenance of the said nobilitie and subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemie's hands, als long as they sall acknowledge their soverane ladie and queene, and sall endeavour themselves to mainteane the libertie of their countrie, and the estate of the crown of Scotland. And if, in case anie forts or strenths within the realme be wonne out of the hands of the Frenche, at this present, or anie time heerafter, by her Majestie's aide, the same sall be immediatlie demolished by the Scotish men, or delivered to the said duke and his partie forsaid, at their optioun and choice. Neither sall the power of England fortifie within the ground of Scotland, being out of the bounds of England, but by the advice of the said duke, nobilitie, and estats of Scotland; for the which causes, and in respect of her Majestie's most gentle clemencie and liberall support, the said duke and all the nobilitie, als weill suche as are now joyned, as suche as sall heerafter joyne with him for defence of the libertie of that realme, sall, to the uttermost of their power, aide and support her Majestie's armie against the Frenche and their partakers, with horsemen and footemen, and with victuals by land and by sea, and with all maner of other aide, to the best of their power, and so sall continue, during the time that her Majestie's armie sall remaine in Scotland.

"*Item*, They sall be enemeis to all suche Scotish men and Frenche as sall, in anie wise, shew themselves enemeis to the realme of England, for the aiding and supporting of the said duke and nobilitie, to the deliverie of the realme of Scotland from conquest.

"*Item*, They sall never assent nor permitt, that the realme of Scotland sall be conquered, or otherwise knitt to the crowne of France, than it is at this present, onlie by mariage of the queene, their soveran, to the Frenche king, and by the lawes and liberteis of the realme as it ought to be.

"*Item*, In case the Frenchemen sall at anie time heerafter invade, or caus to be invaded, the realme of England, they sall furnishe the number of two thowsand horsemen, and a thowsand footemen, at the least, or suche part of either of them, at the charge of the Queen's Majestie of England; and sall conduct the same, to passe frome the borders of Scotland nixt to England, upon her Majestie's charges, to anie part of the realme of England, for defense of the same. And in cace the invasioun be on the north parts of England, on the north part of the Water of Tyne, toward Scotland, or against Berwick, on the north side of the Water of Tweid, they sall convent and gather their whole forces upon their owne charges, and sall joyne with the English power, and sall continue in good and earnest persute of the querell of England during the space of threttie dayes, or so muche longer as they were accustomed to tarie in the feilds, for defense of Scotland, at the commandement of their soverans at anie time bypast. And also, the Erle of Argile, Lord Justice of Scotland, being presentlie joyned with the said duke, sall imploy his force and good will where he sall be required by the Queen's Majestie, to reduce the north parts of Ireland to the perfyte obedience of England, conforme to a mutuall and reciprock contract to be made betwixt her Majestie's Lieutenant or Deputie of Ireland, being for the time, and the said erle, wherin sall be conteaned what he sall doe for his part, and what the said lieutenant and deputie sall doe for his support, in case he sall have to doe with James Makconneill, or anie other of the iles of Scotland, or realme of Ireland. For performance and sure keeping wherof, they sall, for their part, enter to the Duke of Nor-

folk the pledges presentlie named by him, before the entrie of her majestie's armie in Scotish ground, to remaine in England for the space of six moneths; and to be there exchanged, upon deliverance of new hostages of like or als good conditioun as the former, or being the lawfull sonnes, brethrein, or heyres of anie of the erles or barons of parliament that have, or heerafter sall shew themselves, and persist, open enemeis to the Frenche in this querell; and so furth, frome six moneths to six moneths, or foure moneths to foure moneths, as sall best please the partie of Scotland. And the time of continuance of the hostages sall be, during the mariage of the Queene of Scots to the Frenche king, and a yeere after the dissolutioun of the said mariage, until farther order may be had betwixt both the realmes for peace and concord. And furthermore, the said duke, and all the nobilitie, being erles and barons of parliament joyned with him, sall subscribe and seale these articles and compts within the space of twentie or threttie dayes at the uttermost nixt following the day of the delivering of the said hostages; and sall also procure and perswade all others of the nobilitie that sall joyne themselves heerafter with the said duke, for the caus above specified, likewise to subscribe and seale these articles, at anie time after the space of twentie dayes after their conjunctioun, upon requisitioun made by them upon the partie of the Queen's Majestie of England. And, finallie, the said duke, and the nobilitie joyned with him, certanlie perceaving that the Queen's Majestie of England is therunto moved onlie upon respect of princelie honour and nighbourhead, for defense of the freedome of Scotland from conquest, and not of anie other sinister intentioun, doth by these presents testifie and declare, that they, nor anie of them, meanes, by this compt, to withdraw anie due obedience to their soveran ladie the queene, nor in anie lawfull things to withstand the Frenche king, her husband and head, that during the mariage sall not tend to the subversioun and oppressioun of the just and ancient liberteis of the said kingdome of Scotland; for preservatioum wherof, both for their soveran's honour, and for the continuance of the kingdome in ancient estate, they acknowledged themselves bound to spend

their goods, lands, and lives. And for performance of this present contract for the part of England, the queen's majestie sall confirme the same in all clauses therin conteaned, by her letters patents, under the Great Seale of England, to be delivered to the nobilitie of Scotland, upon the entrie of the pledges aforesaid within the ground of England. In witnesse wherof, the said Duke's Grace of Norfolk hath subscribed these points, and therunto affixed his seale, the day, yeare, and place forsaid. Which contract we find honest, reasonable, and that our commissioners therin had consideratlie respected the commoun weale of this realme, of us and our posteritie; and therefore doe ratifie, allow, confirme, and approve the same, with all clauses and articles therin conteaned, by these presents. In witnesse heerof, to the same subscribed with our hands, our seales of armes in suche causes accustomed are appended. At the campe before Leith, the 10th day of May, the yeere of God 1560 yeeres. Follow the subscriptions.[1]

The Duke of Chattelerault.
Earle of Arran.
Earle of Glencarne.
Earle of Rothesse.
Earle of Argile.
Earle of Huntlie.
Earle of Morton.
Earle of Menteith.
Lord Ogilvie.
Lord James Stewart.
Alexander Gordoun.
Lord Boyd.
Lord Uchiltrie.
Gawin Hammilton of Kilwinming.
Abbot of Culross.
Lord Borthwicke.
Lord of Sanct Johne.
Lord Johne Aberbrothoke.
Lord Somervell.
Lord Robert Stewart..
James Stewart of Sanct Colme's Inche.
Abbot of Kinlosse.

[1] "Subscribed by the duke and the lords after the incomming of the English armies."—*Note of the Author.*

THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVIN, SUBSCRIBED TO THE SAID COMMISSIONERS THAT WENT TO BERWICKE, ARE THIR AS FOLLOWES:—

1. For the first, If it sall be asked of you, by the said Duke of Norfolk's Grace, and others, the queen's majestie's appointed commissioners, if your pledges be in readinesse, ye sall answere, that they are in Sanct Andrewes, the 24th of this instant, and sall be readie to be delivered in hostages, for securitie of our promises, and part of contract, they offering and making securitie of their part, by the queen's majestie's subscription and Great Seale, and delivering the same unto you; providing that they choose and mak their electioun of the pledges, as is convenient.

2. Secundlie, If the saids commissioners sall demand of you, what interprise the armie of England sall tak upon hand, at their first incomming, yee sall answere in generall, the expulsioun of the Frenche souldiours out of this realme; and first, and in speciall, furth of the toun of Leith, seing the great forces are there.

3. *Item*, If it sall be asked of you, at what place our freinds and brethrein of England sall meet, and at what day, what number, what noblemen in companie; ye sall reserve all these things to their election and choice.

4. *Item*, If it be demanded, how the armeis sall be furnished with victuals, and speciallie the horsemen; answere, that, with their advice, sufficient order sall be tane therin.

5. *Item*, If it be required, how the munitioun sall be careid, and oxen furnished to that effect, yee sall answere, as we have givin in commissioun to Lethington, which we ratifie.

6. *Item*, If it be asked, who sall be lieutenant to the armie of Scotland, yee sall answere, my lord duke's Grace.

7. *Item*, If it be required, what number our whole armie extendeth to, yee sall answere, they will, God willing, be five thowsand men.

8. *Item*. If it sall be required, what maner of way Leith sall be

assaulted, yee sall desire all preparations to be in readinesse, and the advice to be tane after the placing of the armeis, and view of the strenth shortlie.

9. *Item*, If it sall be asked of the castell of Edinburgh, if they will stand freinds or not, yee sall declare our diligence made, and to be made shortlie heerinto, but for the present, can assure them of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be asked, in case the castell be unfreind, where the armie sall be placed, yee sall answere, for the first, in Mussillburgh and Tranent, and these parts, till the batterie and all the preparations be in readinesse.

11. In case it be inquired of all by-lyers, and speciallie of my Lord of Huntlie, and the north, yee sall answere in generall, a good hope is had of the most part therof; and tuiching my Lord of Huntlie in speciall, yee sall shew how he hath sent writtings to my Lord of Arran, with a servant of credite, to assure him of his assistance; and for that caus hath desired letters of suspensioun of the queene dowager's commissioun to be sent to him, to be used in these parts by him, and other letters, to arrest the clergie's rents and hires both in these parts, with proclamations to caus all men be in readinesse to passe fordward, for mainteaning of religioun, and expelling of strangers. My lord hath writtin to him, that he may come to him in proper persoun, wherof the answere is not returned as yitt.

12. *Item*, If it sall be asked, the place and maner of meeting of our folkes, or of us and them, in case Stirline be keeped, we referre the answere heerof to your discretioun.

13. *Item*, If it sall be asked, that their leyed money sall have passage for their vivers, you sall reasoun the commoditie and incommoditie therof with the counsell.

14. *Item*, If it sall be asked, what pyoneirs sall be had, yee sall answere, the number being expressed, and money in readinesse to serve them, they sall have sufficiencie.

15. *Item*, If they sall desire, that we declare our causes unto the princes of Almainie, and to the King of Denmark, desiring their

assistance, yee sall answere, that we thinke the same good, and sall speedilie tak order therewith.

16. *Item*, If they sall desire you to confirme, for us and in our name, the things past and granted by our former commissioner, the young Laird of Lethington, yee sall in all points, for us and in our name, confirme the same, so farre as it sall make either for the weale and conjunctioun of the two realmes, or this present caus, or yitt for the securitie of our part, for the fulfilling of the samine; and also yee sall accept their offers tending to the same end, and suche securitie on that one part as yee may purchase, and speciallie as we have heeretofore expreimed. Givin at Glasgow, the 10th of Februarie, 1559.

17. *Item*, We give and grant you full power to augment or diminishe the said articles and heads, as yee thinke the weale of the caus sall require, in all points. *Sic subscribitur*,

Johne of Menteith.
Andrew of Rothesse.
R. Boyd.
William Murray of Tullibardin.
Johne Areskine of Dun.
James Hammilton.
Alexander Gordoun.
Archibald Argile.
Glencarne.
Uchiltrie.
James Halyburnton.

THE HOSTAGES DELIVERED.

Shortlie after the contract made at Berwicke, the pledges were delivered to Mr Winter, admirall of the English navie, to witt, David Hammiltoun, soune to the Duke of Chattelerault, Coline Campbell, cousin to the Erle of Argile, Robert Dowglas, brother to the Pryor of Sanct Andrewes, the Laird of Lochlevin, the Lord Ruthven's sonne; or, as Holinshed relateth, Claud Hammilton, fourth sonne to the Duke of Chattelerault, Robert Dowglas, halfe brother to Lord James, Archibald Campbell, Laird of Lochinneill, George Graham, secund sonne to the Erle of Menteith, James Cunninghame, sonne to the Erle of Glencarne.

THE OPPRESSIOUN OF THE FRENCHE.

The queene regent and the Frenche being assured that the Duke of Norfolk was leveing an armie on the English borders, caused bring in the whole victuals of the countrie about to Leith; sheepe, oxen, and kyne. They compelled the poore labourers of the ground to serve them with their horses. They breake doun the mylnes, and leave nothing almost undone, which enemeis would not have done. The Frenche went to Glasgow, and destroyed the countrie about.

THE ENTRIE OF THE ENGLISH ARMIE BY LAND.

The secund of Aprile, 1560, the armie by land entered in Scotland, the conducting wherof was committed to the Lord Gray, who had in his companie the Lord Scroope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henrie Percie, Sir Francis Lack, with manie other captans and gentlemen. The armie consisted of six thowsand foote, and two thowsand horse. The lords that were in Fife, after conference with Huntlie at Perth, had drawin him to their factioun, so that there was no occasioun of feare of anie adversarie forces out of the north. The Lords of the Congregatioun conveened first at Linlithquho, therafter at Hadinton, where they mett with the English armie: frome thence they came to Preston. The queene regent retired to the castell of Edinburgh, and committed herself to the tuitioun of the Lord Areskine, captan, who, as of courtesie he receaved her, so by that meanes he had both her and the castell at command.

THE LORDS RENUE THEIR PETITION TO THE QUEENE REGENT.

The Lords of the Congregatioun, conveening at Dalkeith, directed a letter to the queene regent, the 4th of Aprile, wherin they renued again their former petition, desiring her to send away

the Frenche captans and souldiours, and promising, upon that conditioun, all due obedience and honour. But they prevailed not.

THE FIRST SKIRMISHES BETWIXT THE FRENCHE AND ENGLISH.

After deliberatioun had at Inneresk, the space of two dayes, the whole armie marched fordward, with their ordinance, and all preparations necessarie for the siege. They came to Restalrig upon Palme Sunday, at even, the 6th of Aprile. The Frenche came furth to seaze on an hill, which they feared the English would tak, to pitche their campe upon. After five hours conflict, and losse of some men on both sides, the Scotish horsemen rushed upon the battell of the Frenche, and compelled them to flee in to the toun of Leith. If the English horsemen had come in time, they had overthrowne them. The Scots and English beginne to be secure. The English beganne to plant their pavillions betwixt Leith and Restalrig; but the ordinance of the Frenche, within the toun of Leith speciallie, which lay upon Sanct Anton's steeple, did muche annoy them. But within few dayes the steeple was condemned with continuall shott of eight cannons bent against it, and the ordinance which was upon it dismounted. The English become secure, lay their armour beside them, and fall to dyce and cards. Upon Easter Moonday, the 15th of Aprile, at noone, the Frenche sailied furth fiftie horsemen, and about five hundreth harquebusiers. They entered with great violence, slue and wounded no small number, before they could be brought in anie good order, stopped the tuicheholes of three peeces of artilleric, tooke Mr Maurice Barclay prisoner. The alarm being brought to the campe, Sir James Crofts and some others repaired toward the trenche with all expeditioun, and commanded Captan Waugham to enter the trenche possessed by the Frenche; who entered, and repelled them, having slaine sixteene of their companie. Other captans followed with their bands, drave them in to the toun, and slue manie of them. But during this skirmish,

the English were muche annoyed by an hundreth shot of great artillerie out of Leith. The same night the English drew backe the artillerie which the Frenche had cloyed with nailes and wyres in the tuiche-holes, planted them againe before day, and caused their pyoners cast a new trenche. The English considering that they were not able to besiege the toun round about, devised mounts to be raised on diverse quarters, wherin they and their ordinance lay in als great strenth as they did within the toun. The commoun souldiours keeped the trenches, and had the mounts for their safeguarde. The horsemen keeped watche night and day.

A BAND SUBSCRIBED BY THE SCOTISH NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN AT LEITH.

After that the Erle of Huntlie was come to the campe, the nobilitie, barons, and gentlemen, and diverse others joining with them for expelling the Frenche, Huntlie in speciall, subscribed the band following:—

"At Edinburgh, the 27th of Aprile, the yeere of our Lord 1560 yeeres: We, whose names are underwritten, have promised and oblished ourselves faithfullie in the presence of God, and by these presents doe promise, that we altogether in generall, and everie one of us in speciall by himself, with our bodeis, goods, freinds, and all that we may doe, sall sett fordward the reformatioun of religioun according to God's Word; and procure by all meanes possible, that the truthe of God's Word may have free passage within this realme, with due administratioun of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said Word. And siclyke deepelie weyghing with ourselves the misbehaviour of the Frenche Monsieurs heere, the intolerable oppressioun committed by the Frenche men of warre upon the poore subjects of this realme, by maintenance of the queene dowager, under colour and pretence of authoritie, the tyrannie of their captans and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest in which this countrie presentlie standeth by reason of diverse

fortifications upon the sea-coast, and other novelteis of late attempted by them, promising that we sall everie one with other, als weill as altogether, with the Queene of England's armie presentlie come for our deliverance, effectuallie concurre, joyne together, taking an affald[1] plaine part for expulsioun of the said strangers, oppressours of our libertie, and recoverie of our ancient freedoms and liberteis, to the end that in times comming we may, under the obedience of the king and queene, our soverans, be onlie ruled by the lawes and customes of the countrie, and borne men of the land; and that never one of us sall have privie intelligence by writting, message, or communication with anie of our said enemeis or adversareis in this caus, but by advice of the rest, at least of five of the counsell. Again, that we sall tender the commoun caus, as if it were the caus of everie one of us in particular; and that the causes of everie one of us now joyned together, being lawfull and honest, sall be all our causes in generall; and that he that is enemie to the causes foresaid, sall be enemie to us all in so farre, that whatsoever person will plainlie resist these our godlie enterprises, and will not concurre as a good and true member of this commoun wealth, we sall fortifie the said authoritie of the counsell to reduce them to their duetie, like as we sall fortifie the said authoritie of the counsell in all things tending to the furtherance of the said causes. And if anie particular debate, querell, or controversie sall arise, for whatsoever caus that is past, present, or to come, betwixt anie of us, (as God forbid,) in that case, we sall submitt ourselves and our said questioums to the decisioun of the counsell, or to arbitrators to be named by them, &c. Providing alwise, that this be not prejudiciall to the ordinar jurisdictioun of judges, but that men may persue their actions by order of law civillie or criminallie, as it pleaseth them."

[1] Sincere.

THE QUEENE DOWAGER CONSIDERETH TOO LATE HER OWNE FOLLIE.

When this band came to the sight of queene dowager, she said, "The malidiction of God light on them who counselled me to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realme! It was said to me, that the English armie could not ly in Scotland temne dayes; but now they have lyen almost a moneth alreadie." These who had informed her spake like worldlie wise men; for the victualls of the countrie adjacent being brought to Leith, and the mylnes about brokin, it appeared the campe could not be furnished except by their owne shippes, which could not have endured long, or have beene sufficient. But there was greater abundance of victuall through God's benedictioun, and lower prices in the campe after eight dayes were past, than had beene in Edinburgh two yeeres before. For the people so abhorred the tyrannie of the Frenche, that they would have givin all the substance they had to be ridde of them.

THE SOUTH-WEST WALL OF LEITH ASSAULTED.

The trenches were drawin als neere the toun as possiblie could be. The great campe removed from Restalrig to the west side of the Water of Leith. The cannons were planted for batterie; but the breaches of the south-west wall were not made so great by day, but were sufficientlie repaired in the night. The English, wearied with that course, beganne to give an assault upon the 7th of May, before day-light, and continued till neere seven of the clocke. They exceeded not a thousand men who assaulted the foure quarters of the toun; yitt once, they drave the Frenche cleane from the walls, and were upon both the east and west blockehouses. But their scales laiking six quarters of just light, whill the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellowes could not joyne to support them: so they were drivin backe, when it was thought once the toun was wonne. Sir James Crofts was

blamed, for neither he nor his companie approached in the time of the assault, to the north-west quarter upon the sea-side, where at a low water (as at the time of assault it was) the passage was easie. He had before, at their first entrie, spokin with the queene regent in the castell of Edinburgh. Whether she had enchanted him or not, it cannot be certanlie affirmed; but it may be conjectured by that dayes warke. Some ascribed to him the shortnesse of the ledders. The Frenche appointed to defend the north-west quarter, seing none to persue, came and joyned with their fellowes. The Scotish whoores did no lesse harme than the Frenche souldiours; for they charged their peeces, ministred unto them weapons, or cast stones. Some careid chimneyes of burning fire, some timber, and other impediments of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall, speciallie when the English beganne to turne backe. The queene regent, sitting upon the fore wall of the castell, seing the ensignes of the Frenche displayed againe upon the walls, laughed loud, and said, "Now will I goe to masse, and praise God for that which my eyes have seene." Frier Blacke, deprehended a little before with his harlot in the chappell by herself, was readie for that purpose. The Frenche, proud of the victorie, striped naiked all the slaine, and layed the dead carcases before the hote sunne, along their wall, where they suffered them to ly moe dayes then once. The queene regent hopped for mirth, and said, "Yonder the fairest tapestrie that ever I saw. I would the whole feilds betwixt me and them were strowed with the same stuffe." Mr Knox in his sermoun boldlie affirmed, that God would revenge the contumelie done to his image, not onlie on the furious and godlesse souldiours, but also on these that rejoiced therat. And, indeid, within few dayes after, some say the same day, her bellie and legges began to swell, and so continued till her life was ended.

THE ENGLISH ARMIE ENCURAGED WITH A NEWE SUPPLEE.

The English armie, notwithstanding of this losse, resolved to remaine, till new advertisement were sent from the Queene and

counsell of England, by the expectatioun of the queene regent and the Frenche men. The Duke of Norfolk, lying at Berwick, commanded the Lord Gray to continue the seige, assuring him he sould not laike men, so long as anie were to be had betwixt Kent and Tweid. He farther promised his owne presence, incace he sould be required, and for assurance therof, sent his pavillions, with his officers and provisioun. Two thowsand freshe men were sent. The Frenche, after the day of the assault, did ever receave the losse and repulse. The greatest harme the English and Scots receaved after that day was the slaughter of two gentlemen, Robert Colvill of Cleish, Master of the Houshold to Lord James, a modest, stout, and wise man, and Alexander Lokhart, brother to the Laird of Barr. The first was shott in the thigh with a falcon or hacquebut of croke,[1] and so ended the misereis of this life within two houres after. The other, rashlie discovering himself in the trenches, was shott in the head, and immediatelie therafter departed.

A SUDDAN FIRE IN LEITH.

Whill the seige thus continued, a suddane fire riseth in Leith, about five of the clocke in the afternoone, upon Tuesday the last of Aprile. When it first appeared, the English ordinance were shott off at the place where the fire was. The shott, together with the helpe of the wind, vehement for the time, made the fire the bolder. The Frenche, fearing some assault in the meane time, manned the walls, and offered a skirmishe. Manie houses and muche victuall were destroyed. The Lord Areskine said to the queene regent, "Madame, I can see no more; but seing that man cannot expell unjust possessors furth of this land, God himself will doe it, for this fire was not kindled by man." The queene was not a little offended.

[1] A hagbut with a hook for fixing on a rest.

THE QUEENE REGENT'S LETTER TO D'OSELL INTERCEPTED.

The queene craved licence to speeke with Monsieur d'Osell. But that being denyed, she wrote, as it had beene to her chirurgian or apothecarie, shewing her disease, and requiring some drogs. The letter being intercepted, and presented to the Lord Gray, he, holding the paper to the fire, perceaved, that howbeit some few lynes were written above, yitt in the blanke there appeared some writt, which he read, but concealed to himself. He burnt the bill, and said to the messinger, "Albeit I have beene her secretare, yitt tell her, I sall keepe her counsell: but say to her, Suche wares will not sell till a new mercat." He had said before the reading of it, "Drogs might be easier had in Edinburgh nor in Leith."

THE DEATH OF THE QUEENE REGENT.

The queene regent, no wise content that the mystereis of her letter were disclosed, travelled earnestlie that she might speeke with the Erles of Argile, Glencarne, Marshall, and Lord James. It was thought expedient that they sould speake with her, but not all together, for feare of some Gwisian practise. She regrated to them all, that she had so foolishlie forced them to seeke the support of others than of their owne soverane, or that the mater came to suche extremitie. But the fault was not in her, for she would have agreed with them at the commuming at Preston, if she had not beene disswaded by her freinds, and the Erle of Huntlie. They comforted her as they could, and advised her to send for a preacher, for her comfort. Mr Willocke was sent for. She confessed there was no salvatioun but in and by the death of Jesus Christ. But of the masse, wherof he made mention, she spake nothing. Some say she was anointed after the Papisticall maner; a signe of small knowledge, or lesse repentance. Alwise, God was glorifeid in removing of suche an enemie. Shortlie therafter she ended her life, the nynth or tenth of June, 1560, consumed partlie with grievous displeasure and melancholie, partlie with longsome and incurable

sicknesse. Her corps was lapped in a coffine of leid, and keeped in the castell from the 9th of June till the 19th of October, at which time it was careid by some pyoneirs to a ship, and by ship to France. She was bureid in the Abbey of Sanct Peter, at Rhemes, in Champaignie, where her sister was then Abbesse. Unhappie was her governement from her first entrie. In the beginning, Monsieur d'Osell, and Monsieur Rubie, a lawyer at Parise, her cheefe counsellers, devised new lawes, impositions, taxatiouns, and other customs. Her brethrein, the Gwisians, intending a conquest of this realme, poussed her continuallie to some mischeefe. But her last counsellers were more violent. Count Martigues would have all the countrie about Leith destroyed with fire and sword, if it had not beene answered, that that course would have availed little for raising of the siege, and would prove als harmefull to the Catholicks as to the Protestants. La Brosse would have had the whole Scotish nobilitie cutt off, and Frenchemen placed in their rowmes. The Bishop of Amiens would have had not onlie the professors of the truthe and their favourers, but also suche as did not favour the Frenche, spoiled or killed, or some other way sore vexed. He it was that stirred up the Frenche souldiours to kill William Matlane of Lethington, because his Sorbone doctors could not refute him with sufficient reasons in his conference with them.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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